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THE

LONDON MAGAZINE:

AND

MONTHLY CHRONOLOGER.

MDCCXXXVII.

(1737)

MULTUM IN PARVO.

LONDON:

Printed by C. ACKERS, in St. *John's-Street*; for T. COX, at the *Lamb* under the *Royal-Exchange*; J. CLARKE, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Duck-Lane*; and T. ASTLEY, at the *Rose* over-against the North-Door of St. *Paul's*.

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THE

PREFACE.

E must take this Opportunity to return Thanks to the Publick for the great Encouragement they have been pleased to give us, and to assure them, we shall, for the future, spare neither Pains nor Expence, to procure them all the Satisfaction the Nature of our Undertaking can admit of; therefore, we hope, they will continue their Approbation as long as we continue to deserve it; by what they think real Merit, without any false Pretences, *or* fraudulent Impositions. *A Gentleman, who publishes nothing but his own Productions, might perhaps be accused of too much Vanity, if he should pretend to deserve the Approbation he is favoured with; but as* our MAGAZINE *is a Collection of the most ingenious Pieces we can meet with or procure, either printed or in Manuscript; and as in the making of* this Collection, *we depend chiefly upon the Pains and Expence we are at in procuring the best upon every Subject; we may be allowed to say, we in some Measure deserve the Approbation of the Publick, as long as we shall, by our extraordinary Pains and Expence,*

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be able to communicate more perfect Extracts, or more and better original Pieces, than are to be met with in any other Collection *of the same Kind.*

When we have not Room for communicating the Whole of any curious Piece that has been before published, we shall always endeavour to employ such Persons as are able to give an Extract of it, without being guilty of any Blunder, or of leaving out the most material Passages; and shall never, like some of our Brother Monthly Collectors, *pretend to* palm *upon the World any* printed *Pamphlet, Poem, or Paper, by way of an* original Manuscript *of our own: At least, we shall never dare to do any such Thing, knowingly, and with* a Design to impose *upon the Publick; for if we did so, the Loss of all our Customers would be the least Resentment we could expect. In Love Affairs, indeed, little Frauds and Impositions, even when fully detected, are often excused; but this is an Indulgence peculiar to Lovers; even in Friendship, it seldom or never takes place; and therefore, we think it would be the Height of Impudence in a Printer, Publisher, or Bookseller, to expect any such Indulgence, especially, if the Fraud should be often repeated, and every Time fully detected.*

As we shall endeavour to give our Readers full Copies, or proper Extracts, of all remarkable Dissertations, Essays, and Poems, published in this great City, upon any Subject political, moral, philosophical, or humorous; so we shall endeavour to procure, and communicate from Time to Time, some original Pieces never before published; and in this we shall take care not to publish any Original, but what we know to be the Production of some Genius of established Character, or such a one as has been approved of by some of the best Criticks; for as we are never in want of valuable Materials for filling up our MAGAZINE, *we have no Occasion to sue for, or to purchase insignificant Scraps at a low Rate, from obscure Persons, or from Authors of no Name in the Commonwealth of Learning, or from Poets who were never heard of but in* Grubstreet.

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With Regard to our Account of the Proceedings and Debates of laſt Seſſion of Parliament, *its being reprinted and publiſhed in the* other Monthly Collections, *as far as they could have an Opportunity, is a ſufficient Teſtimony of its Merit, and a full Evidence that* neither of them *could have any Thing like it. And our Cuſtomers have had this Advantage, that they have always had it in the* LONDON MAGAZINE, *a Month ſooner than it could be had in* any other Magazine; *with this additional Advantage, that the* Concluſion, *which we have now publiſhed, and which contains many curious Particulars, cannot be had in* any other Monthly Collection, *for theſe* four *or* five Months *at leaſt. Whether this Advantage in favour of the* LONDON MAGAZINE, *was foreſeen by the Purchaſers of the* other Monthly Collections, *we do not know; but it was certainly foreſeen by Dr.* Sylvanus Urban *himſelf; (tho' the* honeſt Doctor *can no way be accuſed of being* a Conjurer) *for in the* Gentleman's Magazine *for* October laſt, *Page* 605. *Col.* 1. *Line* 15. from the Bottom, *he has this prophetick Inſinuation,* viz. —— 'And if they ſhould be continued ſome 'Months in the NEXT YEAR, our Readers, we preſume, 'will not be diſpleaſed to have the fulleſt Account of Mat-'ters of ſuch Importance.' —— *Although few Prophecies can be explained till after they are fulfilled, yet we may venture to explain the* Doctor's *Meaning in this: He could not foreſee, whether we would this Year publiſh an* APPENDIX *or no: But he was* Conjurer *enough to foreſee, that if we did, it would not be poſſible for him, or at leaſt it would not be quite ſafe for him, to reprint and publiſh* that APPENDIX, *till the* Month *of* May *or* June *next; therefore he choſe to talk in this prophetick or conditional Way to his Readers, whoſe Penetration he has always ſeemed not to be a bit afraid of, with this* honeſt Intention, *that when he ſhould have an Opportunity of reprinting* our APPENDIX, *they might be induced to believe, that what he then publiſhed was an original Piece of Intelligence, never before communicated to the Publick. This we take to be the Meaning of the* honeſt Doctor's *Prophecy; but whether it be ſo or not, will beſt appear from his* firſt Magazine *publiſhed after* next Seſſion *of Parliament.*

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As a few pretended Extracts of Speeches *have been publiſhed in ſome* other Monthly and Weekly Collections, *we think ourſelves obliged to acquaint our Readers, that we have had many pretended* Extracts of Speeches *ſent or offered to us ſince the Beginning of* laſt Seſſion, *which would have made a moſt voluminous and incoherent Piece, if they had been publiſhed in the Method or Order we received or might have received them. If it were poſſible to give the* Speeches *as they were originally ſpoken, or if it were poſſible to give full and regular* Extracts *of them, we know it would be more agreeable as well as more uſeful to our Readers; but when this cannot poſſibly be done, we ſhall not pretend to amuſe our Readers with ſuch imperfect, confuſed, and blundering* Extracts, *as may ſometimes be purchaſed for a Trifle, from Perſons who have neither Senſe to comprehend, Memory to retain, nor Skill to digeſt what they hear. When ſuch Pieces have been offered to us for Sale, we have rejected them with Diſdain; and upon this, we ſuppoſe, ſome of them have found their Way to our* Brother Collectors, *who ſeem to be fond of thoſe Pieces they can purchaſe for a ſmall Price, in order that they may have ſomething to brag of as their own; tho' the Publiſhing of ſuch Pieces* for Sale *be really a Sort of Inſult upon the Underſtandings of the Purchaſers. Such Pieces might appear tolerable, if they were given* gratis *at the* Anodyne Necklace without Temple-Bar, *or the* Green Hatch in Holbourn; *but who can peruſe without Indignation* a Thing ſold *to him, as the* Extract *of an* honourable Gentleman's Speech, *in which it is ſaid,*—— 'A 'Captain of an *Engliſh* Man of War happened to receive 'undoubted Advice that the TOULON and MEDITER-'RANEAN Squadrons, *&c.*' *See* Gentleman's Magazine *for* October *laſt, Page* 610. *Col.* 1. *Line* 36.——*Surely, no ſuch Thing could ever be ſaid by any Gentleman in* England, *and much leſs by the* honourable and worthy Gentleman *it is aſcribed to than by moſt others in* Great Britain; *for every Gentleman knows that* TOULON *is the chief* French Port *for their Men of War in the* MEDITERRANEAN; *and moſt Gentlemen know, the Advice then received was, That the* BREST *Squadron under the* Count of Toulouſe *had*

had passed by the Mouth of the Tagos, *steering their Course for the* MEDITERRANEAN, *where they were to be joined, as they afterwards were, by another* French *Squadron from* TOULON: *Nor could* BARCELONA *be at that Time in any Danger of being taken by the* Enemy, *for it was then actually in their Hands, not having been taken by the* Confederates *till above a Year after.*

These are Blunders so conspicuous that they betray the Ignorance of the Publisher, as well as the Ignorance and Inattention of the Person who pretends to give the Extract; *and many such there are, almost in every one of the few pretended* Extracts *given by Dr.* Urban, *and his fellow* Handicraftsmen, *as they may properly be called, for the* Head *seems to have very little Share in any Thing they publish. It would be easy for us to fill up our* MAGAZINE, *at a very cheap Rate, with such wretched Stuff; but if we had no Regard for our Readers, that Respect which is due to those who have a Share in the Government of our Country, shall always prevent our taking any Account, and much more pretending to give any* Extract *of what is spoken by either of them, without having it first examined and approved by Gentlemen, whose Knowledge and Judgment we can depend on. When we can procure* such an Extract *of any* remarkable Speech, *be it at never so high a Rate, we shall communicate it with Pleasure; and in all* Debates, *where we can procure no* such Extracts *of any of the* particular Speeches, *we shall, as heretofore, give our Readers an Account of the* Debate *in general, without any Prejudice or Partiality for either Side of the Question.*

These are our Intentions, in the Prosecution of which we shall spare neither Pains nor Expence; but we are far from pretending to be infallible, or not to be guilty of any Error or Inadvertency: The highest Merit we can pretend to lay Claim to, is, not to be guilty of any wilful Mistake *or* designed Imposition; *nor to be guilty of* such Blunders *as must appear to be such, even to the most ignorant Reader; and while* our Collection *has fewer Faults, and more Perfections, than are to be found in* any other

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Collection *of the ſame Kind, we hope the Publick will be ſo good as to excuſe thoſe Miſtakes we may be led into by Miſinformation, as well as thoſe Inadvertencies which may ſometimes be occaſionad by too much Hurry, and which the beſt Authors are liable to, when they have not Time to examine carefully their original Draughts.*

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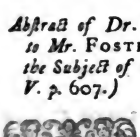
THE

LONDON MAGAZINE.

JANUARY, 1737.

Abſtract of Dr. STEBBING's *Anſwer to Mr.* FOSTER's *ſecond Letter on the Subject of* HERESY. *(See Vol. V. p. 607.)*



AFTER above a Year's Silence, Mr. *Foſter* has publiſh'd an Anſwer to my ſecond Letter. The Reaſons of his Delay, he tells us, are *to himſelf*, and with himſelf I leave them. I do not intend to diſpute particular Points with him over again: Thoſe who read with Judgment, will (I hope) ſee no Occaſion for it. But ſince it is natural to preſume that Mr. *Foſter* has now given us his *beſt* as well as his *ſecond* Thoughts, and becauſe the Subject *is of* great Importance, I think it *proper* to give ſuch an Account of *the preſent* State of the Controverſy, *as may* enable any common Reader to judge where the Merits of the Cauſe lie.

The general Queſtion is, who are Hereticks in ſuch a Senſe as will juſtify the Church in excluding them from viſible Communion? Mr. *F.* ſays, they are thoſe only who make a Profeſſion contrary to the Chriſtian Faith, againſt the Conviction of their own Minds. My Opinion is, that whoever openly oppugns the Chriſtian Doctrine, whether with Conviction or againſt it, whether ſincerely or inſincerely, is a Heretick; and if he reforms not upon proper Admonition, may and ought to be debarr'd Chriſtian Communion.

Upon this Foot the Controverſy at firſt ſet out, and has all along proceeded. But Mr. *F.* has in this laſt Performance ſtarted a new Thought, which, becauſe it *ſeemingly* affects the State of the Queſtion, and is deliver'd out with an Air of Importance, and Show of fair Dealing, muſt here be taken Notice of.

'I beg leave (ſays he) to ſubjoin 'to the Obſervations I formerly 'made, *&c.*' *(See the whole Paſſage, with the Marginal Note, which the*

Dr. alſo ſets down, in our Magazine *for* Nov. *laſt, p.* 608.)

It is very commendable, no doubt, when Men can bring themſelves to acknowledge their Miſtakes, whether *real* or *imaginary*. But as to this particular Inſtance, he has no Merit to plead from it; for nothing *depends* upon it. Mr. *F.* now thinks, that Hereſies may be formed as well about Rituals as Points of Doctrine. Be it ſo. What is this to the Purpoſe? I never had any Diſpute with the Gentleman upon this Queſtion, nor ever meant or mean to have any. The Point with me is, Whether *Self-condemnation*, i. e. (as Mr. *F.* explains) *acting againſt Conviction*, is neceſſary to conſtitute the Notion of a Heretick; and this Queſtion will not at all be affected by adjuſting the particular *Matter* about which Hereſy may be converſant. Mr. *F*'s firſt Account of Hereſy (as he himſelf confeſſes) was, that it was *a Departure from the Faith*. Thus far I found no Fault with him; for this (whether right or wrong) was not the Thing that gave the Offence. But the Offence was taken (and, as I conceive, juſtly) at his ſaying, that no Departure from the Faith is Hereſy, to the Purpoſes of Church Diſcipline, *unleſs* the Perſon is *conſcious* to himſelf of his being in the *wrong*.

To ſpeak therefore to the Purpoſe; Mr. *F.* founds his Notion of Hereſy upon *Tit.* iii. 10, 11. The main Streſs of the Argument reſts upon the Force of the Expreſſion, *he is condemned of himſelf*, which he interprets as ſignifying that he is condemned *in his own Mind or Conſcience*; and thence infers, that no one is ſuch a Heretick as the Church may reject, but he who is *thus* ſelf-condemned. Whether my Interpretation of this Paſſage (Vol. IV. p. 362.) be right or not; the great Queſtion will ſtill be, Whether his is not *wrong?* And there is this Conſideration which ſhews it to be ſo, *viz.* That if none are Hereticks, or to be rejected as ſuch, but thoſe who act againſt Conviction, the Apoſtle has given an impracticable Rule.

Here lies the Difficulty: Which Mr. *F.* foreſaw; and to guard againſt it had recourſe to the Gift of Diſcerning Spirits, *i. e.* (as he interprets) the Power of *knowing Mens Hearts* by Inſpiration. He is now *determined to* drop *this as a* foreign *Point*; and ſays, that *whether my Opinion or his, about the Gift of Diſcerning Spirits, be admitted, the main Controverſy will not be in the leaſt affected by it.* Any one will believe that Mr. *F.* would not have dropt this as a foreign Point, but upon the fulleſt Conviction that it can never be made to ſerve his Purpoſe; and thus much is manifeſt, that allowing to Mr. *F.* his Hypotheſis, it will go at moſt no farther than to ſhew, that the Rule was practicable in the Age of Miracles. And if the Rule is practicable upon *no other* foot than this, the Right to judge and reject Hereticks is now at an End, and has been ſo ever ſince Miracles have ceaſed. The Reader may perceive that I oppoſed Mr. *F*'s Interpretation only to deſtroy the *Uſe* he made of it in throwing all Diſcipline out of the Church. What now does the Gentleman ſay? Has he quitted his Notion of Hereſy? No; he ſtill holds it, that no one is a Heretick, but he who acts againſt Conviction. Does he then *juſtify* it, that there is now *no Right* in the Church to reject Hereticks, and that all Exerciſe of Diſcipline in ſuch Caſes, ſince the Ceſſation of Miracles, has been Uſurpation? Nor this; But he ſays, that tho' he had recourſe to the Gift of Diſcerning Spirits, as *a Way of removing the grand Objection, which he thought would be generally convincing*, &c. —— he did not conſider it as the *only* Way. *For* (adds he) *Hereticks may* be known *without* this Gift; and I *have never once aſſerted*

aſſerted the Contrary. I had this Anſwer before in his firſt Letter. And ſince the ſame Thing is ſaid, and repeated, and nothing elſe offered, we are to look upon this (whatever it comes to) as his final Anſwer; in which if there be any proper Meaning, it muſt be this, *viz.* That notwithſtanding *no one* is a Heretick but he who acts *againſt Conviction*, yet the Church *may now* judge of Hereticks, and has a Right to *reject* them. Whether this be *true* or not; that is, whether a Right in the Church to judge and reject Hereticks *can ſtand* with Mr. *F*'s Notion of Hereſy, is another Matter: But, true or falſe, every one ſees that Mr. *F.* tho' he holds his *Notion* of Hereſy, quits his *Uſe* of it; *i. e.* gives up every Thing in the Controverſy that is worth contending for. One Thing only it concerns me to anſwer. Mr. *Foſter* ſays, that he *never once aſſerted that Hereticks cannot be known without the Gift of Diſcerning Spirits*; which is denying that he ever made that *Uſe* of his Interpretation which I ſay he has, and upon which the whole Controverſy is grounded. This is a Point that I *muſt* try for my own Sake; and, that I may not appear to the World to be a mere Trifler, I ſhall lay the ſeveral Paſſages together. *(He begins with a large Quotation from Mr.* Foſter's *Sermon, which we muſt only refer our Readers to*; Sermons, *p.* 303 — 306.)

The Dr. then goes on: I have ſet down this Paſſage without Defalcation, that the Reader may be ſecure that nothing is ſuppreſſed which may ſerve Mr. *F*'s Purpoſe. And let any one tell me, whether it is not as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that in virtue of his Interpretation of the Apoſtolick Rule, he has thrown out the ordinary Diſcipline of the Church, in *rejecting* Hereticks *as* Hereticks. *Here is* no Rule of Judgment left beſides the Gift of Diſcerning Spirits, which, in Effect, is declared to be the *ſole* Rule, and *(foreign* as it is now repreſented to be) is of ſuch *Importance* in Mr. *F*'s Scheme, that he has left the whole Weight of his Interpretation to reſt upon it. He now ſays, that Hereticks may be known without this Gift. But, Why did he not ſay ſo *before?* or rather, Why, if this Gift was not by him thought *neceſſary* to the Diſcovery of Hereticks, did he at all concern himſelf with it? His Pretence is, that he choſe this Method of removing the grand Objection, becauſe he thought it the moſt unexceptionable and convincing. But if Mr. *F. underſtood* what he was about, this *could not* be the Caſe; for there is neither Senſe nor Propriety in the Method, unleſs it be *ſuppoſed* that the Right of judging Hereticks was *peculiar* to the firſt Ages. Theſe were Mr. *F*'s firſt Thoughts, which even now hang ſo ſtrongly upon his Mind, that with all the Artifice he is Maſter of he is not able to conceal them.

To ſupport the Argument yet farther, let us go on to Mr. *F*'s Letter in the *Old Whig*, No. 15. I took Notice of this Paper in my ſecond Letter, and have charged Mr. *F.* with *confeſſing*, *in very ſtrong Terms*, that *none* but thoſe who are endued with preternatural Diſcernment are *fit to decide* in Caſes of Hereſy. If this Charge is true, Mr. *F.* ſtands Self-condemned. But, he ſays, it is *abſolutely falſe*; and pray hear his Reaſon.

My Words (ſays he) are, And *if* none, *&c.* i. e. allowing *the Objection urged by the Author of the* Miſcellany *to be rightly ſtated, or* taking it for granted, *that upon my Notion* (i. e. *his* Explanation *of St.* Paul's *Notion) of Hereſy none but thoſe who are endued with preternatural Diſcernment are fit to decide, &c. this is no Reflection on St.* Paul, *who hath never aſſerted the contrary. I am here vin-*

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dicating St. Paul's *Character, and endeavouring to ſhew, that if this Point was never ſo clear and admitted on both Sides, it would be no Diſparagement to it. But is not this entirely different from* confeſſing in ſtrong Terms, *or laying it down as* my own Opinion? *Can Things which are only* ſuppoſed *in Argument be juſtly ſaid to be* aſſerted abſolutely? *Can what is not confeſſed* at all, *or in* any *Terms, be ſaid to be confeſſed in* ſtrong *Terms?* I repeat it once more, *Sir, that it neither* is *nor* ever was *my Sentiment, that Hereticks* could not *be known without the Gift of Diſcerning Spirits. Second Letter, p.* 59.

The Purport of this Anſwer is, that Mr. *F.* has not laid it down as *his own Opinion,* that *none are fit* to decide in Caſes of Hereſy but thoſe who have preternatural Diſcernment, but only argued *ex Hypotheſi* to vindicate St. *Paul*'s Character. May St. *Paul,* and all the 12 Apoſtles be delivered from ſuch Vindicators! For, in what is he to vindicate St. *Paul*'s Character? Why, in laying down a Rule which he (Mr. *F.*) *himſelf* is *willing to grant,* does imply that *none are fit* to decide in Caſes of Hereſy but thoſe who have preternatural Diſcernment; *i. e.* he is to vindicate St. *Paul* in having ſaid a Thing which (in his own *preſent* Account) contains *a very great Untruth! It is no Reflexion,* (he ſays) *upon St.* Paul, *who hath never aſſerted the contrary.* What if St. *Paul* hath *not* aſſerted the contrary? It is ſtill an *Untruth,* if Mr. *F.* is to be believed; for he ſays, and *inſiſts* upon it, that Hereticks *may* be known *without* this Gift; *i. e.* That *others* are fit to decide in ſuch Caſes, *as well as thoſe* who are endued with preternatural Diſcernment. If Mr. *F.* thought it conſiſtent with the Character of an Apoſtle to ſay, That *none* are fit to decide in Caſes of Hereſy *but* thoſe who are endued with preternatural Diſcernment, it muſt (ſurely!) be becauſe he thought it to be *true*; and that he did ſo think, will be clear to any one who conſiders his Words. If *none but thoſe,* &c. is *hypothetical* indeed in the *Form* of the Expreſſion; but the *Senſe* may be *abſolute* for all that, as every School-Boy knows. Take then the whole Paſſage together, and ſee if this is not the Caſe.

If none but thoſe who are endued with this preternatural Diſcernment are fit to decide in Caſes of Hereſy, this is no Reflection upon St. Paul, *who hath never aſſerted the contrary.* [*But* (*N. B.*) *it ſhould correct and reſtrain* the Inſolence *of others in pretending to a Power which they are not entitled to*] *and which neither the* Nature of the Thing itſelf, *nor a Rule preſcribed to a* particular Perſon *miraculouſly enlightned, and poſſeſſed of extraordinary Abilities, give them the leaſt Ground to claim.*

The Words which are included in Hooks are cited by me in my ſecond Letter, as what *determined* the Senſe of the foregoing Part of the Sentence. Mr. *F.* in his Anſwer has ſet down the foregoing Part *only,* and *ſuppreſs'd* all that follows; for this plain and obvious Reaſon, that if he had recited thoſe Words, it would *inſtantly* have appeared, that he was *not* arguing *ex hypotheſi,* but delivering *his own Opinion.* If you can yet doubt, go but to the next Column in the ſame Paper, and you will find him declaring *for himſelf,* that *the Words of St.* Paul *were addreſſed* to Titus, *alone,* or *extended* only *to every one of his Succeſſors,* who is endued with the ſame extraordinary Accompliſhments.

I now appeal to the Reader, to conſider with what *Decency* Mr. *F.* has addreſſed himſelf to me in the following Words. *I allow indeed theſe to be my Words,*——How can we certainly know, in moſt Caſes at leaſt, whether a Man be a Heretick or not?' &c. (as in Vol. V. p. 612.

With

With Mr. *F*'s *Suspicions*, and *Presumptions* I have nothing to do at present. What I have laid to his Charge, and what I still insist upon, is this, that he hath affirmed, that Hereticks cannot so be known without the Gift of Discerning Spirits, as to *justify* the Church in *rejecting* them as Hereticks. He now calls it in, and says, that *admitting his Notion of Heresy to be true, Hereticks may be known, and upon good probable Evidence rejected in all Ages of the Church.* If he could make it appear, that his Notion of Heresy is reconcileable with the Discipline of the Church in rejecting Hereticks, as directed in Scripture, and as practis'd from the very Times of the Apostles till now; it would signify little to the Dispute, as it lies between him and me. For (as it has afore been observed) I opposed his Interpretation only for the sake of the *ill Use* he had made of it; and since he has given up his *Use*, I have no Concern with his Interpretation: Let him take it, and make his best on't. But, tho' I look upon myself as thus far acquitted, yet I am desirous to do all the Justice I can to the Truth, and therefore will now undertake to shew, that Mr. *F*'s new Scheme of Discipline will not do.

Mr. *F.* set out with saying, That *we cannot certainly know whether a Man be an Heretick or not* — that *we cannot certainly judge of Heresy.* I agreed with him, that in his Account of Heresy, Hereticks *cannot* be known; meaning, that they cannot be *certainly* known. The Gentleman and I had no Difference at *first* upon this Point, nor could he have had any *now*, if he had stood to his first Scheme. But when he found it for his Purpose to say, That *Hereticks may* be known, he thought it convenient to make *me* say so too.

What I said in the Case of *Elymas* the Sorcerer, was, that his *bad Works* proved him to be a *bad Man*, for I *supposed* that he would not pretend, that *Wizards* and *Conjurers* could be morally honest. But, what if *immoral Actions* shew an *immoral Man*, as they always *will* do, will it therefore follow, that every *immoral* Man is *self-condemned* in any *Principle* of revealed Religion which he holds? If you want an Answer, go to Mr. *F.* who will tell you, that an *immoral Life* is *no Evidence* of *Self-Conviction* in such Cases. If the Gentleman can justify himself, he will justify me; if he cannot, the Inconsistency may fall upon me, but it will fall upon himself too. But every one of Sense will perceive that there is great Difference between saying, That *bad Works* will shew a *bad* Man; and that *bad Works* will shew a *self-condemned* Man. A Man may be *bad* thro' many Causes; he can be *self-condemned* but by *one.*

Leaving therefore Mr. *F.* to himself to make the best of his own Scheme, (in which it is very plain I have no Share) I proceed to shew what *can* or *cannot* be known of Hereticks without the Help of Preternatural Discernment. In this Matter I shall take Mr. *F*'s own Account, who disclaims all absolute *Certainty* in the Case, and insists only upon *probable Evidence:* At first he insisted upon *certain* Evidence. *Since* (says he) *it is so difficult — Certainly to judge of Heresy, why should we be so forward to charge it on our own Brethren?* * Upon this Foot it was that Issue was joined, and I *agreed* with him that Hereticks *could not be known* in these Times. But now he says that Certainty is *not at all necessary*, but *good probable* Evidence will suffice. The Reason of the Difference is visible: For when Discipline was to be *thrown out*, it was right to demand *certain* Evidence; which (in

* *Sermon, p.* 305.

Mr.

Mr. *F*'s Notion of Hereſy) every one knows is not to be had. When it was to be *taken in*, *ſome* Evidence muſt be admitted, and therefore *probable* Evidence, becauſe that is all that can be pretended to. No doubt many Caſes may happen, in which it may be preſumed, with *great Probability*, that Man act againſt their own Conviction. I never ſaid or thought the contrary. But cannot Mr. *F.* ſee, that in admitting *probable* Evidence as the Ground of Diſcipline in this Caſe, he runs counter to himſelf, and unhinges every Thing which he hath maintained againſt the common Scheme? The Scheme which I contend for, is, That the Church *muſt* judge for herſelf by the Rule of God's Word, what is *the Faith delivered to the Saints*, and reject all who openly depart from it. What Fault does Mr. *F.* find in this? Why, if you look back, you muſt obſerve that all his Objections centre at laſt in the *Uncertainty* of the Rule. But, I pray, if the *Uncertainty* of the *Rule* is an Objection in one Caſe, is not the *Uncertainty* of the *Evidence* as good an Objection in the other?

My Opinion, I confeſs, is, (as it is, I believe, the Opinion of all Mankind) that no Man ought to be rejected as a Heretick, unleſs upon *certain Evidence* he appears to be ſuch. And this Point is as much ſecured in the common Scheme of Diſcipline, as it is or can be in any Human Judgment in the World. All Judgment *ſuppoſes* a Rule of Judgment, which in Civil Courts is the Law of the Land, and in Eccleſiaſtical, the Scriptures, or Rules founded upon the Scriptures. A Judge in *Weſtminſter-Hall* may miſtake the Interpretation of a Statute, as well as a Biſhop may miſtake the Senſe of Scripture; yet Judgment muſt proceed; for otherwiſe there could be no Judgment. Mr. *F.* talks at every Turn of the Uncertainty of the Scriptures, exactly in the ſame Strain that Papiſts do, when they would ſet up Tradition, and the Authority of *their* Church. But be the Scriptures as uncertain as he has ſet them forth, they are the beſt Rule we have; and as in Civil Caſes the Laws of the Land, as interpreted by Civil Courts, are the Rule of Civil Judgment; ſo in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, the Scriptures, as interpreted by the Church, are the Rule of Judgment to the Church. The Uncertainty of the Scripture, therefore, as ariſing from *human Fallibility*, is a Thing quite out of the Queſtion. For if human Fallibility be no Objection againſt Civil Adminiſtrations, it can be none againſt Eccleſiaſtical: Or if it be an Objection againſt the common Scheme of Diſcipline, it muſt be an Objection againſt Mr. *F*'s too.

The Rule of Judgment being ſettled, the Caſe of Offenders comes next under Conſideration; and here it is that the Uſe of *Evidence* comes in. For the *Evidence* hath no Relation to the *Rule*, but to the *Behaviour* of *Men*, as *agreeing* with the Rule, or as *differing* from it. When a Man is indicted for Murder, the Witneſſes are not to prove that Murder is againſt Law, but that the Man is a Murderer. The Queſtion in all theſe Caſes is, *de Facto*, What hath the Man done? And if any Fact is proved which the Law *declares* to be Murder, the Man is condemned. So it is in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. The Witneſſes are not to ſhew *what* is Hereſy, (for that the Church hath declared) but that the Man hath publiſhed ſome Opinion which the Church adjudges to be Hereſy. Thus far then the Methods of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Judgment exactly agree, in my Way of ſtating the Caſe. But in Mr. *Foſter*'s Way of ſtating it, they will widely differ. He bids me *apply* my *Reaſoning to the Caſe of Malice prepenſe in Murder*, which

which he has produced as an Inſtance to prove that the Law takes Cognizance of Mens *Views* and *Principles*. But Mr. *F.* muſt be taught to diſtinguiſh between *Views* and *Principles*, if by *Views* he means *Intentions*. The *Intention* the Law *does* inquire into in all criminal Caſes, becauſe it is the *Intention* that *makes* the Action *criminal*. But with Mens *Principles*, *i. e.* the Judgment of *Conſcience*, whether the *Action* be *right* or *wrong*, the Law never concerns itſelf. If one Man kills another, the Queſtion *is*, whether it was done *maliciouſly*. The *Malice* proved, the Man is *condemned*; nor is it ever inquired whether he judged it *right* or *fit* to kill his Neighbour. A Papiſt may think it an Act of Conſcience to kill a Heretick: But if he does it, it is at his Peril: His Conſcience ſhall not ſave him from Puniſhment.

The Law is the Security of common Right, which is equally affected by unlawful Actions, whether thoſe who commit them have *Conſcience*, or whether they have *none*. Church Government is the Security of the *common Faith*; and bad Opinions will not be the leſs miſchievous in their Effects, becauſe they are *ſincerely* embraced. The principal End of ſeparating an unſound Member from the Church, is to preſerve the whole Body from Infection; Therefore the Rule is laid down *univerſally* —— *If there come* any *unto you, and bring not this Doctrine*, receive him not. This Obſervation (if I miſtake not) abſolutely deſtroys Mr. *F*'s Scheme, whether *new* or *old*. His firſt Scheme throws out Diſcipline, becauſe we cannot come at Conſcience. His ſecond takes it in, but limits the Exerciſe of it to *ſuch Subjects* only as act againſt Conſcience, of which he ſays the Church may judge by *probable* Evidence. *But neither* the one nor the other can *be right, if* the Reaſons of Diſcipline *have no Relation* to the *Conſcience* of the Offender, but to the *Offence only*.

The Gentleman obſerves, that in Civil Courts Judgment is given upon *ſtrong Probabilities*. I know it is in *ſome Caſes*: But this *probable Evidence* always relates to *Facts*, not to *Conſcience*; and when Mr. *F.* has proved, that it is as *neceſſary* for the Church to determine concerning Conſcience in Caſes of Hereſy, as it is for the State to determine concerning *Facts*, in thoſe Caſes where *probable Evidence* is admitted, I will allow of his *probable Evidence*.

If I had ever given out ſuch a Plan of Church Diſcipline as Mr. *F.* has now publiſhed in his ſecond Letter, I ſhould not have found it very eaſy to excuſe myſelf. I will not ſay that his Scheme is an *Inquiſition*, becauſe the *Word* is *odious*: But I will ſay, (and I may *truly* and *properly* ſay) that it is an *Inquiry* into *Conſcience*, and that Mens Rights to the Privileges of Chriſtian Communion, are to be determined by a Judgment *formed upon Conſcience*, by *probable Evidence*. That the Scheme is *wrong*, I have ſhewn: I will now add that it is *dangerous*, and may ſerve as a *Handle* to very bad Purpoſes. To make Mr. *F.* ſenſible of this, I will ask him one plain Queſtion, *Whom* would *he* think it ſafe to entruſt with a Power to *ſit in Judgment* upon *his* Conſcience, and to determine by *probable Evidence*, whether *he*, in the Opinions he profeſſeth, does or does not *act againſt Conviction*? Let him conſider of this, and anſwer it to himſelf at his Leiſure. Mean while, I will obſerve that he has given ſufficient Reaſon why no Man upon Earth ſhould truſt *him* in ſuch a Caſe. If a *violent Party-Spirit* be ſo *ſure* a Mark of *Self-Condemnation*, Mr. *F.* will never want Evidence of a Man's being a Heretick, whenever he has a Mind to have it; for *all*, no doubt, are *violent Party-Men*, with *him*, who *differ* from him in their Perſuaſions, and think their Religion

Religion worth contending for. God forbid that any one's Right to the Privileges of Chriſtian Fellowſhip ſhould depend upon the Meaſure of another's Charity. Yet this is the plain Conſequence of Mr. *F*'s Principles, for whom the moſt *favourable* Thing that one can hope, is, that he does not believe one Word of what he ſays himſelf. I pretend not (whatever he does) to determine any Thing about Mens *inward Convictions*; and therefore (as I have hitherto ſaid) I muſt reſt this Matter with his own Conſcience. Either he will ſtand by his new Scheme, or he will not; and let him take his Choice. If he ſtands by it, he will have a very hard Thing upon his Hands, which is, to *juſtify* it. If he quits it; he *muſt* come to *mine*. Or, if, to avoid this, he ſhall go back again to his firſt Principles, (which he may do with juſt as good a Grace as he has now left them) old Difficulties will again return, and remain unanſwered.

At the Cloſe of my firſt Letter I gave him a *Caution* not to charge me with being for *Perſecution* in Conſequence of my having aſſerted to the Church a Right to judge of Hereſy. It might have been for his *Credit* perhaps to have taken my Advice. But *Perſecution* is a favourite Topick with theſe Gentlemen, and it *was* to be thrown in my Teeth at *any* Rate: And to find a Handle for it (ſince *none* was to be found in my Letter) he goes back to a Treatiſe of mine, written ſeveral Years ago, upon the Subject of the *Rights of the Civil Magiſtrate in Matters of Religion*. In this Book I was led to conſider not only what *Allowances* were proper to be made to *Conſcience* (whoſe *Rights* I had aſſerted in the *ſtrongeſt* Manner) but alſo what *Reſtraints* might be laid upon thoſe who might ſeparate themſelves from the eſtabliſhed Religion upon mere worldly Views; *pretending* Conſcience, but having *none*. And to this Purpoſe, I thought, that ſuch *pecuniary Mulcts* as no *conſcientious* Man would be *unwilling* to pay, and every *prudent* Man, having *no real* Scruples, would chuſe *not* to pay, might have their Uſe.

This Part Mr. *F.* lays hold of; and if hard Words and opprobrious Language are to paſs for Arguments, he has confuted it. He calls it a *Mahometan* Maxim; and is ſo fond of making me a mere *Turk*, that he never knows when to have done. For he mentions it in his firſt Letter, and no leſs than 3 Times in his ſecond, where he ſays, that 'if 'this Controverſy continues, *&c.*' (as in Vol. V. p. 613.) How long this Controverſy is to continue, or what Occaſions I may hereafter adminiſter to Mr. *F.* for the Exerciſe of his *great Benevolence* towards me, I cannot tell. But this I aſſure him, that *one* good Reaſon to convince me of my Miſtake, will weigh more than a *hundred* ſuch *unchriſtian* Admonitions. His *Reaſon* I would attend to; his *Abuſes* be to himſelf.

A View of the Weekly Essays *and* Disputes *in this Month.*

Fog's *Journal*, Jan. 1. N° 425

Miſery inſeparable from Vice.

EVERY Man, ſaid *Philo*, quoted by St. *Ambroſe*, has two Women dwelling together in his Mind; the one virtuous, but harſh and diſagreeable; the other unchaſt, but ſweet and lovely. That Virtue, this worldly Pleaſure.

The wiſe *Jew* painted Virtue and Vice according to their firſt Appearance, or rather according to the Opinion

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pinion of the World, but not according to Truth. For Virtue is commonly look'd upon as wholly made up of Sowrs, Vice of Sweets; Virtue as plac'd among Thorns, Vice on a Bed of Flowers. But this is a moſt pernicious Error, which I will endeavour to refute, by ſhewing that even in this Life, ſetting aſide the Rewards and Puniſhments of another, an abandon'd Courſe of Pleaſure is accompany'd with more Fatigue and Pain than the Practice of *Moral* and Chriſtian Virtues.

Obſerve theſe Wretches well, and you ſhall perceive the Perturbation of their *Looks*, the Diſquiet of their *Actions*, and the Incoherence of their *Words*. Many are the Tormentors which diſturb them in their darling Pleaſures. Their own Conſcience, an unwelcome, but at the ſame Time, an unavoidable Gueſt is continually mixing the Nectar they drink with the bitter Aloes they abhor.

Cicero ſaid, that the Crimes of bad Men, preſented to their Imagination, are their continual and Domeſtick Furies. Theſe are the Serpents or Vultures which tear in Pieces the Bowels of the wicked *Titius*; theſe the Eagles which rend the Heart of the bold *Prometheus*. Let us conſider the Torments of a *Cain*, a Fugitive from all, and even from himſelf, if it had been poſſible, a Vagabond in the Woods and Mountains, without having been ever able to pluck out the Arrow which was fix'd in his Breaſt, that is, the Remembrance of his Crime; like the wounded Hind by which *Virgil* figur'd the mortal Uneaſineſs of the enamoured *Dido*.

Let us contemplate the Pangs of *Lamech*, ſo violently ſtung with the Repreſentation of the Murther, or *Murthers*, he had committed; that not enduring to be the ſole Depoſitary of the Secret, he caſts it out of his Mouth, like one that vomits up the Poiſon which devours him, expoſing himſelf to Infamy and Puniſhment, barely to obtain a ſlight Interval of Eaſe. *Plutarch* relates of one *Apollodorus*, that, the Memory of his Crimes not leaving him even in his Sleep, he dreamt every Night that, after having cut him into Quarters, they boil'd his Fleſh in Water, and that during this Martyrdom his own Heart cry'd out to him, *I am the Occaſion of all theſe Torments which you ſuffer.*

'Tis true, I confeſs, that all are not ſenſible of theſe Remorſes; and there are even Conſciences which being ſear'd with a hot Iron (to uſe St. *Paul*'s Phraſe) have loſt all Senſe of Feeling; becauſe the long Cuſtom of Sinning changes a Heart into Flint.

O moſt unhappy of all Men! This Hardneſs of Heart is the Calloſity of the Soul, for the Cure of which one can only have Recourſe to Miracles. At leaſt however, during this mortal Life, they will paſs their Days in Mirth and Joy. Alas! How far is he miſtaken who thinks ſo! We ſhall ſee this, by taking a View of the 3 Vices, whoſe different Quarters almoſt take in the whole Number of the Wicked, or Unfortunate, *Ambition*, *Avarice*, and *Luxury*.

The *ambitious Man* is a Slave to all the World: To the *Prince*, that he may give him an Employment; to the *Favourite*, that he may uſe his Intereſt for him; to the reſt, that they may put no Obſtacle in his Way. Both his Soul and Body are in continual Motion, becauſe he muſt not loſe an Inſtant of Time. What a Conſtraint does he put upon his Looks, that he may appear complaiſant to thoſe very Perſons, to whom he bears a mortal Hatred! How much Pains does it coſt him to curb all thoſe vicious Inclinations which may obſtruct his Views! All his other Paſſions are made the Victims of that which is predominant; and the Vice of Ambition, like a tyrannical Maſter, not only torments him by it-

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ſelf, but likewiſe debars him from all thoſe Pleaſures to which he is prompted by his Deſire.

His obtaining the Promotion he deſir'd does not leſſen his Anxiety; the Object is only chang'd and his View rais'd one Step higher, beſides the Care of not loſing what he has already climb'd to. He is now got upon a Ladder, where he can neither aſcend without Fatigue, nor ſtop without Trouble, nor retire without tumbling headlong. Now are his vicious Inclinations bound in ſtronger Chains. Gluttony incites, Avarice tempts, Luſt inflames him; but, however, much againſt his Will, he obeys the Maſter Paſſion of his Soul. He longs eagerly to diſtreſs the Man he hates, by an unjuſt Sentence: But woe to him if that comes to a higher Tribunal! He conſtantly dreads a Change of Government which may turn him out of all; and he never reads the *Gazette* without being terrify'd leſt he ſhould find ſome Account of the Patron's Death who ſupports him. Can there be a more miſerable Life?

As for the *covetous Man*, he is the Devil's Martyr, a Hermit who by his Abſtinence and Retirement performs meritorious Actions in his Way to Hell. The Heart, divided betwixt the Deſire of Getting and Fear of Loſing, ſuffers a continu'd Fever, mix'd with a mortal Ague. He is hungry, and eats not, thirſty, and drinks not, wants reſt, but ſleeps not. A Mouſe cannot ſtir in the Dead of the Night, but he apprehends from the Noiſe that it muſt be a Thief with a Ladder at his Window. Oppreſs'd with continual Fears, he is ever contriving new hiding Places, where with greater Security he may lodge his ill got Wealth, ſo as neither Angels nor, if it were poſſible, God himſelf ſhould know of it. He goes to ſee it often, in a Fright, and doubtful whether he ſhall find the Money in the Hole, but always ſure of finding his Heart in the Money. With reſtleſs Anxiety he views it, and dares not touch it ſometimes, for Fear it ſhould turn to Aſhes in his Hands, or Water in the *South-Sea*. Thus doth he ſpend his Days, fat with Riches, and tormented with Suſpicions, that he may come to his laſt Hour, as King *Agag* to Puniſhment, *pinguiſſimus & tremens*, i. e. very ſleek and trembling. Is there a Life more exceedingly wretched!

Shall we find perchance in the *laſcivious Man* more Tranquillity and Joy? Far from it; If his vulgar Inclination fixes him in the Purſuit of mercenary Pleaſures, we preſently ſee the Damage he ſuſtains in the 3 moſt valuable Poſſeſſions of Life, Honour, Health, and Eſtate. He goes quenching his Thirſt from Puddle to Puddle, till at laſt ſome contagious Water infects his whole Maſs of Blood, endangering his Life, or making the Preſervation of it coſt him extremely dear. Altho' he ſhould grow better in his Health, his Reputation is irrecoverably wounded. And if it be true that the Medicine to which he ow'd his Recovery, is a great Provocative, to make him fall by a ſecond Courſe of Extravagances, into a freſh Diſtemper, and conſequently a freſh Cure, how miſerable is it that the Fire of Luſt, inſtead of being extinguiſh'd, ſhould gather more Life from the Decay of Years, to burn violently even in the Aſhes of old Age!

But if the Splendor of his Circumſtances, or the Merit of the Perſon ſhould raiſe his Deſires to Objects of a higher Sphere, he will ſhun Part of the Inconveniencies above-mention'd, and fall into others that are greater; which is the ſame Thing as to ſtumble upon *Scylla*, in flying from *Charybdis*. Undertakings of this Kind are full of Fears, Diſquiets, and Dangers. What Uneaſineſs, during his Pretenſions! His Eyes

Eyes hunt after Sleep but cannot overtake it. His Heart seeks Rest but finds it not. In this Manner Pain conceives first to bring forth Iniquity afterwards. While he wavers in his Choice of the Means to compass his Design, all is approv'd and all rejected; *Incertæ tanta est discordia mentis*. He trembles when he thinks on the Possibility of a Repulse. Love drags him on; Fear stops him: He sees the whole Tract of his Pretensions cover'd with Dangers, which are still multiply'd on his Arrival at Enjoyment. The Offended are generally more than one, the Risks of a Discovery many, what true Pleasure can such a Man relish who is unsafe in all his Enjoyments? He does not move a Step towards the Commission of his Crime, but he fancies that he sees the injur'd Party with a Pistol or Dagger in his Hand. This Danger follows close at the Heels of his Imagination, wherever he goes.

I agree however that there are Circumstances where he may possibly want these Fears: But he will not for that Reason escape the most disagreeable Vexations. Should Loathing succeed to the Gratification of his Passion, as it happen'd to *Amnon* with *Tamar*, and as it very commonly happens, he sees here an Obligation contracted for Life, and that for the Sake of a Moment's Pleasure. If he resolves to break off the Intrigue, he exposes himself to the Anger of a forsaken Woman, whose being slighted makes her furious either in her Love or Hatred; both which are equally dangerous. But what if Jealousy should be the Case? Those who have felt the Rigour of such furious Emotions, know well what a small Space there is between that and the most intimate Pleasures of Love, and that one Day of this *Hell* will counterbalance whole Years of that other false Heaven.

Nor are we to think that even those few Men in whom, with respect to others, their Will is their Law, I mean sovereign Princes, plough the Sea of Vice without any Storm. To them also the Waters of this Deep are most extremely bitter. *Nero* was in some Sense God of the Earth, as being Master of the whole *Roman* Empire. He gave the most unbounded Loose to all his perverse Inclinations. The whole World obey'd the Sceptre, and the Sceptre was a Slave to Appetite. All that he lov'd he enjoy'd, and kill'd whom he abhorr'd. Every Purpose of his Heart did this Monster of Iniquity, to the Disgrace of Mankind, accomplish. Who can believe that a Prince, to whose arbitrary Pleasure the World was subjected, did not pass an agreeable Life? Yet so far was he from being thus happy, that, according to *Tacitus*, he was constantly possess'd with Fears. *Facinorum recordatione nunquam timore vacuus. Suetonius* adds, that, not being able to sleep a-Nights, he us'd to walk about in the great Hall of his Palace, like a Person out of his Senses.

Craftsman, Jan. 1. N° 548.

The Dispute about the old and new Whigs *rightly stated. (See Vol. V. p. 619.)*

OUR modern Mr. *Osborne* puts me in Mind of the People in *Nova Zembla*, whose Words freeze in the Air, and cannot be heard till the Frost breaks. Just so, when an Argument is brought to a *Crisis*, and Mr. *O.* is call'd upon to answer directly to the *Point*, without any farther Evasion; he commonly gives us an *introductory Paper or two*, fill'd with *general Assertions*, and promises to come to *Particulars* in his next; but, instead of doing this, he is absolutely silent for several Weeks, till he thinks the *chief Point in Debate* is forgot, and then recurs to the *same general, idle Stuff*, which he hath endeavour'd to palm upon the

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World above an hundred Times over.

It is evident, that when I ſpoke of the *Principles of the old Whigs*, (in the *Craftſman* of *Nov.* 6.) I meant *their Principles in general*, and particularly with Relation to the *Points* there mention'd. Mr. *Osborne* having put off any direct Anſwer, for above a Month, he begins his Paper of *Dec.* 18. with lamenting *the licentious Principles of the Age, naturally tending to the Deſtruction of all* moral Virtue, *and the Happineſs of human Society*; which ſounds admirably well in his Mouth, whoſe *moral Principles*, both in *Church* and *State*, are ſo conſpicuous in all his Writings. After ſome farther Preface, concerning the *late Outrage* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the *Mob-Execution of Captain Porteous*, which he candidly imputes to the Doctrines of the *Craftſman*, he tells us, *that he will ſeriouſly debate the Caſe, and enter cloſely into the Argument*; but inſtead of anſwering any one Queſtion, which I propoſed to him, he explains my Words into the *ſingle Principle of Reſiſtance*; as if the *old Whigs* held no *other Principles*, and had no other Way of oppoſing the Meaſures of a Court, but by *Force of Arms*. Having explain'd my Words, in this Manner, he repreſents me as ſaying, that a *legal Government*, even a *good legal Government* (for Mr. *O.* allows that there may be ſuch a Thing as *legal Tyranny*) ought to be *reſiſted*, as well as an *arbitrary one*; tho' the Word *Reſiſtance* is not ſo much as mention'd in the whole Paper, which he pretends to anſwer; and it is plain that I meant only *ſuch an Oppoſition*, in the ordinary Way of *Parliament*, as may be, and ought to be made to *ſome Meaſures*, even under a *legal* and *juſt Government*.

He acknowledges it to be 'poſſible that a *Parliament*, choſen by 'the *People*, may ſo far degenerate 'from all Senſe of *publick Virtue*, as 'to yield to *iniquitous Meaſures*, enact Laws directly contrary to the 'real End of the *Conſtitution*, and ſo 'eſtabliſh *Slavery by Law*. But it is 'only *poſſible*, ſays he; and againſt '*Poſſibilities* no Man, in his Senſes, 'ever thought of defending himſelf.' I cannot agree with him even thus far; for I think it the Duty of *Men in their Senſes* to guard themſelves and their Poſterity, as well as they can, againſt even the *Poſſibility* of ſuch a terrible Evil as the Deſtruction of a *free Conſtitution*, or the Eſtabliſhment of *Slavery by Law*; which is certainly the *worſt Kind of Slavery* in the World; and ſince Mr. *O.* hath put the Caſe, *that it is* poſſible *for* me *to be hang'd for Treaſon*, I do aſſure him, that I will take all the Precautions I am able againſt the *Poſſibility of ſuch a fortuitous Event*; and am in no Fear of being look'd upon as a *Madman* for my Pains. I muſt likewiſe acquaint him, that I cannot think of a better Way to avoid *ſuch a fortuitous Event*, as he calls it, than by exerting my utmoſt Endeavours to keep up the *Spirit of Liberty* amongſt my Countrymen, and preſerve our *Conſtitution* in its full Vigour.

But Mr. *O.* adds; 'It is *highly improbable* that the *Parliament* ſhould 'ſubvert the *Conſtitution*. There is 'ten Thouſand to one againſt it; 'becauſe they cannot do one Act to 'the Prejudice of the *Nation*, that 'will not be equally prejudicial to '*themſelves* and their *Poſterity*.' —— If he means the *preſent Parliament*, I am ready to agree with him; for I make no Doubt that we ſhall ſoon ſee them exerting themſelves, with a laudable Zeal, in the Defence of our *Conſtitution*, and for the *true Intereſt of the Nation*. But if he ſpeaks of *Parliaments*, in general, it is ſo far from being *highly improbable that they ſhould ſubvert the* Conſtitution, that *there is ten Thouſand to One againſt it*, eſpecially in this *corrupt Age*,

Age, that the Odds are rather on the *other Side*, unleſs the *Members* are properly reſtrain'd; for there is hardly a *free Government* to be met with in Hiſtory, whoſe Liberties were not deſtroy'd by the Corruption of their *Repreſentatives*, or thoſe intruſted with them. This was the Caſe of the antient Commonwealths of *Greece* and *Rome*, as well as of *Spain*, *France*, and moſt of the *Gothick Governments*. Nay, even *our own Country* hath often been in imminent Danger from it; for I ſuppoſe Mr. *O.* will not deny that this was our Caſe, or very near our Caſe, in the Reign of *Charles* II. when the Practice of *Corruption* firſt began, and I ſhall be obliged to him, if he would point out the Period when it intirely ceaſed. I ſuppoſe he will ſay, at the *Revolution*; excepting *only the four laſt Years of Queen* Anne.

His Reaſon for this *Incorruptibility of Parliaments* diſcovers a vaſt Penetration into human Nature; for tho' the *true Intereſt of every Individual* is certainly bound up in the *publick Good*; it hath been the general Opinion of *moſt other Philoſophers*, that *private*, *Self-Intereſt*, being more immediately felt, hath too often the Aſcendency over our Actions; and if it were not for this *falſe Bias*; if every Man would purſue *his own Intereſt* in the *Intereſt of the Publick*; there would be no Occaſion for *Laws*, or even *Government* itſelf. I wiſh Mr. *Osborne* would be pleaſed to conſult *his own Conſcience* and *Conduct* a little, upon this Head.

Having aſſerted, about twenty Times, in the very ſame Words, that *arbitrary Governments*, tho' *exerciſed well*, may be *juſtly reſiſted*, (which I ſhall not diſpute with him) he tells us, *that* legal Power, *tho' in ſome Inſtances* exerciſed ill, *ought not to be* reſiſted; *becauſe it is* rightful Power *derived from the* People; *tho' in thoſe Inſtances*, *made a wrong Uſe of* Laws *made by an* Aſſembly of Men, *choſen by the* People, *are the* People's Laws; *and the* Power, *conſequent thereupon*, *is the* People's Power; *which*, *tho' ſometimes not directed according to the* exact Rules of Equity, *ſhould not be* reſiſted.—You ſee, gentle Reader, *that nothing* but *Reſiſtance* runs in the Man's Head. I grant him that *Laws* made by the *People's Repreſentatives*, duly choſen, and un-influenced after they are choſen, may be juſtly call'd the *People's Laws*; and the *Power*, ariſing from thence, is the *People's Power*. But will this *Humdrum in Politicks* pretend to aſſert, that *Laws* made by a *mercenary Parliament*, againſt the *general Voice* and *Intereſt of the People*, are properly ſpeaking the *People's Laws*; or that we never had any *ſuch Parliaments*, or *ſuch Laws?* I am ſure Mr. *Locke* was of another Opinion; and aſſerted our Right of *appealing to Heaven*, even againſt *Parliaments* themſelves, when they diſcover a manifeſt Intention to ſubvert the *Conſtitution*. (Vol. V. p. 254.) And ſo, in Effect, does the *immortal Algernon Sydney*, notwithſtanding Mr. *Osborne*'s awkard Endeavours to make him a *compleat*, *modern Courtier*; for, in one of the Paſſages quoted from that *great Writer*, (Vol. V. p. 685) he inſinuates at leaſt, 'that *Members of Parliament* 'would be ſtrictly and properly o-'bliged to give an Account of their 'Actions to the *whole Body of the* '*Nation*, could they be aſſembled.' But That being impracticable, he declares in plain Terms, 'That *Mem*-'*bers*, who *betray their Truſts*, ought 'to be puniſh'd with *Scorn*, *Infamy*, '*Hatred*, and an *Aſſurance of being* 'rejected, when they ſhall again ſeek 'the ſame Honour.'—If this were always the Caſe, we might depend pretty ſecurely on the Integrity of *Parliaments*; but modern Times have found out *Devices* and *Expedients*, which too often render even *theſe antient Checks* of little or no Uſe.

Mr. *Osborne* concludes with lamenting the *melancholy Aſpect* of Things,

Things, and particularly, 'that the 'Doctrine of *Reſiſtance* ſhould be inculcated at a Time, when 'tis impoſſible to produce *one Law* made ſince the *preſent Royal Family* came to the Crown, which hath the *leaſt Tendency to weaken the Security of Perſon and Property*, or to *ſubvert the End and Deſign of the Conſtitution*.' — This is a Clincher, i-faith; for if *Twenty ſuch Laws* could be actually produced, *no Man in his Senſes* would do it, without *ſuch an Indemnification* as Mr. *Osborne* was once pleaſed to promiſe me; but ſince he hath not yet been as good as his Word, it is the meaneſt Prevarication to put our Diſpute upon *ſuch an Iſſue*. Let him come directly to the *Points*, I have often propoſed to him, and I promiſe to give him a particular Anſwer; but if he continues to plod on, like a Pack-Horſe, in the ſame beaten Track, I ſhall be obliged to metamorphoſe him into an *old Woman* again, (ſee Vol. V. p. 208.) or deliver him up to the Correction of my Siſter *Dorothy*; for it is ridiculous to argue any longer with a *Wretch*, who pretends to *Reaſon*, and yet is eternally ſhuffling in ſo egregious a Manner.

Daily Gazetteer, Jan. 1, N° 476.

ON *the ſame Day with the above* Craftſman, *Mr.* Osborne *finiſh'd what he deſign'd to ſay concerning the* Old Whigs. When Mr. *D'Anvers* asks me (ſays he) whether theſe *Old Whigs* would have made any *ridiculous Diſtinction* between *forcing Parliaments by Prerogative*, and *influencing* them by *Corruption*? He ſhews, that he does not underſtand what he writes about: The Diſtinction is ſo far from being *ridiculous*, that 'tis the moſt *juſt Diſtinction* in the World; for, a Parliament *forced by Prerogative*, can't act at all; *ſuperior Force* can't be reſiſted; but Influence, the *ſtrongeſt Influence* may be reſiſted: *Influence* can reach only *bad Men*; but *Force* reaches *Good* and *Bad* alike: Perſons can't be *influenc'd* without their *own Conſent*; but, they are always *driven* or *forced* without their own Conſent; and, 'twas *the Force* or *Power of Prerogative* againſt *Law* and *Equity*, which theſe *Old Whigs* laboured to deſtroy.

Hampden the *Great*, who ſo glorioufly began the Oppoſition to the *Tyranny* of K. *Charles* I. *oppoſed* the raiſing of *Ship-Money*, only becauſe 'twas *illegal*. Does Mr. *D'Anvers*, who is ſo full of his Queſtions, imagine, that if *Ship-Money* had been *eſtabliſhed by Law*, Mr. *Hampden* would have *oppoſed* it? Or call'd it, in the Language of our Times, *legal Slavery*? No, it was oppoſed, becauſe raiſed by a *Power* which had *no Right* to raiſe it; and that might, under the ſame Pretence, have taken *all their Eſtates*, as well as *the leaſt* Part of them.

Mr. *D'Anvers* asks, whether I imagine, that Mr. *Hampden*, who thought the Command of the *Militia* too great a *Power* in the Crown, would have ever given his Conſent to a *Standing Army*? Yes; for he would have conſidered *the Difference* of Times and Circumſtances: In the Times wherein he lived, there were no *Standing Armies*, or regular Troops kept up in *Europe*; *Lewis* XIV. to carry on his Project of Univerſal Monarchy, armed the World: Our *Militia* was, before his Reign, upon a *Par* with the Forces of other Countries; they were *all Militias*; beſides, there is another Conſideration, which I am *Enthuſiaſt* enough to think a weighty one; and that is, there were, in Mr. *Hampden*'s Days, no *Pretenders*: There is *one* at this Time; one, for whoſe Sake a *Rebellion* has been actually raiſed ſince the preſent Royal Family came to the Crown; ſo that I am of Opinion, if Mr. *Hampden*

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Hampden had been now alive, he would have given his Vote for *such an Army* as the preſent, under the *Limitations* and *Reſtrictions* of Law; an Army, not raiſed by *the King* to awe and enſlave the People (for that's the Meaning of a *Standing Army*) but, an Army raiſed by the *People*, and kept up from Year to Year, only to be ready at Hand to defend their *Liberties* againſt *Inſurrections* at home, or *Invaſions* from abroad.

Concerning different Laws according to *different Circumſtances*, *Algernon Sidney*, whoſe old Whiggiſm no Man doubts, has theſe Words: 'It ought to be conſidered, that the 'Wiſdom of Man is imperfect, and 'unable to foreſee the *Effects* that 'may proceed from an infinite Va'riety of Accidents, which, ac'cording to *certain Emergencies*, ne'ceſſarily require *New Conſtitutions*, 'to prevent or cure the Miſchief 'ariſing from them, or to advance 'a Good that at firſt was not thought 'on. As the nobleſt Work in which 'the Wit of Man can be exerciſed, 'were (if it could be done) to con'ſtitute a Government that ſhould 'laſt for *ever*; the next to that is, '*to ſuit Laws to preſent Exigencies*; 'and he that ſhould reſolve to per'ſiſt obſtinately in the Way he firſt 'enter'd upon, or to blame thoſe 'who go out of that in which their 'Fathers had walked, when they 'find it neceſſary, does, as far as 'in him lies, render the worſt of '*Errors perpetual*.'

Old Whig, Jan. 6. N° 96.

Of the Amendment of the Law.

THIS Work has been always thought proper for pacifick Times, and oft been in vain attempted. In the Reign of King *James* I. my Lord *Bacon* recommended this *Matter* ſtrongly to the King, and drew up a noble Plan for that Purpoſe: But the common Misfortune which attends Projects defeated this: The Scheme was too large to be ſoon executed, and conſequently came to nothing.

In order therefore to effect any valuable Alteration in our Law, I take it to be abſolutely neceſſary, to lay no more of ſuch a Scheme before the Publick, than what may eaſily and ſpeedily be executed.

The firſt Thing to be attempted, as the eaſieſt and moſt likely to meet with Succeſs, is, the Alteration of the Statute Law; by repealing all ſuch Laws as, by Length of Time and the Alteration of our Conſtitution, are become wholly uſeleſs.

Theſe Kind of Laws ſeem to a careleſs View of ſmall Conſequence, as they only ſomewhat ſwell the Statute-Book, and bring a little Money to the Printer, but can be of no farther ill Conſequence to the Subject.

Tho' I can by no Means think even that Circumſtance a Trifle, ſince the Number of our Statutes, and the Monopoly claimed for printing them, has raiſed them to ſo great a Price, that not one Perſon in a Thouſand is able to pay for the Purchaſe of them, tho' their Liberty and Property depend ſo greatly on their Knowledge of them and Obedience to them; and has ſwelled them to a Bulk too large to be read, or even printed correctly: Yet we may admit this Conſideration to be indeed minute, when compared with thoſe which a ſtricter Examination of this Matter will afford us.

For, as the Lord *Bacon* obſerves, there are a Multitude of enſnaring penal Laws which lie upon the Subject; and if in bad Times they ſhould be awaked and put in Execution, would grind them to Powder.

There is alſo, ſays that Author, a farther Inconvenience of continuing penal Laws obſolete and which for ſome Time have been out of Uſe; for that it brings a Gangrene, Neglect,

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lect, and Habit of Diſobedience upon other wholeſome ones, that are fit to be continued in Practice and Execution; ſo that our Laws endure the Torment of *Mezentius*, the Living die in the Arms of the Dead.

The next, and yet more uſeful Alteration to be hoped for, is the Reduction of the ſeveral Laws, which relate to one Subject, into one Act.

As the Perplexity which ariſes from the Number of Laws, not only makes the Execution of them difficult, but even dangerous to Perſons who have not made the Law their particular Study; and eſpecially to the Gentlemen who are ſo good as to ſerve their Country in the Capacity of Juſtices of the Peace; who having no Salary for their Trouble, are nevertheleſs expoſed to troubleſome Proſecutions for their Miſtakes; for their Sakes in particular this Alteration is highly reaſonable; not to mention the Repugnancy of many of theſe Laws to each other, the different Penalties for the ſame Offence, *&c.*

On this Head I can't paſs over in Silence the noble Attempt of this Nature in regard to the Laws for the Government and Maintenance of the Poor: The Conduct of which being in the Hands of the moſt able and diſintereſted Perſons, its Succeſs is not to be doubted. (See Vol. V. p. 671)

Fog's *Journal*, Jan. 8. No 436.

Obſervations on Friendſhip.

HUMOUR goes much farther than Reaſon in the making and breaking of Friendſhips. It is in Friendſhip as in Love; it is often begun on very odd Motives; a Word accidentally drop'd, an officious Whiſper, the Offer of a Pinch of Snuff or Piece of an Orange at a Play, a caſual Rencounter in a Foreſt, or at an Inn, the Sameneſs of Taſte and Fancy in eating, and in Clothes, a Fit of Complaiſance, a Start of Gaiety, a pleaſant Tale, or a Song; have all in their Turns been the momentous Sources of ſudden, and ſometimes of laſting Friendſhips.

Two Men ſhall be Neighbours for half their Lives, know one another well, and exchange frequent Viſits and Civilities, and not proceed in all that Time to any Degree of Friendſhip or Familiarity; but meeting by chance at a Place of Pleaſure, or going by Conſent thither, contract a cloſe, and unreſerved Intimacy, which perhaps holds for ever, perhaps is broken next Day, or before they part; and as wild Chance was the Beginning of their warm Friendſhip, their wild Friendſhip may prove the Beginning of a warm Battle; it is all Whim, and may end in Blood as well as in Embraces; and it is ſcarce the Caſt of a Dye, whether they fight, and are killed by one another, or in Defence of one another.

Two other Men ſhall live in perfect Amity and Confidence, founded upon Reaſon and good Offices, for half a Century, and at the End of it, differ about a Woman, or a Snuff Box, or a Piece of Mutton, and grow into eternal Coldneſs, or more probably Hatred, and 'tis well if it ſtops there. Many a Man who has killed his Friend, would the Moment before, and the Moment after, have dy'd for him.

Friendſhip is a Thing of great Delicacy: An unwary Breath may blaſt it, a heedleſs Jeſt diſſolve it; ſo that it ought not to be made, and in Effect is not made, but upon the Foundation of good Tempers, and good Senſe.

Thoſe who are really Friends muſt be ſo in Inſtances, where they can entertain no Emulation, which implies Contention, and deſtroys Friendſhip. Men who pretend equally and openly to the ſame Object, whether it be a Miſtreſs, or Grandeur, or Fame, cannot be Friends, who are not made ſo by Competition, but by

by obliging and by being oblig'd. This is the Eſſence of Friendſhip, which is therefore founded in Intereſt, the Intereſt of Profit, Reputation or Pleaſure. A Lawyer and a Phyſician, the moſt ambitious in their Profeſſion, may be good Friends, becauſe their Ambition and Views do not interfere; but neither two Phyſicians nor two Lawyers who claim each the higheſt Name, can have any ſincere Friendſhip.

Men of dark and diſtruſtful Tempers are not fit for Friendſhip, and incapable of its chief Pleaſure, which conſiſts in uncovering ones Heart, and diſcharging its Sentiments and Cares into the Boſom of another, without Difficulty or Fear. A diſtruſtful Man fears and ſuſpects all Men, he dares not encourage nor venture mutual Frankneſs; and if you make the firſt Advances, he imagines them ſo many Snares, and conſiders you as his Enemy for attempting to be his Friend. A thorough Friendſhip can never be eſtabliſhed, without a thorough Confidence, and we can no more make a Friendſhip with a Man we ſuſpect, than with a Man we deſpiſe.

Neither is it poſſible to preſerve Friendſhip with Men of rigid Spirits, who make no Allowances for the Weakneſſes, and Follies of human Nature, which, when it is brighteſt, is never without ſome Droſs. The ſoundeſt Minds have many Flaws, and want Indulgence as well as deſerve it. We muſt take Men upon the Terms, and with the Frailties of weak Humanity about them, or quit the World. Mutual Friendſhip cannot ſubſiſt without mutual Indulgencies: One asked *Simonides*, by what Rule two Friends might perſevere in their Friendſhip: Says he, they muſt never be both angry at the ſame Time. We can no more expect from Men a perfect Equality of good Humour than a perfect Equality of Pulſe; both depend upon Cauſes out of their own Power.

Theſe Frailties and Paſſions ſo natural to Men, make what we call good Breeding ſo requiſite amongſt them. It is a Court, and Addreſs made to their Pride and Weakneſſes, and would be perfectly uſeleſs if they had none; it is uſing them like Children with their own Conſent, and they take pet, and grow perverſe if they are not thus us'd: Nor are the wiſeſt of them too wiſe to be ſo treated.

Craftſman, Jan. 8. N° 549.

An Epiſtle to Mrs. BULL *from one of her* DAUGHTERS.

Honour'd Madam,

A Little before the Receipt of your *laſt Letter*, I was juſt upon the Recovery of a violent Fit of Sickneſs, that had continued on me for ſeveral Years, with all the Symptoms uſually attending the *Belly-Ach*; a Diſtemper, which is very frequent in theſe Parts. I was in this Condition, when I read that Part of *your Letter*, which inform'd me of your Diſpleaſure, and full Determination to take from me the little Eſtate of *Stingo*, upon which I have chiefly ſupported my ſelf of late. It is impoſſible to expreſs the Agonies I underwent upon this Occaſion. In ſhort, it threw me into ſuch a Fit, that my *Phyſicians* and *Friends* gave me over for dead; and, by a Miſtake committed by my *Apothecaries*, (who, through Miſtake, gave me one Medicine for another) are ſtill of Opinion I ſhall never recover it.

You know, *Madam*, very well, that I am not your *own Child*, but was adopted by *one of your former Huſbands*; who, tho' a very ill Man in ſeveral other Reſpects, proved an excellent *Step-Father* to me. As I grew up, I became his Darling every Day, and diſcover'd in ſome Turn or Feature the Reſemblance

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of my *Sire*; when, alas! poor Gentleman, he dy'd.

We muſt reſign. Heaven his great ſoul does claim,
In ſtorms as loud as his immortal fame.
Ungrateful then, if we no tears allow
To him, that gave us peace and empire too.

Before he made his Exit, he left me by Will the little Farm of *Stingo*, incumber'd with *your Dower*, which you are ſenſible hath been punctually paid every Year. Neither can you be ignorant that the Remainder, which I have enjoy'd ever ſince, is far from being ſufficient for me to make ſuch an Appearance in the World, or command that Reſpect, which is due to all your Family. It is freſh in every Body's Memory that our *domeſtick Affairs*, at the Time of his Death, were in great Diſorder; by which it became abſolutely neceſſary for you to marry again, in order to extricate yourſelf and your Family out of thoſe many Difficulties and Law-ſuits, in which, like moſt *Widows*, you were left involved. The *Perſon*, on whom you placed your Affections in this Emergency, and to whom you were ſoon after eſpouſed, gave ſignal Proof of your Wiſdom, and a great Diſappointment to thoſe *giddy, formal Blockheads*, who, by judging of you by the reſt of your Sex, laid Claim to your Perſon, in Expectation that *new Equipage* and *Faſhions*, however ridiculous and fooliſh, would gain your Heart, without any intrinſick Worth, or Merit. You know your *Friends* and *Relations* were all pleaſed, and commended your Choice; and your *Enemies* whom you neither fear'd nor reſpected, envy'd your Happineſs.

Thus far have I brought your Hiſtory down, including my own; where you are placed amidſt the Pride and Glory of all your Friends, and fear'd or envy'd by the reſt of the World. But how long this will continue, God only knows; tho' it will ever be my Opinion, that unleſs you relieve and protect *your Children*, your Family will naturally fall to Decay; which Heaven avert!

I will conclude with aſſuring you, that none of your *Children*, however ſuperior in Favour, ſhall exceed me in Zeal for your Welfare, or Affection for your Perſon.

I am, Madam,
Your moſt obedient,
And dutiful Daughter,
CREOLIA.

P. S. The laſt Time I heard from my Siſter *Bab*, and my Brother *Kit*, they were both ill of a Fever, occaſion'd by over-eating themſelves at a Feaſt on a Diſh of *Salt-Beef*, which is a great Rarity in thoſe Parts. Some late Accounts ſay they were dead; but this wants Confirmation. Pray my Love to Brother *Georgy*. I hear he grows a fine Boy.

Mrs. Bull's *Anſwer to her Daughter.*

Dear Child,

I AM very much concern'd to hear of the Diſtraction in our Family *abroad*, and can give you but little Conſolation from our Affairs *at home*. My *Husband* hath been in the Country for ſome Time, and I ſhall wait his Return with Impatience, to do you all the Service in my Power. *Dear Child*, don't be carry'd away from your Duty, by any ill Reports you hear. We ſhall ſpeedily ſend you over one of our *new Phyſicians*; and if your Diſtemper is not too far gone, I hope by his Skill, and the Medicines I ſhall endeavour to procure for you, to recover you to your former State of Health, which I heartily pray for; knowing very well that one of the greateſt Misfortunes, which could befal me in this Life, would be the Loſs of you. I have juſt received Letters, that confirm the Death of your poor Brother *Kit* and Siſter *Bab*, which gives me great Affliction. As ſome of their Fortunes devolves on you, I would have you put your-

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ſelf in Mourning, if not for Grief, at leaſt to mitigate your Joy, by reminding you of your own ill State of Health, and reflecting how ſoon it may be your own Caſe. Your Brother *George* is well; and, by the laſt Account I received of him, is a Lad of ſprightly Parts, and makes a great Progreſs in his Learning. Pray God he makes a good Man!

I am, dear Daughter,
Your affectionate,
And loving Mother,
MARY BULL.

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

Sed tanto magis hoc quicquid eſt temporis, futilis & caduci, ſi non datur factis, (nam horum materia in aliena manu) certe ſtudiis proferamus: & quatenus nobis denegatur diu vivere, relinquamus aliquid quo nos vixiſſe teſtemur.
Plin. Epiſt.

SIR,

BY the above Quotation you may judge I have an Inclination to leave behind me ſomething in Print, as a Memorial of my having once exiſted; and if you think proper to give this a Place in your next *Magazine*, I ſhall from Time to Time communicate to you my Remarks upon the Politicks and Manners of this Age, in ſuch a Way as may, I hope, be uſeful as well as agreeable to your Readers.

As I am now of an Age not apt to be miſled by Paſſion or Prejudice, having been born in the City of *London* the very Day on which the long Parliament in K. *Charles* the Iſt's Reign aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and tho' I look upon myſelf as a Native and Subject of *Great Britain*; yet being of a Nation not particularly intereſted in the Government or Cuſtoms of any Country, it may be preſumed that I am more impartial than any Man can well be, who is a Member of any of the contending Sects or Parties in this or any other Kingdom.

To theſe Advantages I have added that of having not only travelled through, but lived and converſed with the People of almoſt every Country in the known World; and having been born to an eaſy Fortune, altho' I have in every Country carried on ſome Sort of Trade or Commerce, yet I have always made it a Relief to Diverſion and Amuſement rather than a Fatigue, by which Means I have always gone through my Buſineſs with Pleaſure, and never was cloyed with Diverſion or Amuſement. This, I believe, has greatly contributed to the Number of my Days, and my Deſire of Gain was never ſo anxious as to prevent my Purſuit of what I thought uſeful Knowledge. My Buſineſs and Diverſion have naturally led me into the Knowledge of the Living, and my Amuſement has generally been to ſtudy Nature and the Dead.

Mankind have a Curioſity or Thirſt of Knowledge, which is either peculiar, or at leaſt greatly ſuperior to any other ſort of Creature: When this Curioſity is employ'd in Reſearches that may contribute to the Happineſs of the Species, either in publick or private Life, it is laudable and uſeful; when it is otherwiſe employed, it is either wicked, or it is trifling and ridiculous. With regard to publick Life, the Curioſity and Invention of Man have been in all Ages and Countries much employed, in Learning and contriving Expedients for rendering Society happy or miſerable: To eſtabliſh or preſerve ſocial Virtue and ſocial Liberty has always been the benevolent Study of ſome Men; to corrupt and enſlave has been the inhuman Occupation of others: But as Patriots and Philoſophers are the only Friends to ſocial Virtue, without which ſocial Liberty cannot ſubſiſt, and Kings and Rulers have generally been its ſecret, ſometimes its declared Enemies; from

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hence it is, that we now ſee ſocial Virtue deſtroyed by the Practice, and Slavery eſtabliſhed by the Laws of moſt Societies upon Earth.

As I am no Way concerned, nor can expect a Concern, in the Government of any Country, as I have ſeen Tyranny in all its moſt hideous and terrible Shapes, and as the unhappy diſperſed People to whom I belong can never be ſafe or eaſy where Superſtition reigns, or arbitrary Power prevails; therefore I can be liſted by no ſelfiſh View in the Cauſe of Slavery, which is always attended with Ignorance and Superſtition; but, on the contrary, both from Experience, and from that natural Attachment which every Man has to his own People, I muſt be an Enemy to arbitrary Power in every Shape, in every Diſguiſe under which I have ſeen it; in every Shape, in every Diſguiſe under which I have ever heard or read of its having been eſtabliſhed.

For this Reaſon you may expect, that every Thing you have from me will be in Favour of ſocial Virtue and ſocial Liberty; and as ſocial or publick Virtue cannot in any Country long ſubſiſt, after private Virtue or Morality is deſtroyed, I ſhall ſometimes point the Batteries of my Eſſays againſt the Vices of private Life, as well as againſt thoſe publick Meaſures, which, I think, may tend towards eſtabliſhing a diſpotick Government in this yet happy Kingdom.

In ſhort, Sir, if you allow me now and then a Place in your *Magazine*, I ſhall be to the People of *Great Britain*, not only what my Nameſake, the Prophet *Samuel*, was, but likewiſe what the Prophet *Iſaiah* was of old to their Countrymen; the latter of whom reproved them in the moſt pathetick Terms for their ſeveral Vices and Abominations, and the former told them what they might expect from their Kings, * in which he was as true a Prophet as ever prophefied to the Children of *Iſrael*, or gave Warning to the Tribe of *Judah*; but his Prophecies relate only to abſolute Monarchies, and not to that happy limited Sort of Monarchy eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom; therefore this People of *Great Britain* can have no Occaſion *to cry out, becauſe of the King they have choſen*, until their King become as abſolute as ever were thoſe of *Judah* or *Iſrael*; and if this ſhould ever happen unluckily to be the Caſe, they may depend upon having the ſame Occaſion, and upon their Outcries meeting with the ſame Reception; for a free People, who give up their Liberties, or who fooliſhly or cowardly ſuffer their Liberties being ſtoln or raviſhed from them, deſerve to be regarded neither by God nor Man.

Having thus briefly explain'd the general Scope of my intended Eſſays, I ſhall take ſome other Opportunity to give to the Publick a more ample Account of my long Life and Converſation; eſpecially if I find my Eſſays meet with any Regard or Attention from the Publick. At preſent I ſhall, without any farther Preface, launch into the Ocean of Politicks, by making ſome Remarks upon the late Act for Preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors in any Quantity under two Gallons; which I ſhall conſider, firſt, with regard to the Trade and Riches of this Kingdom; next with regard to the Morals; and, laſtly, with regard to the ſocial Virtue and Liberty of the People.

With regard to the Trade of this or any other Country, 'tis certain, it depends chiefly upon the Number of natural born Subjects employed in producing, manufacturing, conveying, or tranſporting any Commodity which may contribute to the Support, the Convenience, or the Pleaſure of Mankind; for tho' the Value of the Produce or Manufacture of any Country may be very conſiderable, yet if

* *See* 1 Samuel, *Chap.* 8. v. 10, &c.

that

that Produce does not give Employment and Bread to any great Number of Subjects, which is the Caſe with reſpect to Mines of Gold, Silver, or precious Stones, or if the Manufactures be carried on by Foreigners, who retire to their own Country as A ſoon as they grow rich, that Country cannot be ſaid to have any conſiderable Trade.

The Riches, again, of every Country muſt depend entirely upon their exporting and ſelling to Foreigners *yearly*, one Year with another, a B Quantity of their own Produce and Manufactures, greater in Value than the Quantity of all Sorts of foreign Produce or Manufacture imported and conſumed yearly by them; for as the Balance, which is called the general Balance of Trade, muſt be paid for in C ready Money, if the Quantity exported and ſold yearly be greater in Value than the Quantity imported and conſumed, there muſt certainly be in that Country a greater Number of Individuals who are every Year growing rich by gaining more Money than they D expend, than there are of Individuals who are growing poor by laviſhing more Money yearly than they gain; or at leaſt the Over-Gains of thoſe that are growing rich, muſt, upon the whole, be greater in Value, than the Over-Expence of thoſe that are growing poor. E

Whereas, if the Quantity imported and conſumed yearly be greater in Value than the Quantity exported and ſold, 'tis as certain that the Number of Perſons in that Country growing poor, muſt be greater than the Number of Perſons growing rich; or at F leaſt the Over-Expence of the former muſt upon the whole be greater in Value than the Over-Gains of the latter.

Now as the Riches of every Country are to be computed from the Riches of all the Individuals taken together, when the Number of Perſons growing rich in any Country G is greater than the Number of thoſe that are growing poor; or the Over-Gains of the former greater upon the whole in Value than the Over-Expence of the latter; the Country muſt be allowed to be growing rich; and when the contrary Caſe happens, the Country muſt be allowed to be growing poor.

From theſe general Obſervations we muſt neceſſarily draw theſe two Concluſions, That the Trade of a Country muſt be diminiſhed, by prohibiting the Conſumption of any Commodity by which a great Number of natural born Subjects got Employment and Bread; and, that the Riches of a Country muſt be diminiſhed, or at leaſt prevented from growing ſo faſt as they would otherways have done, by prohibiting the Conſumption of any home Produce or Manufacture, and thereby introducing, or increaſing the Conſumption of a foreign Produce or Manufacture; becauſe by ſo doing we turn or increaſe the general Balance of Trade againſt us, or we diminiſh its annual Value if it was before in our Favour.

To apply theſe Concluſions to the late Prohibition of Spirituous Liquors, I believe it will be granted, that our chief Conſumption with reſpect to ſuch Liquors conſiſted in Home-made Spirits and Rum, the former of which was produced by the Labour and Induſtry of our own Subjects here at home, and the latter by the Labour and Induſtry of our own Subjects in the *Weſt Indies*; therefore it muſt be admitted, that by that Prohibition we have taken Employment and Bread from a great Number of our natural born Subjects, and conſequently muſt have diminiſhed conſiderably the Trade of our Country.

Then by prohibiting the Conſumption of Rack and Rum Punch, it is now evident that we ſhall vaſtly increaſe the Conſumption of foreign Wines of all Sorts and Values; for it is a very great Miſtake to imagine that thoſe who have been accuſtomed to drink Punch, will betake themſelves to the Drinking of Malt-Liquors:

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Every Man might have foreſeen, and it now appears by the vaſt Number of Wine Licences taken out by Coffee-Houſes and Ale-Houſes ſince *Michaelmas* laſt, that moſt of our Punch Drinkers have taken to the Drinking of Wine; and if the Prohibition of Punch continues, we may aſſure ourſelves that, before *Michaelmas* next, there will not be a Coffee-Houſe or good Ale-Houſe (I mean thoſe the better Sort of People reſort to) in the Kingdom but will have a Wine Licence.

This I take for certain, and therefore I may be allowed to make ſome Sort of Computation, what a conſiderable Increaſe muſt be occaſioned in the Conſumption of Wine by this new Regulation: Let us for this Purpoſe conſider, what a vaſt Number of Inns, Coffee-Houſes, and Ale-Houſes, were in this Iſland, which formerly ſubſiſted by the Retail of Beer, Ale, Punch, and Drams, without vending one Drop of Wine, and then, I believe, it will not be thought extravagant to ſuppoſe, that in every Pariſh in *Great Britain*, one with another, there will be one new Wine Licence taken out, which will make in the whole about 12000; and ſuppoſing that each of theſe new Wine-Houſes, one with another, ſells but a Quart a Day, the whole additional Quantity to be conſumed in a Year will amount to 4,380,000 Quarts or 4345 Tuns, which at 25*l.* a Tun prime Coſt, upon an Average, amounts to 108,525*l.* a Year; without reckoning the additional Quantity of Wines that muſt be conſumed in Taverns, which will certainly be more frequented than they formerly uſed to be.

From hence it is plain that by prohibiting the Retail of all Sorts of Spirituous Liquors, we ſhall diminiſh both the Trade and the Riches of our native Country; and if by the Prohibition of Rum we ſhould ruin our Sugar Trade, which ſeems but too probable, we may very poſſibly turn the general Balance of Trade entirely againſt this Nation, by being obliged to have all our Sugars and Rum from Foreigners who take little or nothing from us, inſtead of having them from our own People in the *Weſt Indies*, who have many of the Neceſſaries, and almoſt all the Luxuries of Life from this Iſland.

When I conſider the Complaint which gave Occaſion to the Subjecting the Nation to this apparent Diſadvantage and Danger, I muſt confeſs it ſeems to me ſomething extraordinary that ſuch a Regulation ſhould proceed from ſuch a Complaint: The exceſſive Uſe of Home-made Spirits among Perſons of inferior Rank was the only Evil complained of, the only Evil that ſtood in need of a Remedy. Drunkenneſs in any Sort of Liquor is certainly a moſt terrible Abomination, therefore it is to me ſurprizing that when Drunkenneſs was the Evil complained of, no new Law ſhould have been thought of againſt the Vice, but only the Means of committing it removed, with reſpect to one Sort of Liquor only, and with reſpect to the Poor only. It is certain the Loſs the Exciſe might ſuffer, by an effectual Prevention of this moſt vicious Practice of drinking to Exceſs, could be no Motive for not endeavouring to put a Stop to it in all Sorts of Liquors as well as in Spirituous Liquors; yet from the Regulation that was made, it does not appear that any Fault was found with the Vice in general; for even with reſpect to Spirituous Liquors, thoſe who are able to purchaſe two Gallons at a Time, may get drunk at as cheap a Rate, and with as much Impunity, as they could have done before this Law was made; which muſt have a terrible Effect upon the Morals of the People in general.

Every Man who knows any Thing of the Nature of Mankind muſt know, that it is ridiculous to imagine the Committing of any Action, which may be profitable or pleaſant, cannot be effectually prevented by the Severity of the Puniſhment only:

only: An Opinion that the Action is in itself criminal and scandalous will always be a greater Bar to a Man's being guilty of it, than the severest Punishment that can be inflicted; and it is certain, that the Opinions of Mankind, with respect to the Guilt or Scandal of any Action, are generally formed from Example and not from Precept. The Authority of Precept may ascend, but that of Example always descends: It is always taken by those of inferior Degree from those of the next Superior; and therefore in all Nations we find the Manners of the People depend chiefly upon the Manners of the Rich and the Powerful among them; for which Reason if the Lawgivers of any Country have a Mind to prevent the excessive Use of strong Liquors among the People, they must begin with the Reformation of the Rich and Powerful; for if they can but make it a Scandal to get drunk, or to furnish Liquors for that Purpose, it will have a greater *Effect* than the severest Punishment they can invent.

What then can be expected from a Regulation made for preventing People's drinking Spirituous Liquors to Excess, which leaves it in the Power of every Man to get drunk even of such Liquors as often as he pleases, if he is but rich enough to purchase two Gallons at once? Must not this make getting drunk glorious, instead of making it scandalous? Men are always fond of being thought rich, which makes the Poor more apt to imitate the Rich in their Vices than in their Virtues; and as getting drunk will for the future be a great Sign of a Man's Riches, the Poor will aim at it as much as they can; so that this new Regulation may perhaps change the Liquor, but I'm afraid it will increase the Vice; for tho' the Change of the Liquor may for some Time make a seeming Reformation, yet the Poor will soon find out new Methods of getting drunk, and those they will practise, while they are led on, and in some Manner warranted by the Example of their Superiors.

But this is not the only bad Effect this new Regulation may have upon the Morals of the People; there is another Effect much more certain, and of Consequence much more fatal. I hope it will be granted that Treachery in every Degree is wicked, and that among all Sorts of Men it ought to be deemed scandalous. Treachery even in a Thief or Robber towards his Accomplices, Treachery even in a Traitor towards his Companions in Treason, is certainly in itself dishonourable and wicked. I mean when any such Criminal, from a Motive of Cowardise or Gain, betrays and informs against his Associates, who by his joining with them have been encouraged to put a Trust and Confidence in him.

It ought, therefore, to be the Care of every People, but especially a free People, to prevent as much as possible the Character of a treacherous Informer from ever becoming tolerable among them; and as the Shame and Scandal of any Sort of Crime whatever, may at last become supportable by the Multitude and Power of the Guilty, it is certainly a wrong Politick for a Society to make such Regulations, as must greatly increase the Number and the Power of those, who have been guilty of Treachery in any Shape or Degree. To discover Crimes, and punish the Guilty, is without doubt necessary for the Preservation of every Society; but for that Purpose to give a Reputation to Treachery, and a Countenance to treacherous Informers, is, to destroy the End for the Sake of preserving the Means.

If in this Light we view the late Regulation against the Retail of Spiritous Liquors, we must see how prejudicial it must be to the Morals of the People; for it has always been observed, that a Man who once forfeits his Honour, becomes soon after a most abandoned Profligate, and makes no

Stop

Stop at the Perpetrating of any Crime, to which he may be prompted by his Intereſt or Pleaſure, provided he thinks he may eſcape with Impunity.

In Treaſon, in Theft, in Robbery, and every real Crime, a Man may become an Informer, and yet retain ſome Sort of Character, becauſe it may be ſuppoſed his Information proceeded from a true Senſe of the Crimes he had involved himſelf in; nay in ſuch Caſes a Man may become an Informer, without forfeiting in the leaſt his Honour; becauſe he may accidentally come at the Knowledge of the Crime, and the Criminals too, without having any Way encouraged them to put a Confidence in him. But the Informations that are to be founded upon this new Regulation, can ſeldom or ever be ſuppoſed to proceed from any Motive but that of Gain or Malice; nor can any Man become an Informer, with reſpect to the Retail of Spirituous Liquors in ſmall Quantities, without firſt enticing and trapanning thoſe he informs againſt to put a Confidence in him; from hence we may conclude that every Man who in ſuch a Caſe becomes an Informer, muſt forfeit his Honour, and will therefore from that Moment become a moſt abandoned Profligate; and whether Men ought to be tempted by Rewards to become ſo, I leave to the World to judge.

I ſhall not pretend to find Fault with the many Rewards given by our Laws to Informers, but I am apt to think, if we have not already proceeded, we very ſoon may proceed too far; for if the Character of an Informer ſhould once begin to be ſupportable, if they ſhould once become ſo numerous as to keep one another in Countenance, and of ſuch affluent Circumſtances as to command at leaſt an outward Reſpect from the Vulgar, it will contribute more than we ſeem to be at preſent aware of, to the introducing of a general Spirit of Treachery among the People, which is one of the main Supports of arbitrary Power; and Experience has already taught us, what an Addition this new Regulation muſt make to the Number of thoſe fine Perſons, I may almoſt now ſay, creditable Perſons, called Informers, who are a Sort of Vermin that have always been frequent, and much reſpected in arbitrary Governments; but never were, I believe, in a free Country ſo numerous as they are at preſent in this.

I have ſaid, that a general Spirit of Treachery among the People is one of the main Supports of arbitrary Power; which naturally leads me to conſider, what Effect this new Regulation may have upon the ſocial Virtue and Liberty of the People. With reſpect to the ſocial Virtue of a People, by which I mean, that honeſt and generous Regard which every Man ought to have for the publick Good, it muſt always depend upon a mutual Confidence between the Rich and the Poor, between thoſe in Authority and thoſe under Authority; for if the Poor, or thoſe under Authority, begin to think that the others act only from ſelfiſh and partial Views, they will immediately begin to loſe that Regard they ought to have for the Publick Good, no Man will regard the Publick when he finds, or ſuppoſes, that he is no Way regarded by the Publick, and the Generality having thus loſt all publick Motives of Action, they will of Courſe become venal and mercenary; every Man will regulate his Behaviour according to thoſe ſelfiſh and private Ends he may have in View at the Time.

In the Caſe now under Conſideration, if a ſevere Law had been made againſt Drunkenneſs, and a heavy Penalty inflicted upon habitual Drunkards, as well as upon thoſe who at any Time ſhould have furniſhed them Liquors to get drunk with; or any other Regulation made for preventing the abominable Vice of Drunkenneſs, and that Law made to affect

the Rich as well as the Poor, thoſe in Authority as well as thoſe under Authority, every Man would have been convinced that it proceeded from a generous Concern for the publick Good; but when thoſe in Authority get by what was intended for the publick Good only, when a Law is made for reſtraining the Poor only, from being guilty of a particular Sort of Crime, a particular Sort of Drunkenneſs, which is equally heinous in the *Rich*, what can the Poor think of *ſuch* a Law? Is it poſſible to perſuade them, that the Rich have a greater Regard for their Preſervation than they have for their own? This, I'm afraid, is impoſſible: On the contrary, all the Poor, and many of the Rich who are under Authority, will, I'm afraid, ſuppoſe that the Regulation proceeded from private and ſelfiſh Views; and tho' they muſt be miſtaken in this Suppoſition, yet their Error will have the ſame Effect as if it were a real Truth; it will introduce among them a total Neglect of *publick* Good, and a Regard for their own private Intereſt only. This will, of courſe, make the Generality of the People venal and mercenary, which may enable ſome future ambitious Prince, or guilty Favourite, to overturn our Conſtitution, by eſtabliſhing in Corruption an arbitrary Power; and that Spirit of Treachery which may happen to be introduced by the Multitude of Informers, will prevent its being in the Power of the People ever to regain their Liberties; for an eſtabliſhed Tyranny cannot be overturned, without a very general Concert among thoſe who have the Misfortune to be ſubject to it, and among a faithleſs treacherous People no ſuch Concert can be carried on with Succeſs, it will always be diſcovered before it can be made effectual; and muſt therefore always end in the Deſtruction of the Virtuous and Brave, and in rivetting the Chains of the People.

Again, with regard to the Liberties of the People, let me obſerve, that it is impoſſible to ſupport a free Government without preſerving the Affections of the Subjects in general; and as the Generality of the People, in every Society, conſiſts of thoſe who come under the Denomination of Perſons of inferior Rank, the Governors of every Society ought to take great Care to preſerve their Affections; for after the Vulgar are once generally diſobliged, no Government can be ſupported but by thoſe Means which may ſupport an oppreſſive Tyranny as well as a juſt Government; and I will venture to aſſert, that no juſt Government will long continue ſo, after the Governors begin to feel themſelves poſſeſſed of thoſe Means by which an oppreſſive Tyranny may be eaſily ſupported. The Liberties of a Country are but in a precarious Situation, when the People have nothing to depend on for the Preſervation of thoſe Liberties, but the Virtue and Self-denial of their Rulers; which muſt always be the Caſe when thoſe Rulers are able to ſupport themſelves in ſpite of a general Diſaffection, Contempt and Hatred.

To inflict a Penalty upon a real Crime, to puniſh an Action which is generally thought pernicious and ſcandalous, is not only neceſſary but popular; but to inflict Penalties upon Actions which are thought neither pernicious nor ſcandalous will always be thought oppreſſive; and conſequently muſt alienate the Affections, at leaſt of thoſe who actually ſuffer by ſuch Regulations. If ſuch a Duty had been laid upon Home-made Spirits, as to render the Purchaſe of an exceſſive Quantity very expenſive, and high Penalties laid upon all Retailers who ſhould have allowed any Perſon to drink to Exceſs in their Shops, or Houſes, the Regulation would have been popular, and, I believe, effectual; becauſe Drunkenneſs, notwithſtanding the little Diſcouragement it has for many Years met with, is ſtill thought to be pernici-

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ous as well as ſcandalous; but to lay a Penalty upon a Man's ſelling a ſingle Dram, or a ſingle Tiff of Punch, as the Action can never be deemed criminal or ſcandalous, either in the Retailer or Drinker, therefore both will generally think themſelves oppreſſed; and conſidering that all the Poor of the Kingdom, and many rich Men who were concerned in the Retail of ſuch Liquors, muſt ſuffer by ſuch a Regulation, we may from thence conclude, that the Generality of the People will think themſelves oppreſſed, and will therefore, of Courſe, become diſaffected to our preſent Government. For this Reaſon it is, I think, moſt juſtly to be apprehended that this new Regulation may be of dangerous Conſequence, either to our Conſtitution or to our Government, which is an Apprehenſion that muſt neceſſarily give Diſquiet to every honeſt Man in the Kingdom.

In free Governments, their Laws are eſtabliſhed and executed by the Civil Power, and always may be ſo, becauſe they have the Aſſiſtance of the People, who will, upon all Occaſions, be ready to aſſiſt in the Execution of thoſe Laws they think juſt and neceſſary. In oppreſſive Governments, their Laws are almoſt always thought oppreſſive by the People, and therefore they muſt be eſtabliſhed and ſupported by a military Force, I mean a regular and mercenary Army; for an Army muſt be mercenary (in the moſt ignominious Senſe of the Word) as well as regular, before they can ſerve all the Purpoſes of a deſpotick Government.

With reſpect to the Method of eſtabliſhing or executing any new Law or Regulation, the Juſtice or Injuſtice of the Law ſignifies nothing; if it be thought unjuſt or oppreſſive by the Generality of the People, it muſt be crammed down their Throats by a military Force, which may be of the moſt fatal Conſequence in a free State, becauſe it not only introduces a cowardly and ſlaviſh Diſpoſition among the People, but a cruel and mercenary Compliance among both the Officers and Soldiers of the Army; and when the Governors find that the People dare not venture to oppoſe any of their Meaſures, and that thoſe of the Army will be ready upon the firſt Signal to butcher their Relations, their Friends, and their Countrymen, ſuch Governors may then conclude, they are poſſeſſed of thoſe Means by which the moſt oppreſſive Tyranny may be ſupported, which is a Concluſion of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Liberties of a free People, a Concluſion that no wiſe People will ever give their Governors an Opportunity to make; becauſe it is in publick Life the ſame with what it is in private, a Man may be a meer Poltron, and yet may paſs thro' Life without any ſignal Affront, if he has but Prudence enough to conceal his Want of Courage, but if his Failing be once diſcovered, he may expect to be affronted, kicked, and cuffed by every Bully that knows him.

For this Reaſon, great Care ought to be taken not to give the People in general any Ground to think they are oppreſſed, and as it will be impoſſible to perſuade them that there is either Crime or Sin in ſelling a Dram, or a Tiff of Punch, to a Traveller or Neighbour; therefore it is to be apprehended, they will always look upon it as an Oppreſſion, to proſecute, fine, and impriſon them for ſo doing. For this Reaſon, I am afraid, it will be impoſſible to execute this Law without introducing among the People a cowardly and ſlaviſh Diſpoſition, and among thoſe of the Army a mercenary and blind Obedience to the moſt illegal Orders of their Superiors in command, which is all that is wanted for ſupporting, as well as eſtabliſhing, an arbitrary or even a tyrannical Government in any Country.

This, I ſay, I'm afraid of; but my Fears may perhaps be without Foundation. However, as I am, for the

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the Sake of Mankind in general, as well as for the Sake of my own People in particular, a Lover of Liberty; as I have, and always had, a hearty and ſincere Regard for the happy Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and wiſh that it may be tranſmitted A ſafe and entire to lateſt Poſterity, therefore I think my ſelf obliged to take Notice of every Thing which may, in my Opinion, tend to its Overthrow. Thoſe who think my Fears groundleſs may be for continuing the Law; but every Man who B views it in the ſame Light I do, muſt be for repealing it, and contriving ſome other Method for preventing that exceſſive Uſe of Spirituous Liquors amongſt thoſe of inferior Rank, which was laſt Seſſion moſt juſtly complained of, and which C ought certainly to be prevented.

Upon this Subject I have confined my ſelf, as much as poſſible, to thoſe general Maxims of good Government, with which I take this Law not to be perfectly conſiſtent; for if I had entered into the particular Ob- D jections that may be made to it, my Diſſertation might perhaps have ſeemed tedious to thoſe who read for Amuſement as well as Inſtruction. The End intended by paſſing this Law was certainly in itſelf E praiſe-worthy; but if by Experience, or upon a more mature Deliberation, the Law ſhould appear to be of dangerous Conſequence to the Trade and Liberties of this Kingdom, it will certainly be repealed this next Seſſion, eſpecially if it ſhould appear, F that the End intended by it may be attained by a more gentle, and leſs dangerous Method. This, I think, may be done, and therefore I have ventured to give my Thoughts upon the Subject. I hope, Sir, my Method of delivering them will not be *diſagreeable* either to your Readers, G or to any Man who wiſhes well to his Country: If you are of the ſame Opinion, I deſire you'll give them a Place in your next *Magazine*; and am, *SIR*,

Your moſt ſincere Friend,
And humble Servant,
SAMUEL,
The Wandering Jew.

Epſom,
Jan. 1,
1737.

Thus we have complied with the Requeſt of our Friend *Samuel*; and if he, or any other Gentleman, pleaſes to ſend us any Eſſay which we think may be uſeful or entertaining to our Readers, we ſhall communicate it to the Publick, without Reſpect to any Sect or Party, as often as we can ſpare Room for that Purpoſe.

Univerſal Spectator, Jan. 15. N° 432.

The Art of getting Money, the Art of Begging.

OF all the wiſe *Sayings* I ever met with, none ſeems to be more generally eſteem'd than that notable City Apophthegm, *My Son, get Money*: But the *Philoſopher*, who gave this Inſtruction, went no farther, leaving the Buſineſs of *Directors*, *Supercargoes*, *Committee-Men*, and *Ways and Means* Inventors to the peculiar Turn of Thought, or Bias of Invention, of every individual *Money-Getter*. To ſupply the Defect, I ſhall lay before my Readers an *Art* to *get Money*, and they may be ſurpriz'd when they find that it is the *Art* of *Begging*.

Of all the Methods us'd to get Money, ſure no one can deny, that he who obtains his End the eaſieſt Way is the wiſeſt Perſon: On this Principle it is that the Beggar, on his Truſs of Straw, makes himſelf as happy as a Prince; he only tunes his Voice to a proper Key, to ſtrike on the Tympanum of the Ear, and move Pity in the Auditors; ſuch an Effect has the mournful Sound, that Copper falls into his Hat, which he at Night converts into true Sterling.

It is ſaid, that whenever Nature is deficient in one Part ſhe makes a-

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mends in another; the Obſervation is juſt in relation to Beggars: If ſhe ſends into the World a Cripple in his Legs, ſhe ſupplies him with brawny Hips for a natural Kind of Cuſhion. If ſhe deprives him of his Eyes, ſhe gives him a ſtrong Senſe of Feeling, A that with the greateſt Acuteneſs he may diſtinguiſh the Difference between Braſs and Silver: If ſhe lops off his Arms, ſhe extends his Windpipe, dilates the Thorax, and makes him capable of talking louder and more to the Purpoſe than a pleading B Barriſter.

But this is the common, coarſe and ungenteel Way of Begging: The genteel Art of Begging is the ſame Thing in a clean Diſguiſe, or under the Management of a better directed Policy.

The illuſtrious Beggar, the Church of *Rome*, has exceeded all Profeſſors of this Science; ſhe has been ſo fond of the Practice that ſhe inſtituted an Order, or Religious Society, under the Denomination of Mendicants: Theſe ſtrolling Saints live upon the D free Gifts of the Publick, and tho' their Mother Church ſends them out to live upon Chance; yet, knowing the Power of Beggars, ſhe ſeems not to have provided ill for them: They may, indeed, either eat or ſtarve, E juſt as their *Chriſtian* Brethren may think proper; yet they are luſty portly Fellows, with a Prieſtly Rotundity of Belly; and no one of the whole Sect was ever known to die of Hunger or Drought. One of the ſanctify'd Vagabonds will ſtare an old Woman out of a Piece of Silver in a F Moment; another ſhall coin Money as faſt as he can croſs his Breaſt or Forehead; but if Charity grows cold, they, by an *Ave-Maria*, or ſome unintelligible Piece of *Latin*, tickle the Ears of the By-Standers till they can no longer reſiſt, but put their Hands to their Pockets to reward the ingenious Orator.

The artful Church of *Rome* does not ſtop here; they have a farther Reach with them than to be contented with a ſingle Method of genteel Bubbling: The Fellow at *Rome* thought himſelf, no doubt, a cunning Rogue, when he had taught his Bird to get him a comfortable Subſiſtance from the Emperor; but he was a low poor Genius to theſe, who have inſtructed Bones, old Shoes, and muſty Teeth to do twenty Times more Feats, and make Quickſilver of every Pilgrim's Caſh.

Go into one Church and you may ſee a Piece of Stone beg of a Man half his Patrimony, and obtain his Acres from him that they may become Holy Land; peep into another and you may view a Piece of crying Wax-Work, that will empty a Purſe C of every Doit.

If I was to run over all the ſanctify'd Trumpery, that humbly begs you to deliver up your Money, there would be no End of this genteel Cheat or religious Begging.

Fog's *Journal*, Jan. 15. N° 427.

The Progreſs and Pleaſures of VIRTUE.

THE lofty Mountain of Virtue is of a quite contrary Make to all other Mountains. In the Mountains of the Earth the Skirts E are pleaſant, but the Tops rough; whereas the Skirt of the Mountain of Virtue is harſh, but the Top delicious. He who ſtudies to come at it, meets in his firſt Steps with nothing but Stones, Briars, and Thiſtles; but the Roughneſs of the Way F diminiſhes, as he proceeds in his Journey, and the Pleaſure of it encreaſes, till at length on the Top he finds nothing but beautiful Flowers, choice Plants, and Chryſtal Fountains.

The firſt Part of the Way is extremely troubleſome and ſlippery: G From the Sea of the World, the Songs of the *Syrens* call back the new Proſelyte. On the Side of the Mountain

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tain the Roarings of the Lyons terrify him. He looks with regret on the ſmooth Valley which he leaves behind; and contemplates with Fear the Brow of the Mountain to which he aſpires. Altho' looſe from the Priſon of Sin, he ſtill carries about with him, in his Paſſions, Shackles, whoſe Weight conſpires with the Difficulty of the Way to make his Progreſs ſlow and painful. He hears at his *Back* the ſoothing Voice of Pleaſures which call to him, as they formerly did to *Auſtin*. Notwithſtanding he goes on, afflicted a little, and ſometimes meeting with a Rub that ſtops him. By and by he finds the Path leſs rugged; and now the Voice of worldly Pleaſures makes a leſs Impreſſion upon him, being heard at a greater Diſtance: Having proceeded a few Steps further he ſees the Road a little ſmooth.

He reaches at laſt the higher Part of the Mountain, where he ſees a beautiful and ſweet Plain. The Sweat and Tears with which he watered the Skirt, fructify on the Top; and he reaps here an abundant Harveſt, from what he cultivated below with tedious Vexations. All this is conceal'd from the Eyes of the World; who, inſtead of conſidering him as retired to the Height of the Mountain, fancy him lodg'd on an inacceſſible Precipice. They think it impoſſible for that Man to have a Moment's Eaſe, imagining that the Place where he inhabits is a Field where the Elements battle it with the greateſt Fury, and where the ſevereſt Storms fall with the moſt irreſiſtible Force. But it happens to that Man as it did to him who ſcal'd the Top of *Olympus*, where the Sky is conſtantly ſerene, and the Air never diſturb'd with the leaſt Agitation, to ſuch a Degree that Characters printed in the Duſt are preſerv'd whole Years; where the Clouds are always ſeen below, ſo that they thunder at the Bottom without ever reaching the Top.

Juſt ſo do the Inconveniencies of Life, and the Tempeſts of Fortune rain upon thoſe who inhabit the low Vallies of the World; not upon him who has got up into the Mountain of God. But hold: Are not Sickneſs, Pain, Loſs of Eſtate, Perſecution, Ignominy, and other Calamities, common to the virtuous with the reſt of Mankind? Beſides have they not a particular Overplus of Silence, Retirement, Watching, Prayer, Diſcipline, Faſting, and other Penances? All very true. Theſe are the Fogs which are ſeen from without; but which never reach the Top of *Olympus*, that is, they never come to diſturb the higher Part of the Mind.

I do not ſay, that the juſt Man is inſenſible. That was an extravagant Opinion of the *Stoicks*, who pretended that in the Forge of Virtue Men were transform'd into Statues. The virtuous ſuffer, but in a much leſs Degree than the wicked. Beſides this, there is another remarkable Difference; which is, that the Afflictions common to both, touch the Vicious in every Part, and the Virtuous but in one. The Spirits of the juſt Man and the Sinner are diſtinguiſhed as the Elements of Air and Earth. The Earth in all its Regions is expos'd to the Injuries of the other Elements: But the Air only in the lower Part of it, which is the Theatre of Vapours and Exhalations; ſince no ſenſible Alteration reaches what is call'd the upper Region of the Air. In that Part the Heaven is always clear, an equal Tenor is conſtantly preſerv'd, and it evermore enjoys a pure and Chryſtalline *Æther*.

Craſtſman, Jan. 15. N° 550.

WHEN the News of Don *Joſeph Patinho*'s Death arrived at the Court of *France*, it is ſaid that his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* expreſs'd himſelf publickly in this Manner;

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Le Roi, mon Oncle, ne veût plus de Premier Miniſtre; that is, *the King, my Uncle, will have no more* Prime-Miniſter. Whether *his Majeſty* dropt this Expreſſion by Accident, or with any particular Deſign, it was look'd upon as an Approbation of his *Uncle*'s Reſolution, and occaſion'd no ſmall Joy among great Numbers of Perſons at *that Court*; for tho' the *Cardinal Miniſter* hath exerciſed his Power with great Moderation, and even Succeſs, for the Honour and Intereſt of *his own Country*; tho' he hath not amaſs'd exorbitant Wealth for *himſelf*, or *his Family*, during the Courſe of a long Adminiſtration; nor hath been guilty of any mean Inſtances of Revenge towards *thoſe*, who have oppoſed and thwarted his Deſigns; but, on the contrary, ſhew'd great Marks of his Lenity and Condeſcenſion; yet the very Office of a *Prime-Miniſter* is ſo odious, even under an *arbitrary Government*, that the *Herd of Courtiers* in general, excepting *his own Friends* and *Creatures*, were in Hopes of a Change; tho' *ſome Writers* amongſt us are not aſham'd to plead openly for *ſuch a Power*, under a *free Conſtitution*, which is abſolutely repugnant to, and incompatible with it.

(The reſt of this Paper contains Remarks upon ſome of the Gazetteers *concerning an Adminiſtration in the Hands of one Perſon; which, as tending very little to the Entertainment of our Readers, we paſs by.)*

Copy of a Letter from a Secretary of one of the Ambaſſadors at the Porte.

IN order to ſatisfy your Curioſity about *Thamas Kouli Kan*, I ſhall now acquaint you with what I know of him, and you may depend on it that what I tell you is Authentick.

Thamas Kouli Kan, was born at *Aſchier* in *Chorazan*, a Province of *Perſia*. His Father was a Shepherd, which Profeſſion the Son too followed for ſome Time, till he took a Diſlike to it, from a riſing Ambition to make himſelf more conſiderable in the World; and then it was, that he ſtole 700 Sheep from his Father, which he ſold, and with the Money, liſted a Gang of reſolute Banditti, of whom he put himſelf at the Head, and then plunder'd ſeveral Caravans, with the Booty whereof, he enrich'd himſelf very much. After having carried on the Trade of a common Highwayman for 7 Years, he went to the Province of *Muzandran*, to which the King *Schach Huſſein*, had ſent his Son, the Prince *Thamas*, for Security, before he was obliged to yield up *Iſpaban* to the Rebels. The ſaid King being afterwards put to Death, *Thamas Kouli Kan*, who, by this Time, had 5000 Men under his Command, offer'd them, together with his Treaſures, to Prince *Thamas*, to reſtore him to the Throne of his Anceſtors; engaging, at the ſame Time, that he wou'd give him his Head, if he did not ſucceed in his Enterprize; provided, that in caſe of ſuch Succeſs, the Prince, when he became King, would declare him his Prime Miniſter. The Prince conſented to whatever he ask'd, ſuch was his intire Confidence in *Thamas Kouli Kan*, who, to give him the ſtronger Proof of his Attachment, aſſum'd this new Name, which ſignifies, the Slave of *Schach Thamas*; whereas he went before by the Name of *Nadir Kouli*. I own to you, Sir, we have had good Laughing here at the *Scottiſh* Termination, pretended to be diſcovered in the Name *Kouli Kan*; and then the little Romance with which 'twas adorn'd, was ſo pat, that nothing could be better hit off. (See Vol. V. p. 285.)

The firſt Thing that *Kouli Kan* did, after having raiſed a very great Body of Troops, was the driving of the Rebels from *Mached*; after which, he reduced the Province of *Herat*, and carried the Governor's Head to Prince *Thamas*, as a Trophy of his Victory.

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His Army being now become more powerful, he beſieged and took *Iſpahan*, and reduced the *Agbuans*, a rebellious Nation, who had ſubdued almoſt all *Perſia*. He had the Policy to carry Prince *Thamas* with him in ſeveral of his Expeditions to give the more Reaſon to think, that he only acted for that Prince. The Bravery of *Kouli Kan*, his good Treatment of the Soldiery, and the Generoſity with which he rewarded them, having procured him their entire Confidence, he took that Opportunity to ſeize the Government, on Pretence, that Prince *Thamas* was incapable of Governing. In fine, his Ambition, or rather Vanity, knowing no Bounds, about a Year ago, he got himſelf declared King of *Perſia*, by the principal Adherents of his Party; but this Advancement, inſtead of eſtabliſhing his Authority, muſt rather tend to weaken it. He was beloved as the Defender of his Country; and 'twas then more devoted to him, than 'tis now under his pompous Title of King. As he has reach'd to the Throne by Uſurpation, he has had Recourſe to Wickedneſs, to ſecure himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of it. He has put Prince *Thamas*, and all the Princes of the *Perſian* Royal Family to Death, as well as ſeveral *Perſian* Lords, of whom he had a Jealouſy. He has taken the Title of *Schach Nadir*, and upon the Money coined with his Dye, he has put a moſt vain Inſcription, ſignifying, *The matchleſs King, the Sovereign of the Four Parts of the World*.

As to his Perſon, he is about 50 Years of Age: He is robuſt, inur'd to Fatigue, and has a very majeſtick Preſence.

As to his Character, he acts ſo much by the Rules of Policy, that 'tis hard to ſay, whether the good Qualities which have been remark'd in him, proceed from a Principle of Virtue. He ſeems to be very liberal, eſpecially to his Troops, which he by that Means obliges to obſerve an exact Diſcipline. He is a Man of Wiſdom and Penetration, but is reckon'd very artful. He is moreover intemperate to Exceſs, and very much addicted to Women, Wine and Drams. He has an Affection for the *Europeans*, and has a great Number of 'em in his Troops, whom he has put upon much the ſame Pay and Footing as they have in *Europe*; but he prefers the *French* before all other Foreigners.

Daily Gazetteer, Jan. 21. N° 493.

Of Party-Lying: Extracted from the SPECTATOR *of* Oct. 11, 1712.

Defendit numerus, junctæque umbone Phalanges. Juv.

THERE is ſomething very ſublime, tho' very fanciful in *Plato*'s Deſcription of the Supreme Being, that *Truth is his Body, and Light his Shadow*. According to this Definition, there is nothing ſo contradictory to his Nature, as Error and Falſhood. The *Platoniſts* have ſo juſt a Notion of the Almighty's Averſion to every Thing which is falſe and erroneous, that they looked upon *Truth* as no leſs neceſſary than *Virtue*, to qualify a human Soul for the Enjoyment of a ſeparate State. For this Reaſon as they recommended moral Duties to qualify and ſeaſon the Will for a future Life, ſo they preſcribed ſeveral Contemplations and Sciences to rectify the Underſtanding. Thus *Plato* has called mathematical Demonſtrations the Catharticks or Purgatives of the Soul, as being the moſt proper Means to cleanſe it from Error, and to give it a Reliſh of Truth; which is the natural Food and Nouriſhment of the Underſtanding, as Virtue is the Perfection and Happineſs of the Will.

There are many Authors who have ſhewn wherein the Malignity of

of a *Lye* conſiſts, and ſet forth in proper Colours, the Heinouſneſs of the Offence. I ſhall here conſider one particular Kind of this Crime, which has not been ſo much ſpoken to; I mean that abominable Practice of *Party-lying*. This Vice is ſo very predominant among us at preſent, that a Man is thought of no Principles, who does not propagate a certain Syſtem of Lyes. The Coffee-houſes are ſupported by them, the Preſs is choak'd with them, eminent Authors live upon them. Our Bottle Converſation is ſo infected with them, that a Party-Lye is grown as faſhionable an Entertainment, as a lively Catch or a merry Story: The Truth of it is, half the great Talkers in the Nation would be ſtruck dumb, were this Fountain of Diſcourſe dried up. There is however one Advantage reſulting from this deteſtable Practice; the very Appearances of Truth are ſo little regarded, that Lyes are at preſent diſcharged in the Air, and begin to hurt nobody. When we hear a Party Story from a Stranger, we conſider whether he is a Whig or a Tory that relates it, and immediately conclude they are Words of courſe, in which that honeſt Gentleman deſigns to recommend his Zeal, without any Concern for his Veracity. A Man is looked upon as bereſt of common Senſe, that gives Credit to the Relations of Party-Writers; nay, his own Friends ſhake their Heads at him, and conſider him in no other Light, than as an officious Tool or a well-meaning Idiot. When it was formerly the Faſhion to husband a Lye, and trump it up in ſome extraordinary Emergency, it generally did Execution, and was not a little ſerviceable to the Faction that made uſe of it; but at preſent every Man is upon his Guard, the Artifice has been too often repeated to take Effect.

I have frequently wonder'd to ſee Men of Probity, who would ſcorn to utter a Falſhood for their own particular Advantage, give ſo readily into a Lye, when it becomes the Voice of their Faction, notwithſtanding they are thoroughly ſenſible of it as ſuch. How is it poſſible for thoſe who are Men of Honour in their Perſons, thus to become notorious Lyers in their Party? If we look into the Bottom of this Matter, we may find, I think, three Reaſons for it, and at the ſame Time diſcover the Inſufficiency of theſe Reaſons, to juſtify ſo criminal a Practice.

In the firſt Place, Men are apt to think, that the Guilt of a Lye, and conſequently the Puniſhment, may be very much diminiſhed, if not wholly worn out, by the Multitudes of thoſe who partake in it. Tho' the Weight of a Falſhood wou'd be too heavy for *one* to bear, it grows light in their Imaginations, when it is ſhared among *many*. But in this Caſe, a Man very much deceives himſelf: Guilt, when it ſpreads thro' Numbers, is not ſo properly divided as multiplied; every one is criminal, in Proportion to the Offence which he commits, not to the Number of thoſe who are his Companions in it: Both the Crime and the Penalty, lie as heavy upon every Individual of an offending Multitude, as they would upon any ſingle Perſon, had none ſhared with him in the Offence. In a Word, the Diviſion of Guilt, is like that of Matter; tho' it may be ſeparated into infinite Portions, every Portion ſhall have the whole Eſſence of Matter in it, and conſiſts of as many Parts, as the whole did before it was divided.

But in the ſecond Place, tho' Multitudes who join in a Lye, cannot exempt themſelves from the Guilt, they may from the Shame of it. The Scandal of a Lye, is in a Manner loſt and annihilated, when diffuſed among ſeveral Thouſands; as a Drop of the blackeſt Tincture wears

wears away and vaniſhes, when mixed and confuſed in a conſiderable Body of Water; the Blot is ſtill in it, but is not able to diſcover itſelf. This is certainly a very great Motive to ſeveral Party Offenders, who avoid Crimes, not as they are prejudicial to their Virtue, but to their Reputation. It is enough to ſhew the Weakneſs of this Reaſon, which palliates *Guilt* without removing it, that *every* Man who is influenced by it, declares himſelf, in effect, an infamous Hypocrite, prefers the Appearance of Virtue to its Reality, and is determined in his Conduct, neither by the Dictates of his own Conſcience, the Suggeſtions of true Honour, nor the Principles of Religion.

The third and laſt great Motive for Men's joining in a popular Falſhood, or, as I have hitherto called it, a Party-Lye, notwithſtanding they are convinced of it as ſuch, is the doing good to a Cauſe, which every Party may be ſuppoſed to look upon as the moſt meritorious. The Unſoundneſs of this Principle, has been ſo often expoſed, and is ſo univerſally acknowledged, that a Man muſt be an utter Stranger to the Principles either of natural Religion or Chriſtianity, who ſuffers himſelf to be guided by it. If a Man might promote the ſuppoſed Good of his Country, by the blackeſt Calumnies and Falſhoods, our Nation abounds more in Patriots, than any other of the Chriſtian World. When *Pompey* was deſired not to ſet ſail in a Tempeſt that would hazard his Life; *It is neceſſary for me*, ſays he, *to ſail, but it is not neceſſary for me to live:* Every Man ſhould ſay to himſelf, with the ſame Spirit, it is my Duty to ſpeak Truth, tho' it is not my Duty to be in an Office. One of the *Fathers* had carried this Point ſo high, as to declare, *he would not tell a Lye, tho' he were ſure to gain Heaven by it.* However extravagant ſuch a Proteſtation may appear, every one will own, that a Man may ſay, very reaſonably, *he would not tell a Lye, if he were ſure to gain Hell by it*; or, if you have a Mind to ſoften the Expreſſion, that he would not tell a Lye, to gain any temporal Reward by it, when he ſhould run the Hazard of loſing much more than it was poſſible for him to gain.

Grubſtreet Journal, Jan. 20. N° 369.

Paſſage of the Penumbral Shadow, in the great Eclipſe of the Sun, which will happen on the 18th Day of February *next; according to Mr.* Wright.

THE Penumbra firſt takes the Earth in *New Spain (North-America)* near Cape *Higuexas*, 40 Leagues Weſt of *Panama*, where the Moon's loweſt Limb will juſt touch the Sun's upper at his apparent Riſing; from whence it will increaſe and ſpread itſelf over all the *Amazon* Country, as alſo over the Bay of *Mexico*, *Florida*, and the *Caribbe Iſles*, the Inhabitants beholding more or leſs of the Sun's Body obſcured, according as they are ſituated nearer or farther remote from the Center, which will ſoon after come upon the Disk juſt in the Meridian of *Mexico*, Lat. 26° 32′ North; there the Sun will be ſeen to riſe centrally eclipſed, and round the Moon's Body will appear a bright luminous Circle.

N. B. *The ſame Phænomenon will be to all Places over which the Center paſſes, but more viſible near the Horizon, by reaſon the Ring of Light decreaſes as the Sun's Altitude increaſes, conſequently the annular Path will be much broader in* America, *than over the* Atlantic.

The central Point will direct its Way over Cape *Florida*, and ſo paſs on to the main Ocean, 60 Leagues South of *Bermudas*. In the Latitude 33° 12′ and Longitude 54° Weſt

from *London* the Eclipſe will fall exactly in the nonageſimal Degree; and not far from thence in Latitude 35° 6′ North, and Longitude 51° 18′ Weſt, the Center of the Penumbra happens to be at the Middle of the general Eclipſe; both which Places are in the vaſt *Atlantic* Ocean, betwixt the Weſtern Iſles and thoſe of *Bahama*.

In the ſame Sea 8° more Eaſterly, and 4° 10′ more North, *i. e.* of the laſt Place *(viz.)* betwixt the *Azores*, and the Land of *Acadia*, the central Eclipſe will tranſit the Meridian; at length the Center of the Penumbral Shadow arrives in *Ireland*, and paſſes over that Kingdom betwixt *Londonderry* and *Armagh*; thence continuing its courſe North-eaſtward, will directly paſs over the City of *Edinburgh*. * The Moon being then near the Horizon, the Shadow will only paſs over the North-ſea into *Sweden*, and there the Center will go off from the Earth nearly in the Middle betwixt *Stockholm* and *Gothbourgh*; to them the Sun will ſet centrally obſcured with a bright ſhining Ring, like that at the Riſing in *America*. Laſtly, on the North Coaſt of the Mediterranean Sea, 10 Leagues Eaſt of *Barcelona*, having over-run all *Europe*, the North Parts of *Africa*, and Part of *Aſia*, the Penumbra entirely leaves the Earth, and the general Eclipſe ends with the ſetting Sun. The Velocity of the Shadow in *America* 50 Miles, over the *Atlantic* 30, in *Europe* 70, and near the Horizon 100 Miles in a Minute. The mean Velocity 39, and Diſtance in the Path 2200 Leagues. Mean annular Duration 4 Minutes.

Craftſman, Jan. 22. N° 551.

Of the late Proceedings of the Charitable Corporation. *(See Vol. I. p.* 379, 380, 519, *&c.)*

Mr. D'Anvers,

HAVING had the Misfortune to be a *Proprietor* and *conſiderable Sufferer* in the *Charitable Corporation*, I beg the Favour of you, for a particular Reaſon, to refreſh the People's Memory a little, at this Time, with *thoſe infamous Tranſactions*; which I will ſtate to you as briefly as I can from the ſeveral *Reports of the Houſe of Commons*, and the *Acts of Parliament* made upon them.

It there appears that the net Loſs to the *unhappy Proprietors* (many of whom were *Widows*, *Orphans*, *young Women* and other Perſons of *ſmall Fortunes)* was no leſs than 453,745*l.* 1*s.* 9½, except what may be recover'd of the Effects of *George Robinſon* and *John Thomſon*, and the Securities of the *Officers*. It is impoſſible to conceive how ſo vaſt a Sum could be embezzled without *ſome Practices*, which have not been yet brought to Light. There muſt certainly be ſomething more in it than meer *Neglect of Duty*; for it appears by a Reſolution of the *Houſe of Commons*, *Nem. con. That many* notorious Breaches of Truſt *have been committed, and many* indirect and fraudulent Practices *carried on, for ſome Years paſt, by Perſons concern'd in the Direction and Management of the* Charitable Corporation. It is laid to their Charge, by the *ſame Authority*, that prodigious Sums of

* *Mr.* Weaver *ſays*, *That the Centre of annular Appearance is ſo far from traverſing the North of* Scotland, *or even* Edinburgh, *that it paſſeth over* Ireland, *about* Tuam, Longford *and* Down; *paſſeth* Carliſle *and* Alnewick *in* England; *the North Limit of annular Appearance paſſing by* Bintergad *in the Iſle of* Ila, *and* Newburg *in* Scotland; *its South Limit traverſing* Kinſale *in* Ireland, Nantwich *and* Barton *in* England. *At* London *I expect the Digits will be about* 10½, *or perhaps a ſmall matter more.*

Money

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Money were embezzled by Means of *fictitious Pledges*; that the *same Persons*, not being content with *trading in Shares*; obtaining *new Licences* from the Crown, for the Augmentation of their Capital, without the Conſent of the *Proprietors*; and concealing *thoſe Licences*, till they had bought up all the *Shares*, which came to Market; but having exhauſted *all the Corporation's Caſh*, for theſe and other Purpoſes, they borrow'd Money upon *Notes* and *Bonds*, to a very great Sum, contrary to their *Charter*, which they left the ſtript *Proprietors* to pay, as far as they were able; for they have been obliged to compound with their *Creditors*, and have actually paid them 4 *s.* in the Pound already, beſides contracting to pay them a *fourth Part* of what they ſhall hereafter recover.

To keep up the Value of the *Shares*, and ſell out *their own* at exorbitant Prices, *the* ſaid Managers *are accuſed of acquainting ſeveral* General Courts, *call'd for declaring* Dividends, *that they had caſt up the* Books, *examin'd the* Accounts, *and conſider'd their* Profits, *without having ever ſuſpected the* Warehouſes, *to ſee whether they had any* Pledges *for the ſeveral large Sums of* Money lent, *and ſometimes without having ſeen* any Account *whatſoever*, *in order to induce the* general Courts *to make* large Dividends; which is likewiſe declared, by a Reſolution of the *Houſe of Commons*, to be an *infamous Contrivance*.

The *Legiſlature* was ſo thoroughly convinced of the perfidious Conduct of *theſe Men*, that *ſome of them*, who were Members of the *Houſe of Commons*, were expell'd; *another* was ſent to the *Fleet*; one of their *Agents* was committed to *Newgate*; *four of the Directors*, beſides *two of their Agents*, were obliged to give in an *Inventory of their Eſtates*, with a Security not to depart the Kingdom for a Year; and, laſtly, an humble Addreſs was preſented to his Majeſty by the *Houſe of Commons*, *that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to direct his* Attorney-General *to proſecute ſeveral of them, in the moſt effectual Manner, for the* indirect *and* fraudulent Practices *committed by them*; which Proſecution is accordingly now carrying on.

The Deſign of the *Legiſlature*, in obliging the *Directors* and *others* to give in an *Inventory of their Eſtates*, and *reſtraining them from going out of the Kingdom*, under no leſs a Penalty than *Felony*, appears by the *Preamble to the Act* made for that Purpoſe; *viz. That they might be* anſwerable *for the* fraudulent *and* indirect Practices, *with which they ſtand charged, and the* very great Loſſes *occaſion'd thereby to the Proprietors*. And the *Reſolution of the Houſe of Commons*, upon which *this Act* was founded, expreſly ſays, *that they ought to make a* juſt Satisfaction *for the ſame*.

I think it evident from hence, that the Intention of the *Legiſlature*, at that Time, was to make *theſe Plunderers* anſwerable for the Loſſes of the *Proprietors*, out of their *own Eſtates*, like the *S. S. Directors*. But nothing of this Kind was done the *enſuing Seſſion*, as it was generally expected, nor ever ſince. What was the Reaſon of this, it may not be proper for me to explain.

The *Parliament*, indeed, in Compaſſion to the *unhappy Sufferers*, was pleaſed to grant them a *Lottery*; out of the Profits of which all the *Proprietors* and *Creditors*, who ſwore themſelves not worth above 5000 *l.* have received a Relief of 9 *s.* 9 *d.* in the Pound; the *Shares of the Proprietors* being valued at 5 *l.* tho' moſt of them coſt 6 *l.* and upwards. But as many of the *Proprietors* could not intitle themſelves to any Part of *that Relief*, tho' very great Sufferers, and ſome of them having large Families, they reſolved, upon the Advice of eminent Council, to file a *Bill in Chancery* againſt the *Authors of their*

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Misfortunes; and the *other Proprietors* concurr'd with them in it.

The *late Managers* and *their Friends* oppoſed this Reſolution in the *General Court*; but tho' there was a very great Majority againſt them, they demanded a *Ballot*, and ſome of them inſiſted in a menacing Manner upon voting in their *own Caſe*; which was juſtly refuſed; and, upon caſting up the Votes, they had the Mortification to find 394 *for the Proſecution*, and only 77 *againſt it*.

The *Corporation* had afterwards the Satisfaction to ſee their Conduct, in refuſing *thoſe Perſons* to vote in the *Ballot*, approved of by the Court of *King's Bench*, who had been moved againſt them.

It would be endleſs to explain the many Artifices ſince uſed to diſtreſs this *unhappy Company*. But I have the Pleaſure to inform you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that all theſe Attempts have likewiſe miſcarried; and that the *Corporation* is not only poſſeſs'd of a ſufficient Sum to anſwer all their *preſent Demands*, but have likewiſe a Certainty of receiving a great Deal more.

Some Gentlemen are ſo well apprized of this Truth, that they have but *two Shifts* left. *One* is, to create a Diviſion between the *Corporation* and their *Creditors*, who are jointly concern'd in Intereſt with each other; and therefore if any Perſons, under Pretence of ſerving the *Creditors*, ſhould endeavour to foment any *ſuch Miſunderſtandings*, they ought to be look'd upon as Friends to the *late Managers*, rather than to either the *Creditors*, or the *Proprietors* in general. The *other Method* is to diſpoſe of their *Shares* amongſt their *own Creatures*, in order to procure a Majority in ſome *future General Courts*; and as this cannot be brought about, without *opening the Books*, I make no doubt that they will labour it, with all their Might, at the *next General Court*, having already made clandeſtine Applications to ſeveral of the *Proprietors* upon this Subject. It is therefore hoped that all Perſons, who have been ſo greatly injured in their *Properties*, and have any Regard for *common Juſtice*, or their *own Intereſt* and *Honour*, will not only give their Attendance, but likewiſe zealouſly oppoſe any *ſuch Attempt*, or *Propoſal of the like Nature*.

I cannot recommend this, in a ſtronger Manner, to the *Proprietors*, than by obſerving that *opening the Books*, at this Juncture, will put it in the Power of any Man, who pays but a meer Trifle for his *Shares*, or more likely nothing at all, to diſpoſe of the Property of thoſe, who have loſt Thouſands in *this Corporation*; and it will be almoſt ridiculous in the *Proprietors* to be drawn into *ſuch a Scheme*, the natural Effect of which is to ſtop the Courſe of Juſtice, at a Time when the *Point in Diſpute* is drawing ſo near to an Hearing, being ſet down for *Eaſter-Term* next.

I am, SIR, &c.

A PROPRIETOR.

§. *Remarks on a late* Gazetteer.

MEN, who write for a *Miniſter*, ought to be endow'd at leaſt with *common Diſcretion*, whatever their *political*, *moral*, or *religious Principles* may be; and yet nothing is ſo remarkably deficient in *thoſe*, who are retain'd in that Service at preſent. They ſeem to think that they have nothing elſe to do, but to *abuſe*, *beſpatter*, and *call Names*; without conſidering *Times* and *Seaſons*, or the *Perſons*, at whom they throw their *Stinkpots*.

We had a ſignal Inſtance of this in the *Gazetteer* of the 13th Inſtant, which contains a ſtupid, and inſolent Libel upon the City of *London*. Not only the *four worthy Members* are mark'd out in the moſt ſcandalous Colours, but the whole Body of *Merchants* and *Traders* are repreſented as

a Parcel of *Knaves*, *Fools* and *Madmen*, who ought to be ſent to *Newgate*, or *Bedlam*. But, for God's Sake, what hath the *City* done, of late, to deſerve ſuch Uſage? Have they raiſed any Diſturbances, or been guilty of any undutiful Behaviour, during *his Majeſty's long Abſence*, and amidſt the *moſt general Want of Trade*, that was ever felt before in *this Metropolis*? On the contrary, have they not in a publick Manner, and with all the Circumſtances of the higheſt Reſpect, preſented his *Royal Highneſs*, *the* Prince *of* Wales, with the *Freedom of the City*; which his *Royal Highneſs* was pleaſed to accept, with his natural Generoſity of Temper, *as a new Mark of their* Duty to the King, *and* Affection to himſelf? (See Vol. V. p. 699.)

The *Author of this Paper* ſeems to be highly delighted with the Conceit of a *new College* in *Moorfields*, for the Reception of *decay'd* and *diſtreſs'd Politicians*; and, perhaps, his *Patron* may not be ſorry to hear of *ſuch a Foundation* himſelf. But I would adviſe him not to let his *Advocates* run quite ſo riot againſt the *Citizens of London*, at this Juncture; becauſe it may poſſibly put them in Mind of *his own Language* towards them, ſome Years ago; and induce them to ſuſpect that a *Man*, who was capable of calling them *ſturdy Beggars* himſelf, might not be aſhamed to order his *little Hirelings* to beſtow the Appellations of *Knaves*, *Fools* and *Madmen* upon them. I think it would be likewiſe proper, for a particular Reaſon, to reſtrain them from throwing out any Reflections againſt *Stockjobbing*, and raiſing immenſe Fortunes in *Exchange-Alley*.

CAL. D'ANVERS.

Fog's Journal, Jan. 22. N° 428.

Of the Spaniſh Etiquette, *or Ceremonial of the Palace*, &c.

BEFORE *Philip* V. the Kings *of Spain* were Slaves to their Grandeur. They kept with the utmoſt Rigour to a certain Regulation, call'd the *Etiquette*; it contain'd all the Ceremonies they were obliged to obſerve, as the Habits they wore, and thoſe for their Queens; the Days for going to the Royal Houſes, the Time of ſtaying at the ſeveral Palaces, the King's going in Proceſſion, and alſo his taking the Air or going abroad; even the Hour of their Majeſties going to Bed, and the Time of their riſing; the Preſents the King is to make to his Miſtreſſes, and how they were to be dealt with when a happy Rival happened to diſplace any of them, *&c.* Nay it has been ſaid, that a certain Number of Days were mark'd down, when the Monarch muſt not lie with his Queen. We are told our King *Charles* II. met with the like Provocation from the Presbyterians of *Scotland*, when he put himſelf into their Hands; they moreover brought him to do certain Penance, and to hear 4 Sermons in a Day; but this ſtrict Diſcipline is pretty much worn off, the Kirk Treaſurers by Licence from the pious Paſtors can grant Indulgencies at a Price certain, and do no hurt to the good old Cauſe.

The *Etiquette*, however, was yet a greater Check to the Liberty of the Queen Conſorts, for they were often forbid Things the moſt innocent. The Dutcheſs *de Terra Novâ*, who was *Camerara Major* to the Wife of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, told her Majeſty plainly, that the Queens of *Spain* muſt not look out of a Window of the Palace.

There happen'd to this Princeſs an Adventure, which by the Formalities of the *Etiquette*, had like to have coſt her her Life. She was very fond of riding, and ſeveral fine Horſes having been brought her, ſhe had a Mind to try one of them; but ſhe had no ſooner mounted when the proud Steed began to prance, and at length threw the Royal Rider off, and

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and what was worſe, her Majeſty's Foot hitch'd in the Stirrup, and the Horſe dragg'd her along to the utmoſt Peril of her Life. All the Court were Spectators of this Accident, but no body ſuccour'd her; the *Etiquette* formally oppos'd it, for it forbid any Man whatſoever, on pain of Death, to touch the Queen of *Spain*, and more eſpecially her Foot. *Charles* II. who had great Love for his Queen, and who from a Balcony ſaw the Danger ſhe was in, cry'd out vehemently; but the Cuſtom was inviolable, and the *untouchable* Foot reſtrain'd the grave *Spaniards* from intermeddling in ſo delicate an Affair. At length two brisk Cavaliers reſolv'd to hazard all in ſpight of the Law of the *Queen's Foot*, *La Lei del Pie por la Reina*. One ſeiz'd the Bridle, and the other laid hold of the Queen's Foot, and took it out of the Stirrup. When this was done they took the Advantage of the Confuſion this Accident occaſioned, and without ſtopping went Home, got their Horſes ſaddled, and fled from the Puniſhment they had incurr'd for daring to offend againſt ſo ſtrict and ſo auguſt a Cuſtom.

The Queen recovering from her Fright, deſired to ſee her two Deliverers. A young Lord, their Friend, told her they were obliged to fly the Country to avoid the Puniſhment they had merited. The Queen, who was a *French* Woman, and knew nothing of the Prerogative of her Heel, and probably without this Fall had never remained ignorant of it, imagined it a very impertinent Cuſtom that muſt puniſh Men for ſaving her Life. In ſhort ſhe eaſily obtain'd their Pardon from the King her Huſband, honour'd them with a handſome Preſent, and granted them her Protection.

One very ſurprizing Thing is, that notwithſtanding the Severity of the *Etiquette*, it was a common Cuſtom at Court, before the Reign of *Philip* V. for the young Lords to gallant the Queen's Maids of Honour, which was done by walking under their Windows, and by entertaining them in dumb Shews with their Fingers. The *Spaniſh* Nobility are come off from theſe ridiculous Impertinencies which they conſecrate under the Name of, the Ceremonial of the Palace, but would as readily take them up again, as they quitted them, were it not for the great Number of Foreigners, ſuch as *French*, *Italians* and *Flemiſh*, with which that Court is crowded, and tho' they ſeem now to imitate the *French* more than any other, yet the Leaven of *Spaniſh* Gravity ſtill ſubſiſts. They once carried their Hatred to an Exceſs againſt *France*. *Charles* II. order'd the Necks of two Parrots belonging to his Queen to be twiſted off; becauſe they could ſpeak nothing but *French*. And when he came into her Apartment where he found two little Dogs which ſhe was very fond of, he cry'd, *Fuera! fuera! Perros Frances*, i. e. get out you *French* Dogs.

All *Europe* once imagin'd, that the Genius of the Houſe of *Bourbon* would ſuccumb under the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and who could have thought otherwiſe in the Reign of *Charles* V. almoſt Maſter of all *Europe*? But was he to return again to the World, how great would be his Surprize? He would juſtly ask, *What is become of my Kingdom of* Spain? It would be anſwer'd, *that it was poſſeſs'd by a Prince of the Houſe of* Bourbon. *And* Franche Comte (the Monarch would continue) *my favourite Province?* *The* French *have taken it*, they would tell him; *alſo* Alſace, *a Part of* Hanaut *and* Flanders. *And the Kingdoms of* Naples *and* Sicily, this Prince would reply, *what is become of them?* They would anſwer again, *they belong to a Prince of the Houſe of* Bourbon; *and beſides theſe Loſſes which your Deſcendants have ſuffer'd*, Holland *and ſix other Provinces became*

Re-

Republicks ſoon after your Death. The Caſe being thus, *Charles* V. would ſay, *I ſee that my Deſcendants no longer ſubſiſt. Yes*, it would be reply'd, *they have as valuable Poſſeſſions as ever; your Succeſſors are Maſters of* Tuſcany, *the Dutchies of* Parma, Plaiſance *and* Milan; *and inſtead of* Spain, *that you ſeparated in ſome Meaſure from your other Eſtates in dividing your Inheritance, they have all* Hungary, Tranſilvania, *and a Part of* Walachia, *Theſe Kingdoms which border upon each other, and lie contiguous to* Auſtria, *including* Bohemia, Sileſia *and* Moravia, *from one of the moſt magnificent States in the World, and of equal Value with all the diſpers'd Countries you left behind you.*

Craftſman, Jan. 27. N° 370.

A WRITER in this Paper conſiders the Methods that have been propos'd for preventing the exceſſive drinking of Spirituous Liquors, and ſhews the Inconveniencies of moſt of them. He approves of laying ſuch a Duty on all home-diſtill'd Liquors, as might make them as dear as foreign Brandy and Rum; but as a more effectual Remedy, he propoſes a Method of his own, as follows; That Retailers be prohibited under a ſevere Penalty from ſelling or delivering any Quantity of Spirituous Liquors to either Women or Children, and from ſuffering any Man to ſit down or ſtay longer in their Shops than he was drinking a Dram. This Regulation, (ſays he) in all Probability, would of itſelf put a Stop to the Evil, at leaſt in a ſufficient Degree, even ſuppoſing there was no Duty at all laid on ſuch Liquors.

For firſt, by reſtraining Retailers from ſelling to either Women or Children, not only a Stop will be put to the Evil ſo far among the Vulgar; but an Evil of far worſe Conſequence to the Publick, and which the Act does not provide againſt, would be ſuppreſſed; I mean the Abuſe of Spirituous Liquors in Families of good Condition.

Secondly, by Retailers not ſuffering the Men to ſit down in their Shops, or ſtay any longer than while they are drinking a Dram, all Aſſembling and Loitering in Gin-Shops would be prevented; to which the Evil complained of is perhaps as much owing, as to the Cheapneſs of the Liquor; for there they meet and encourage one another to drink, often ſpending their Time from Morning till Night. In ſhort, prevent idle People from aſſembling, and you in a great Meaſure remove the Evil.

Such a Regulation in all probability would have a good Effect; and I am told, that by this Method alone, the Abuſe of Spirituous Liquors is prevented in *Holland*; altho' they are much better and cheaper there than here.

Craftſman, Jan. 29. N° 552.

The Government of SWEDEN: *In a Letter from a* Sailor.

ALL Writers agree that *Sweden* was antiently not only a *free Country*, but an *elective Kingdom*; and even when the *Succeſſion* was made *hereditary*, in the Family of *Guſtavus Erickſon*, (about the Middle of the 15th *Century*) the Fundamentals of their Conſtitution ſtill remain'd, and were not totally deſtroy'd, till *Charles* XI. found Means to make himſelf abſolute, by ſowing Diſſentions amongſt the Members of the *Diet*, or what we call the *Parliament*.

The Death of his Son *Charles* XII. proved fatal to the *Sovereignty*, as *arbitrary Power* is there call'd, and was immediately follow'd with the Reſtoration of their *Liberties*; for the *Swedes*, grown wiſe by Experience and a long Series of Diſtreſſes, reſolved to aſſert their *antient Rights*, and

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and would not admit his Siſter, the preſent Queen of *Sweden*, to the Throne, without a ſolemn Renunciation of all Claim by *hereditary Right*, and the Exerciſe of any Kind of *deſpotick* or *abſolute Government*. A *ſolemn Inſtrument* was immediately drawn up and ſign'd, for reſtraining the *Regal Power*, and confirming the *People's Liberties*; which was ſoon after renew'd, or rather made more extenſive, upon the Acceſſion of the *preſent King*, by the Reſignation of his *generous Conſort*.

But nothing tended to eſtabliſh this *new Government*, upon a popular Foundation, more than inflicting exemplary Puniſhment upon *Baron de Goerts*, the *Prime Miniſter* of the former Reign, who had render'd himſelf univerſally odious, by his cruel Oppreſſions, and infamous Projects to fleece the People.

By the *Inſtrument of Government* before-mention'd, the Authority of the *Diet*, which had been aboliſh'd by *Charles* XI. was reſtored and confirm'd. The *Diet* there conſiſts of 4 *Houſes*. The *Houſe of Nobles*; which is compoſed of the *lower Nobility*, (who are no more than *Knights*, or *Gentlemen of Diſtinction*, amongſt us) the *Barons* and *Counts*; there being no higher Dignity in *Sweden*. The *ſecond Houſe* is that of the *Clergy*. The *third* conſiſts of the *trading Part of the Nation*; to which every *Town* and *City* ſends a Repreſentative of the *Magiſtracy* and of the *Tradeſmen*. The *fourth* is compoſed of the *Farmers*, or the *Deputies*, whom the *Peaſants* ſend from their ſeveral Counties and Provinces. There is a *new Election of Members* at every Meeting of the *Diet*.

Theſe 4 *Houſes* meet ſometimes to deliberate jointly upon the *common Good of the Nation*; and ſometimes *every Houſe* deliberates ſeparately upon *their own particular Intereſt*, or the Propoſals made to them by the *King*, or the *other Houſes*. *Three Houſes* always carry the Point in Queſtion; but if they happen to be equally divided, the 4 *Houſes* appoint *certain Deputies* out of their reſpective Bodies to determine it. The *King* and the *Senate* cannot reſolve upon *War*, or *Peace*, nor impoſe any *new Taxes*, nor do any Thing elſe of great Importance, without the Approbation of the *States*: Nay, the *Senate* is anſwerable to the *States* for their Proceedings.

The *Senate* conſiſts, as I have been inform'd, of about 30 *Members*, who are choſen out of the moſt eminent *Generals*, *Governors of Provinces*, and *Preſidents of Councils*. At the Head of them is the *High Chancellor of the Kingdom*, who at the ſame Time *is Preſident of the Chancery*, and *firſt Miniſter*. The *whole Senate* meets, at certain Times, in order to take proper Meaſures for the Welfare of the Country in general; and ſometimes the *Senate* is divided into ſeveral Claſſes, call'd *Expeditions*. The *King* cannot diſpoſe of any Place under the Government, without the Advice of a certain Number of *theſe Senators*. Much leſs can he take from any Man his *Place*, or *Commiſſion*, without the Conſent of the *Senators*, who muſt be ready to anſwer for it before the *Diet*, if the Perſon concern'd can prove himſelf in any wiſe wrong'd.

Thus is the *King* bound by the *Senate*, and the *Senate* by the *Diet*. I could recite a great many Advantages attending *this Plan of Government*; by which the *King* is intruſted with Power enough to make his People *happy*, but too much circumſcribed to intrude upon their *Liberties*, either directly or by his *Miniſters*.

It muſt be confeſs'd that the *Swedes* ſtill want two very great Privileges, which we enjoy at preſent; I mean the *Liberty of Conſcience*, and of the *Preſs*. The *firſt* is owing to their inviolable Attachment to the *Confeſſion of Auſpburgh*, which they have obliged their *preſent Sovereign*, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, to maintain, tho' he was formerly of a different Perſuaſion himſelf. As to the *Liberty of the Preſs*, I never heard that it was ever claim'd in *Sweden*, eſpecially at the *laſt Revolution*, any more than it was at *our Revolution* in 1688; for there is not one Word, in the *Bill of Rights*, about the *Liberty of the Preſs*, as you have formerly obſerved; and the *Licenſing Act* would have been revived, ſome Years afterwards, had it not been for the prudent Vigilance of ſome worthy Patriots in the *Houſe of Commons*; for, if I do not miſtake, it actually paſs'd the *Houſe of Lords*.—But if the People of *Sweden* ſhould ever obtain *theſe two Privileges*, I don't know in what other Points of *Liberty* we can boaſt of any Advantage over them.

T.

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To FAME; *An* ODE.

1.

LO! on yon promontory's pendent brow
That threats the ſhadow'd gulph below,
In the dun air ſublime,
Fame ſpreads her haſty pinions wide,
Diſdaining *B*——'s ſluggiſh clime!
And, in a moment's flight,
Determines to alight
On haughty *Gaul*'s more formidable ſide.
Stay, goddeſs! I conjure thee, ſtay!
And e'er irrevocably ſoar'd away,
Thy piercing trump apply!
And pour ſo vehement a blaſt,
As ſhall alarm earth, ſea, and ſky,
Awake the preſent age, and echo to the laſt.

2.

She hears the *Muſe*'s call,
And, with obedient breath,
Inſpires the myſtick ſtrain!
Hark! hark! the ſwelling ſound
Tempeſts the air around;
Rouzes the ſleeping main,
Shakes earth's remoteſt bound,
Pierces the centre of the ball,
And, almoſt, wakens death.
Again! again the rattling peal renew!
Make courtly deafneſs hear!
Make guilty tyrants fear
The furies, cloſe their bloody ſteps purſue!
Again! again it vibrates, loud
As thunder from a burſting cloud.
The diſtant *Ruſſians* catch the fierce alarm,
And, fir'd with martial flame,
Luxurious *Perſians* arm, [name.
And, nobly, emulate the *Greek*, and *Roman*

3.

But death to honeſt eyes!
B——'s genius, ſlumbring, lies
Effeminately ſoft, on carpets ſpread!
Deaf to the honourable ſound,
That awes the world around;
Numm'd with inglorious peace,
Enervated with ſloth, and eaſe,
And, to all ſenſe of fame, and virtue dead!
Her uſeleſs ſhield is hurl'd aſide,
And her diſhonour'd lance,
The terror once of *France!*
Diſdainful *Cupids* wantonly beſtride.
Her idle hands
Are link'd with golden bands;
The victor laurel too
Falls wither'd from her brow,
And in its ſtead, ſarcaſtick *humour* ties
A raſe wreath: Emblem of a victim doom'd
for ſacrifice!

4.

O where are all her antient *heroes* flown?
Her *ſenators* of high renown;
Her patriots ſuch as dar'd withſtand
The force almighty of corrupting gold,
Make proud *oppreſſion* quit her greedy hold,
And, from the jaws of ruin ſnatch their native land?
Alas! the monumental buſt
That guards their awful duſt,
And the *hiſtorian*'s faithful page,
Are the ſole relicks of that nobler age!
Unleſs, then, goddeſs! thy awak'ning ſtrain
Can rouze th' impartial dead again,
Give, give thy fruitleſs labour o'er,
And quit for ever the degen'rate ſhore!
For where all vices make their joint abode,
Fame's to be fear'd as heaven's ſevereſt rod,
And cloud-begot *oblivion* worſhipp'd as a god.

A LAMPOON *on the* OXFORD-TOASTS.

THE friendly muſe long ſince by rage inſpir'd
With kind revenge a * *Strephon*'s paſſion fir'd;
Each fav'rite vice, each foible of the fair,
Check'd by his pen, was taught to diſappear.
No more durſt † *Bell* her yeilding charms diſplay,
Nor *Mars* meet *Venus* in the milky way:
No more could *Merton*'s ſhady walk invite
Forbidden lovers to the joys of night.
The nymphs then conſcious of the faults he drew,
With bluſhing cheeks confeſt the poet true.
But now each kind reproof forbidden dies,
In each affected ſhe new follies riſe.
Aukwardly gay, impertinently loud,
In fancy'd charms, in imitation proud,
‡ *Vineſſa*, where the faded pattern leads,
Obſervant of *Belinda*'s paces treads:
Like her ſhe thinks ſhe reigns the firſt of toaſts,
Like her of § knight, and hop'd for titles boaſts.
But oh! beware from this example ſhown,
To make *Belinda*'s miſeries your own.
Fond of patrician blood, and proud of place,
In vain ſhe dy'd her hair, ſhe ſtain'd her face,
And edg'd each arrow at his idol'd grace.
Her charms poſſeſt the wand'rer fled away,
Quitting the rifled fair to || grooms a prey.
Thus *Abigails* enjoy'd are left forſaken,
The chaplain's fee to ſave his lordſhip's bacon.
Cautious of future ills from her beware
To let ambition be your only care;
Confine your views to good mamm——'s deſign;
You've charms enough to recommend your wine,
And ſhe may ſpare her buſh while you hang out your ſign:
So from each window *Bacchus*' ſons ſhall gaze,
And the throng'd bar ſhall manifeſt your praiſe;
With your own wine inflam'd ſome future ſot
Shall deign perhaps to tie the marriage knot,
And take the fortune you from him have got.

* *Ambroſe* † *Bel. Tyr——l.* ‡ Miſs *F——n*, an Inn-keeper's Daughter. § Sir *H——l T——e.* || Mr. *K——p*, Groom to Lord *Ab——n.*

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Thus to the heroine of the *Britiſh* ſtage,
(The ſtale remains of pride, of luſt and age)
Prieſts'd in wiles and ſkilful to betray,
Th' enamour'd ſoldier fell an eaſy prey; [ſlave,
Enrich'd with ſpoils ſhe triumph'd o'er the
Then bought the cully with the wealth he gave.
Reverſe to her * *Reſtoria* next appears,
Diſtant in beauty as advanc'd in years.
The father's ſtiffneſs in the daughter's ſeen,
Each dully grave, each ſullenly ſerene,
The type of wiſdom ſhe, with bearded chin.
Twice fifteen ſuns have travell'd o'er her head,
As many winters chill'd the frozen maid,
To ev'ry paſſion but to envy dead.
Hence the fond victim to her ſiſter's charms
Inflames her malice, and her ſpleen alarms.
Oh! like † *Aulinda* could but *Kitty* rove;
The am'rous nymph would waſte each hour in love.
Aulinda, happy vagabond! in thee
We ſee the ſad effects of female liberty.
Obſequious to the call of powder'd fops
She reigns the hackney queen of diſtant hopes.
Haſp'd up in tumbrell with a brace of beaux,
To neighb'ring towns the gadding ſtroller goes:
Within the coach what accidents befel
The willing fair, the muſe forbears to tell;
And fears two beaux combin'd might tempt a ſingle bell.
By ‡ *Iriſh* falſhood warn'd, and broken vows,
§ *Anna* more cautiouſly herſelf beſtows; (reſt,
Her dawning charms th' *Hibernian* knight con-
The maiden paſſion of his am'rous breaſt:
Sedue'd by love the hopes of her deſign,
He fram'd the maid all beauteous, all divine;
Imagination his deſires improv'd,
And as he little knew, he greatly lov'd,
Proud of the noble conqueſt, but afraid
To loſe ſo rich a prize, the ready maid
Her fond, her fooliſh forwardneſs betray'd.
To coming kind ſhe meets the youth's deſires,
Prevents his wiſh, and burns with mutual fires.
Her cheapneſs quickly cool'd the lover's flame,
The more he knew, the leſs he lov'd the dame:
A heart ſo ready got, the beau deſpis'd,
(Favours when hardly gain'd themore are priz'd)
Gorg'd with her love to native bogs returns,
Pleas'd, while poor *Anna* diſappointed mourns:
Like falſe, ungrateful, perjur'd *Theſeus* he;
Like fond, forſaken *Ariadne* ſhe.
E'er ſince, her paſt miſconduct to redeem,
The haughty damſel errs in the extream;
Stiff in reſerve, and obſtinately proud,
She keeps at diſtance the deluded crowd,
Shy of acceſs; for to her grief ſhe knows
Bad paintings cloſely view'd their faults diſcloſe,
Till each ſoft fool diſcourag'd by diſdain
Reſumes his freedom, and forgets his chain.
Unhappy nymph! who either kind or coy,
Or chills the lover's flame, or gluts his joy.

From each top pattern of contagious vice
Unnumbered vulgar follies take their riſe:
Far, far behind theſe chieftains firſt in view
Miſs ‖ *Firkin* marſhals up the tatter'd crew.
Mamma's indulgent fondneſs to the child
With early vanity the darling ſpoil'd:
The clumſy thing diſh'd up in tawdry ſilk,
Betrays the pride ſhe ſuck'd from mother's milk;
Vainly affects with imitating pen
Romantick *Manley*, or laſcivious *Behn*:
But diſtant far from each poetick dame,
She knows no other but their luſtful flame.
Infatuated ** *Tubal* falls before
Her fancy'd charms, and owns the conqueror's power.
Gratis he taught the maid his tuneful art,
To move the paſſions, and engage the heart;
With falſe enticements, and alluring ſmiles,
The cunning jilt his growing hopes beguiles:
Soon as inſtructed ſcorns the am'rous fool,
And having ſerv'd her end, diſcards the tool.
Think not theſe falſhoods will unpuniſh'd lie,
Ingratitude's a guilt of deepeſt dye;
Vengeance will follow, and expect to prove,
A wretch condemn'd to proſtituted love;
Deſpis'd by all at auction you ſhall ſtand,
A profer'd bargain to the richeſt hand,
Reduc'd at length your livelihood to gain,
You'll live the refuſe of a *Drury-lane*.
We might expect fanatick zeal would prove
A mound to ſtop th' impetuous tide of love,
That rigid ſanctity would ſtarve the flame,
But luſt in all religions is the ſame.
Youthful †† *Andira* regular repairs
To canting preacher, and ſchiſmatick prayers:
With eyes upliſt, and each devout grimace,
A ſobbing boſom, a diſtreſſed face,
With hollow groans, hands reverently join'd,
The wanton hypocrite belies her mind.
The ſolemn farce of ſanctity but play'd,
Th' appointed youth enjoys the longing maid.
How can the paſtor then be ſaid to keep
Secure from rav'ning wolves his wand'ring ſheep,
Whoſe fav'rite lambs allow'd to go aſtray,
To prouling wolves unguarded fall a prey?
With throat of braſs with thouſand tongues tho' loud,
In vain the muſe would try to paint the croud:
C--t--r and *B--nf--d* with the num'rous train
Of *Br--k*, of *B--ſh--p*, *H--mm--g*, *F--m--n*, *P--n*,
Of many more too tedious to rehearſe,
Beyond the poet's bounds would ſwell the verſe.

The COMMITTEE.

A Committee of ſtate of the *Belles* of the town,
Was call'd to paſs ſentence upon a lampoon:

* Miſs *K. Wr——t.* † Miſs *H—ll.* ‡ Sir *E—d O B——n.* § Miſs *B—k---n.*
‖ *Molly J---s*, a Cooper's Daughter. ** Mr. *G--d--n*, Organiſt of —— Coll. †† Miſs *A--d--n*, a Quaker.

For

For priority female contentions aroſe,
Some pleaded their beauty, and others their
clothes; [beaux.
Some bragg'd of their ſenſe but more of their
Rectoria ſtept forth their diſputes to aſſwage,
And claim'd the firſt place by right of her age;
Then ſolemnly placed herſelf in the chair,
And thus mov'd her ſage chin in harangue to
the fair:

' A libel you've heard of, good ladies, of late
' 'Gainſt me, and yourſelves, and that wan-
ton girl *Kate*.
A libel in which ſpleen, abuſe and ill-nature
Speak the *wit* of the bard, and the ſting of the
ſatyr.
An impudent fellow to tell all theſe lyes;
Od's my life, if I knew him, I'd tear out his
eyes.
Pray have I any beard?—not a hair to be ſeen;
Yet to hear this defamer! — it gives me the
ſpleen:
And how formal ſoever my father appears,
His ſtiffneſs proceeds but from gout, and from
years;
Our family know he's as fond and as free,
As any old father can poſſibly be;
For he kiſſes mamma, my ſiſter and me.
Miſs *Kitty* 'tis true, not content with his kiſſes,
More willingly chuſes a lover's careſſes;
But tho' to the window ſo often ſhe goes,
I'll guard the young minx from the danger of
beaux: [creature
She ſhall ne'er be careſs'd, leſt the giddy young
Shou'd meet with the fop that ſcribbled the ſatyr:
And ſince he has doom'd me to die an old maid,
May I lead him below as apes there are led.'
Kitty fain would have ſpoke, but *Vineſſa* in
haſte,
(And *Vineſſa* you know has a tongue of the beſt)
' Sure never were beauties ſo foully bely'd,
' Our reſentment is juſt,' with anger reply'd;
' To ſecure your revenge let the taſk but be
' mine, [' ſign,
' Each dezwer I'm ſure will promote my de-
' Wich deadlieſt poiſon to venom his wine.'
Big with wrath and oration *Belinda* aroſe,
She bridled her chin, and ſhe knitted her brows,
Reſentment and paſſion glow'd ſtrong in her
face,
She flirted her fan, then open'd the caſe:
' Oh! did I but know this ſaucy paltroon,
' In defence to beauty who wrote this lampoon,
' My coachman ſhould flog him, my poet
' ſhou'd write,
And were there occaſion my nobleman fight,
Nay by ſtrength of the law I'd puniſh the wag,
For my *father has told me 'tis *ſcandalum magn.*'
' If the poet refuſes,' m ſs *Anna* repli'd,
' I've a pretty young bauble that hangs by my
' ſide,
' Who nicely obſerves ev'ry mode of the town,
' Can dreſs up a head, or pin up a gown;
' The firſt at each publick ball to be ſeen,
' Can trip *Scaramouch*, or dance *Harlequin*:
' Young *Freddy*, you know him, who ſmells
' of pulvil, [' them that will,
' Tho' he can't write himſelf he ſhall treat
' With rock-punch and claret, no coſt ſhall be
' ſpar'd,
' But in his own way I'll puniſh the bard.'
' I beg,' ſays *Vineſſa*, ' if that's your deſign,
' You'll propoſe my *mamma*, to ſell him his
' wine.'
Their judgments thus paſs'd each ſplenetick ſhe
With a dram of good *Nantz* corrected her tea.

M. W.

TOBACCO: *A Poem.*

HAIL thought inſpiring Plant! thou balm
of life,
Well might thy worth engage a *nation's ſtrife*;
Thou ſweet amuſement of both old and young,
Say why remain thy healing powers unſung?
Exhauſtleſs fountain of *Britannia's* wealth,
Thou friend to wiſdom, and thou ſource of
health;
At morn and night, thy kindly influence ſhed,
And o'er the mind delightful quiet ſpread.
Thou mak'ſt the paſſions due obedience
know,
And regular the ſwift ideas flow;
The mighty *Raleigh* †, firſt thy virtue taught,
And prov'd himſelf thy generous aid to thought.
Calm'd

* A Lawyer. † Sir *Walter Raleigh* was one of the greateſt Men of his Time, of uncommon Abilities; which recommended him to the Eſteem of Q. *Elizabeth*, who ſent him, in 1584, on a Voyage to *America*, from whence he brought over *Tobacco*, and in that Year he diſcovered *Wyngandocoa*, ſince called *Virginia*, in Honour of his Royal Miſtreſs, that renowned *Virgin Queen*, who for this, and other glorious Actions, deſervedly conferred on him the Honour of Knighthood, of whom *Camden* ſays, *Vir erat nunquam ſatis laudato ſtudio & Regiones remotas detegendi & navalem Angliæ gloriam promovendi.* His Motto was *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio*, which he made good; for Authors have been perplex'd under what Character they ſhould place him; whether the Stateſman, the Soldier, the Seaman, the Chymiſt, or the Chronologer; in all which he excell'd.

This great and worthy Man was, ſoon after K. *James* I's Acceſſion to the Throne, condemned for High Treaſon, at *Winton*, *Nov.* 27, 1603, upon an unprecedented Evidence, *viz.* the *Lord Cobham's* Accuſation, who was himſelf convicted of what Sir *Walter* was impeach'd, and whom Sir *Walter* deſir'd might in *propria Perſona* appear in Court, which was denied, tho' he was hard by, and had retracted his former Accuſation, by a Letter of his own Hand-writing, which juſtified Sir *Walter's* Innocency, and was produced in Court at the Trial.

Calm'd by thy pow'r; --- his mind through ages run,
And shew'd how men and manners first begun;
Defy'd affliction's most tormenting weight,
And view'd serene, th'impending stroke of fate;
With thee shall live for ever *Raleigh*'s name,
Nor thou the least of his immortal fame.
How wide! how vast, is since thy empire grown!
Is there a land that's to thy fame unknown?
To either sex thy generous power extends,
Damon and *Celia* are alike thy friends:
At *Celia*'s toilet dost thou claim a right?
The nymph so fam'd for teeth, like ivory white,
For breath more fragrant than the vernal air,
Blest with thy aid, makes every swain despair:
Where then shall *Damon* seek to ease his pain,
To sooth his sorrows, or his hope sustain?
Where but to thee?—thy balmy pow'r he tries,
The grateful fumes in spiry columns rise;
Thou calm'st the swellings of his tortur'd mind,
And passion stands by reason's rules confin'd:
Or thy ascending incense *Phœbus* moves, [lovers.
Who warms the bard to win the nymph he
In every clime thy benefits we view,
Thou nobler treasure than the fam'd *Peru*.
Thou friend to all, unmindful of degree,
The prince and peasant joy alike in thee;
Sagacious states-men thy delight confess,
And labouring hinds thy cordial comforts bless,
Fearless of ill: -- disease before thee flies,
And dire contagion in thy presence dies.
How chang'd the men! who plac'd their hopes in thee,
Once exil'd sons of want and misery;
Around each chief, now wait a num'rous band
Of vassals subject to his high command;
See, like a private prince, he rules in peace,
Yet small his portion of thy blest increase:
See countless sails swell o'er the labouring main,
What sons of *Neptune* do their wombs contain!
Britannia's great support, all brave and free
And big with empire o'er the subject sea;
Let these aloud thy services declare,
And prove thy merit, worth the publick care.
Let *Albion* triumph in thy lov'd produce:
Let wealthy *merchants* wide proclaim thy use,
And while they count their *thousands*, speak thy praise,
In *better* numbers, than the muse's lays.

A SONG.

WHEN tuneful *Damon* breath'd the flute,
How ev'ry heart did beat,
The waters hush'd, the birds were mute,
Nor could th' unequal strains dispute,
The musick was so sweet.
The list'ning virgins flock'd around,
Whilst the enchanter play'd,
They blush'd, and trembled at the sound,
Whilst ev'ry tender finger crown'd
Him, monarch of the shade.
The lovely victor smiling lay,
His triumph to survey,
He threw his breathless pipe aside
And his more grateful lips employ'd,
To please a better way.

ODE *to* Daphnis *a Puppy, playing with* Mixtilla *in Bed. By Mr.* Stacie.

HAPPY *Daphnis*, which can be
Of puppy dogs compar'd to thee!
On *Mirtilla*'s bosom lying,
Kissing her for whom I'm dying,
O'er her endless beauties sporting,
Whilst the nymph is gayly courting,
And with hugs and smiles repaying,
Skips and bites and wanton playing!
Gentle whelp, all whelps excelling,
Let us change a while our dwelling;
Sighing, pensive take thy stand,
Grow a lover out of hand,

Osborn says, That several of the Jury, after he was cast, were so far touch'd in Conscience, as to ask his Pardon on their Knees. The King of *Denmark*, at both Times he was in *England*, the *Queen*, and the Prince of *Wales* (being satisfied of his Innocency) moved on his behalf; nay, K. *James* thought him too innocent to lose his Life, but too great a Malecontent to have his Freedom; for he had with Sir *John Fortescue*, the Lord *Cobham*, and others, endeavour'd to limit the Number of the *North-Britons*, before that King came to the Crown. However, his Punishment was for 14 Years to be confin'd a *Prisoner of State* in the *Tower*, and there permitted to enjoy *Libera Custodia*; where he was delivered of that great *Minerva*; *The History of the World*, beginning from the first Ages.

Alas! I could wish for the Honour of *England*, that his Death was eras'd out of our Annals; but so it was, this renowned *Patriot*, about 80 Years of Age, after having spent his Fortune against the *Spaniard* (above 40,000 Crowns) fell a Sacrifice to the *Spanish* Faction, thro' the Influence of *Gondamor*, who in that Reign wholly guided the Court; and with a serene Chearfulness, and a religious Resolution, he submitted to his Fate in the *Old Palace*, *Westminster*, where he was Beheaded, *Oct.* 29, 1618, on the former Sentence, that had lay dormant about 16 Years, notwithstanding the Lawyers were of Opinion he was *Reftus in Curia* by the King's Commission granted to him to proceed in an Enterprize to *Guiana*, lying in the Southern Parts of *America*; — and the Lord Chancellor *Verulam* (Sir *Francis Bacon*) had declared to him in these Words; 'Upon my Life, You have a sufficient Pardon for all that 'is past already, the King having under his Broad Seal, made you Admiral of the Fleet, 'and given you Power of the Martial Law over all the Officers and Soldiers.'

Silent,

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Silent, trembling, much desiring,
Seem for me a wretch expiring,
Whilst some god, that hears soft wishes,
Happiest thou of sons of bitches!
Lays me in thy form conceal'd
On her lovely breast reveal'd.
Venus was not half so fair,
Meeting first the god of war;
Happy *Daphnis*, by thy aid
Could I press the charming maid,
Her *Adonis* then should be,
But a puppy dog to me.
But oh! *Daphnis*, 'twere in vain
To expect thy form again,
After her ambrosial kisses,
And ten thousand tender blisses,
She should give, and I should take,
Happy Daphnis, for thy sake!
No! condemn'd to secret anguish,
Wretched sigher, thou should'st languish,
Silly animal, a lover,
Without hope or charm to move her,
Till, to streams or willows flying,
You'd too late escape by dying.

ELOGIUM *of the* WILLOW-TREE.* *Extracted from a Tale written in the* Chinese *Language.*

THE spring appear'd, and hush'd was every wind, [clin'd
When the smooth willow, o'er the stream re-
Cheer'd by the ray that animates the globe,
Throws, o'er her yellow bark, a verdant robe.
Dash'd at the beauties which her foliage spread,
The rival *peach-tree*, blushing bends his head:
Enrag'd, his flowers with varying lustre grac'd,
He tears; and scatters round the lovely waste.
The *willow*, proud of milder charms, outvies
The flashing splendor of the brightest dyes.
Gay harbinger of spring, she scorns the aid
Of toiling silk-worms, and is self-array'd;
Decking her sprays, and zephyr-dancing leaves, [weaves.
With down more soft than the fam'd insect

Upon the late STORM. *(Vol. V. p. 700.)*

WHEN GEORGE propitious left the *German* strand,
Impatient to arrive on *British* land,
The grateful sea, with wonder and surprize,
Extols her much lov'd monarch to the skies;
The winds, in dreadful gusts, his praises sing,
And with united bluff'rings hail their king:
What dastard soul in *such a storm* could fear,
When the *great ruler of the sea* was there!

On his M—y's *late Danger.*

SO *Cæsar* once, impatient of delay, [way,
O'er waters heap'd on waters urged his
Whilst racking hurricanes, and each new blast
Set all the trembling mariners aghast;
The mighty chief, unshaken, checks their fear;
Know ye not, Cæsar *and his fortune's here?*
Such is our king, and such his fortune be,
Lord of the land, as of the roaring sea.

VOTUM pro REGE.

CEASE, all ye storms, ye blust'ring winds, give o'er,
And waft him gently to th' expecting shore.
Let all be silent thro' his wide command;
The sea be still before him, as the land.
And never more may *Britain*'s monarch be
Hail'd and extoll'd by a tempestuous sea.

The ROVER *reclaim'd.*

ONCE free as air, and unconfin'd,
To each new fair I rang'd;
None cou'd engage my fickle mind,
For each new fair I chang'd.

If *Cælia*'s all-commanding grace
Aim'd at my yielding heart;
Straight softer *Mira*'s tempting face
Repell'd the fruitless dart.

Did chaste *Belinda*'s virtue move?
Brisk *Chloe* set me free;
A traitor still I liv'd to love,
A friend to liberty.

But beauty's queen at length arose
Her empire to maintain,
She griev'd at my neglected vows
And mourn'd her rites disdain'd.

Shall he, she cry'd, shall he, proud boy,
Alone my sway disown?
And dares he thus my pow'r defy?
And will he not atone?

She said; and pensive on her arms
Her lovely face reclin'd;
Revenge her glowing bosom warms,
And racks her anxious mind.

Cupid, as thus his mother lay,
The goddess straight address;
I've found, mamma, the certain way
To wound his stubborn breast.

Though beauty, virtue, wit, in vain
Singly attempt to bind;
Methods to break th' united chain
In vain he'll strive to find.

In one bright form let all combine,
Their sev'ral charms unite;
To *Cælia*, *Mira*'s beauties join,
Bright *Chloe*'s killing wit:

Belinda too thy awful mien
Shall all its pow'r bestow.
The counsel pleas'd the beauteous queen,
She smil'd; and form'd a *L*—.

FIDELIO.

* This Description is found (in *Latin*) in *Theophili Sigefridi Bayeri Musæum Sinicum*, *Tom.* I. *pag.* 130. Printed at *Petersburg*, Anno 1730: And the *English* Version above, was made from thence by Mr. *John Lockman*.

ODE

ODE *for the new Year, by* Colley Cibber, *Esq*; Poet-Laureat.

AIR.

GRateful *Britons!* grace the day,
Give to godlike *George* his due:
This alone ſhall ſwell the lay;
George is bleſt, in bleſſing you.
May years to years, the ſound repeat,
And ſing the mutual bliſs compleat.

CHORUS.

May years to years, *&c.*

RECITATIVO.

While greatneſs knows no vain deſire,
He only aſks, what you require:
And while *his* crown your freedom ſhields,
Your freedom power to guard it yields.

AIR.

What glory charms,
Like ſuch a ſway!
Protection warms,
And we obey.
From hand to hand
The joy is toſs'd,
While dread command
In love is loſt.

RECITATIVO.

Lords of yourſelves, you form the law,
That gives the diſcontented awe;
'Twixt prince and people, no debate,
But zeal to make each other great.

AIR.

Thus poſſeſſing
Ev'ry bleſſing,
Could enjoyment pall deſire;
New obedience,
True Allegiance,
Gracious *George* would ſtill inſpire.
So the fountain,
From the mountain,
Leaves the verdant vale below;
While improving,
And removing,
Circling harveſts fall and grow.

CHORUS.

Raiſe then, to *Cæſar*, raiſe the ſong,
Let vocal wiſhes loudly ſing;
That great and glorious, great and long!
Long, long, and happy, live the *king*.

An Extemporé EPIGRAM, *on ſeeing a Pipe lighted with one of the* LAUREAT's Odes.

WHILE the ſoft ſong, that warbles *George*'s praiſe,
From pipe to pipe the living flame conveys;
Criticks, who long had ſcorn'd, muſt now admire;
For who can ſay his *Ode* now wants its *fire*.

Verſes occaſioned by reading the Gazetteer *of* Saturday, *Dec.* 11. (Vol. V. p. 687.)

IF naughty *Caleb* praiſe *queen Beſs*,
As popiſh *Craftſmen* us'd to call her;
Immediately her fame grows leſs,
And *Gazetteer* begins to maul her.
'She an example! *D'Anvers*, fie!
'What ſtories ſtrange you tell us?
'She'd bully people, God knows why,
'And take advice of high-church fellows.
'Impriſon commons for a ſpeech,
'And uſe as ſcurvily the peers;
'Sometimes ſhe'd bid them kiſs her breech,
'And ſometimes too ſhe'd box their ears.
'If her affairs went well 'twas chance;
'Her ſubjects too were monſtrous civil;
'Twas thus, ſhe *Holland* ſav'd and *France*,
'And beat the *Spaniards* to the devil.
'But if a pack of grumbling varlets,
'Will never let good folks be quiet;
'What can be done for ſons of harlots,
'Who are for ever running riot?
Then prithee *Caleb* burn thy tools,
And ſcribble no more ſilly ſtuff:
The *Outs* are always knaves and fools;
The *Ins* are wiſe and good enough.

An Ode of HORACE *imitated.*

Integer vitæ, ſceleriſque purus, &c.

WHENCE all this fear? whence all this ſtrife?
—The man of ſtrict unblemiſh'd, life;
The man of virtue, pure from ſtain,
Whoſe mind all ſordid thoughts diſdain;
Whoſe hands reject flagitious deeds;
No guard of *gun* or *piſtol* needs:
Drags he thro' *Lincoln* fens; or ſcales
The more than *Alpine* hills of *Wales*;
Roams he where *Trent*, with many a maze,
Thro' many a golden valley ſtrays;
Takes *Hounſlow-Heath*, or *Shooter's-Hill*;
Still is he calm, and happy ſtill!
Safe in his chariot, (ſafe from guilt)
He ſtarts not at the *glitt'ring* hilt;
Nor, *dog'd* in *fancy* thro' the Streets,
Ten thouſand grim *aſſaſſins* meets;
Nor dreadful ghoſts, with ghaſtly ſtare,
All ſhapes of vengeance and deſpair,
All forms of danger and of death;
Nor bids his ſlaves, with fault'ring breath,
"Plant arms, my friends, at either door!
"Plant arms behind! plant arms before!"
Oh! *Fuſcus*, dare but to be juſt;
Dare to be faithful to thy truſt:
Then, and then only, ſhalt thou find
The *ſafety* of an honeſt mind!
Then ſhalt thou feel, beyond pretence,
That virtue is the beſt defence!
'Tis not the *youth*'s *ingenuous* pride;
'Tis not the weapon by his ſide;
That moves thy fear, that breaks thy reſt:
---No---'tis the *dagger* in thy *breaſt!*
'Tis ---(as by *Swift* divinely told,
And worthy characters of gold)
'Tis --- that the conſcious *villain feels*
Slow vengeance, like a bloodhound, at his heels!

An

An Epiſtle to Mr. Pope. *By a Lady. Occaſioned by his Characters of Women.*

BY cuſtom doom'd to folly, ſloth and eaſe,
No wonder, *Pope* ſuch female triflers ſees:
But would the fatyriſt confeſs the truth,
Nothing ſo like as male and female youth;
Nothing ſo like as man and woman old;
Their joys, their loves, their hates, if truly told:
Tho' different acts ſeem different ſex's growth,
'Tis the ſame principle impels them both.
View daring man ſtung with ambition's fire,
The conquering hero, or the youthful 'ſquire,
By different deeds aſpire to deathleſs fame,
One murthers man, the other murthers game:
View a fair nymph bleſt with ſuperior charms,
Whoſe tempting form the coldeſt boſom warms,
No eaſtern monarch more deſpotick reigns,
Than this fair tyrant of the *Cyprian* plains.
Whether a crown or bauble we deſire,
Whether to learning or to dreſs aſpire;
Whether we wait with joy the trumpet's call,
Or wiſh to ſhine the faireſt at a ball:
In either ſex the appetite's the ſame,
For love of power is ſtill the love of fame.
Women muſt in a narrow orbit move,
But power alike both males and females love.
What makes the difference then, you may enquire,
Between the hero, and the rural 'ſquire;
Between the maid bred up with courtly care,
Or ſhe who earns by toil her daily fare:
Their power is ſtinted, but not ſo their will;
Ambitious thoughts the humbleſt cottage fill;
Far as they can they puſh their little fame,
And try to leave behind a deathleſs name.
In education all the diff'rence lies;
Women, if taught, would be as bold and wiſe
As haughty man, improv'd by art and rules:
Where God makes one, neglect makes twenty fools.
And tho' *rugatrixes* are daily found,
Plaiſtring *rugators* equally abound; [ware,
Such beaus are toy ſhops, fill'd with trifling
And can each folly with each female ſhare.
A female mind like a rude fallow lies;
No ſeed is ſown, but weeds ſpontaneous riſe.
As we might we expect, in winter, ſpring,
As bud or fill'd a fruitful crop ſhou'd bring:
As we might we expect *Peruvian* ore
We ſhou'd poſſeſs, yet dig not for the ſtore:
Culture improves all fruits, all ſorts we find,
Wit, judgment, ſenſe, --- fruits of the human mind.
Aſk the rich merchant, converſant in trade,
How nature operates in the growing blade;
Aſk the philoſopher the price of ſtocks,
Aſk the gay courtier how to manage flocks;
Inquire the dogmas of the learned ſchools,
(From *Ariſtotle* down to *Newton*'s rules)
Or the rough ſoldier, bred to boiſterous war,
Or one ſtill rougher, a true *Britiſh* tar;
They'll all reply, unpractis'd in ſuch laws,
Th' effect they know, tho' ignorant of the cauſe.
The ſailor may perhaps have equal parts,
With him bred up to ſciences and arts;
And he who at the helm or ſtern is ſeen,
Philoſopher or hero might have been.
The whole in application is compris'd,
Reaſon's not reaſon, if not exercis'd;
Uſe, not poſſeſſion, real good affords;
No miſer's rich that dares not touch his hoards.
Can female youth, left to weak woman's care,
Miſled by cuſtom (folly's fruitful heir;)
Told that their charms a monarch may enſlave,
That beauty like the gods can kill or ſave;
Taught the *arcanas*, the myſterious arts,
By ambuſh dreſs to catch unwary hearts;
If wealthy born, taught to liſp *French* and dance,
Their morals left (*Lucretius* like) to chance:
Strangers to reaſon and reflection made,
Left to their paſſions, and by them betray'd;
Untaught the noble end of glorious truth,
Bred to deceive even from their earlieſt youth;
Unus'd to books, nor virtue taught to prize;
Whoſe mind a ſavage waſte unpeopled lies;
Which to ſupply, trifles fill up the void,
And idly buſy, to no end employ'd.
Can theſe, from ſuch a ſchool, more virtue ſhow,
Or tempting vice, treat like a common foe?
Can they reſiſt, when ſoothing pleaſure wooes;
Preſerve their virtue, when their fame they loſe?
Can they on other themes converſe or write,
Than what they hear all day, and dream all night?
Not ſo the *Roman* female fame was ſpread;
Not ſo was *Clelia*, or *Lucretia* bred;
Not ſo ſuch heroines true glory ſought;
Not ſo was *Portia*, or *Cornelia* taught;
Portia! the glory of the female race;
Portia! more lovely by her mind than face.
Early inform'd by truth's unerring beam,
What to reject, what juſtly to eſteem;
Taught by philoſophy all moral good,
How to repel in youth th' impetuous blood;
How her moſt favourite paſſions to ſubdue,
And fame thro' virtue's avenues to purſue;
She tries herſelf, and finds even dolorous pain,
Can't the cloſe ſecret from her breaſt obtain:
To *Cato* born, to noble *Brutus* join'd,
She ſhines invincible in form and mind.
No more ſuch generous ſentiments we trace
In the gay moderns of the female race;
No more, alas! heroic virtue's ſhown,
Since knowledge ceas'd, philoſophy's unknown.
No more can we expect our modern wives
Heroes ſhou'd breed, who lead ſuch uſeleſs lives.
Wou'd you, who know the arcana of the ſoul,
The ſecret ſprings which move and guide the whole;

Wou'd

Wou'd you, who can inſtruct as well as pleaſe,
Beſtow ſome moments of your darling eaſe,
To reſcue woman from this *gothic* ſtate,
New paſſions raiſe, their minds anew create:
Then for the *Spartan* virtue we might hope;
For who ſtands unconvinc'd by generous *Pope*?
Then wou'd the *Britiſh* fair perpetual bloom,
And vie in fame with ancient *Greece* and *Rome*.

URBAN *and* WILL *his Attorney*: *A* DIALOGUE. *(See* Vol. V. p. 333, 694.)

URB.

ATTEND my faithful truſty *Will*,
Once more aſſiſt your maſter *Syl*,
Whoſe all depends upon your ſkill.
The *Reading bards* yet gall our ſide,
With miſdemeanors we would hide,
Of vile abuſes they complain
And juſtly too (between us twain.)
But ſhould the public credit this
Who'd ſend our *Mag* another piece?
And ſhould my *Mag* (heav'n ſheild it) die
What would become of *Sue* and I?

WILL.

Pluck up your ſpirits deareſt maſter,
For I'll prevent the dire diſaſter:
While this right hand a pen can wield
In your defence, 'twill never yield.
A private grudge I harbour too
Againſt theſe bards as well as you;
You know I took a dirty journey
On this ſame buſ'neſs as attorney:
Before thoſe maids, to plead your eaſe,
Who dwell upon the mount *Parnaſſ'*.
But one's miſhap there is no hiding
From theſe quick-ſighted r-gues of *Reading*;
Yet who'd have told, leſs vile than they,
Where 'twas or how I miſs'd my way,
And that inſtead of hypocrin'
I only ſwill'd more potent gin:
Henceforth I'll dip my pen in gall
And wreak my vengeance on them all;
On truth or falſhood will not ſtand,
But be your ſervant at command.

URB.

Your firm reſolve new courage gives
And while you ſpeak my heart revives,
Perform your promiſe but in time,
And the next * *prize*, dear *Will*, be thine.
This *Gratus* here would not ſubmit
His judgment to our brighter wit;
But vow'd if we curtail'd his piece,
He would not own the thing for his.
And yet in ſpite of all he ſaid,
You know what mangling work we made.
But you muſt ſwear this very youth
(No matter *William* here for truth)
Moſt humbly begg'd us to correct
What e'er in him might ſeem defect.

WILL.

Fir'd with the *prize* you ſet in view
You'll find ev'n an *attorney* true:
While you propoſe ſuch ſhining fees,
I'll ſay, Sir, what'ſoe'er you pleaſe.
Both *truth*, and *Gratus* I'll defy,
And bid who dare, my fibs deny,
Perfrictâ fronte boldly blame,
Nor dread one ſingle bluſh for ſhame:
Thus ſcreen myſelf to cenſure them.
So the ſhop-lifter ſcours the ſtreets,
And cries, *ſtop thief*, to all he meets;
Deceiving thoſe that would purſue,
Till he himſelf is ſlunk from view.

CIRCUS.

Quî fuit & vulgi, qui equitum procerumq;
potentum
Deliciæ; circum muſa ſilere vetat.
Papæ! quæ ad molem cuneatam millia tendunt!
Quo nimium juſto pondere ſcamna gemunt!
At jam mappa levi prætoris fluctuat aurâ;
Incipitur: plauſu terra poluſq; boant.
Hic diſcus tenues libratus dividit auras,
Illic tintinnit verſus in orbe trochus.
Ut metam evitat rhedarum fervidus axis
Sic celer! ut dubio tramite ſignat bumum!
Innocuas pugnas hic pubes geſſit; & boſtes
Hinc didicit veros vincere, Roma, tuos.
Ah nimium fœlix! bis ſi contenta fuiſſes,
Atq; tuus circus noſſet habere modum!
At quoniam horrendus ceſtus, pugileſq; cruenti,
Pardis cumq; feris prælia iniqua virûm,
Non Romam ſapiunt, terrentq; timore moleſto
Humanas mentes; hæc mea muſa filet.

The CIRCUS.

WHILE the ſtern ſoldier, cas'd in heavy arms,
Suſtains the rage of war and dire alarms;
In thy capacious *circus*, *Rome*, are ſhown
Contending heroes, ſtruggling for a crown.
Behold two champions of ſuperior ſize
(Heroic ardour darting from their eyes)
Appear, firm fixt, collecting all their might,
Their nervous limbs amaze th' admiring fight.
Like tall *Orion* on the plain they ſtand,
And poize the heavy *Ceſtus* in their hand:
Then with *Herculean* majeſty they move,
Like th' earth-born giants that once warr'd with *Jove*; [cloſe,
And now they meet, and now at once they
Give thruſt for thruſt, and anſwer blows for blows.
The iſſuing blood diſtains their form around
And ſtreaming from their limbs dyes red the ground. [weak,
Their jaw-bones crackle, all their joints grow
And with repeated blows begin to ſhake.
At length the one lifts up the weighty lead,
And aims at his unwary en'my's head;
At once the weapon falls, imprints the wound,
And lays the heroe groveling on the ground;

* *Every Body knows how* Urban's 50 *l. Prize was diſpos'd of.*

Blood, brains and gore the wound pours laxly out,
He dies, the victor and the *Circus* shout.
And now four champions with the niceſt care,
Their chariots for the deſtin'd race prepare;
The ſign is given, the eager ſteeds obey,
And ſkim with rapid pace the well known way;
They whip, they urge their ſteeds, they ſeem to fly,
Meaſuring what ground remains with eager eye.
Now with their utmoſt art the goal they ſhun,
And round the *mark* ſwift as the lightning run.
But view the ſkilful driver lately laſt,
Who when they ſtarted curb'd his horſes haſt,
Out-ſtripping all, to the whole choir's ſurprize,
Springs from his ſeat, and victor claims the prize.
Two champions next of ſtrength immenſe prepare
To whirl the *diſcus* thro' the yielding air.
The marble flies, and wing'd with rapid ſpeed,
Makes the thin clouds and liquid plain recede.
Flung by the firſt the coit with whizzing ſound
At a great diſtance ſtrikes the ſandy ground.
The next directs his aim with wond'rous ſkill,
And ſends the mounting *Diſcus* farther ſtill,
With ſacred honour crown'd; he thus obtains
The prize; the great reward of all his pains.
With ſhouts the *Circus* rattles all around,
While neighbouring hills re-echo back the ſound.

On Miſs Molly Bridges *ſinging.*

OFT I've been told that *Molly*'s fair,
Oft that her voice is ſweet;
Yet can't believe; tho' eye and ear
Both favour the deceit.
For was ſhe fair, as all confeſs;
Her voice but half belied:
Like beauties, folly ſhe'd poſſeſs;
Like fingers, woo'd have pride.

The Turtle *and* Traveller. *A Dialogue.*

Travel. WHY with your wailings do theſe groves reſound?
Tur. My mate, my *turtle*'s no where to be found.
Why thro' theſe ſolitudes chuſe you to roam?
Travel. Becauſe my *turtle*'s to be found at home.

CHLOE.

WHEN charming *Chloe* gently walks,
Or ſweetly ſmiles, or gayly talks,
No goddeſs can with her compare,
So ſweet her looks, ſo gay her air.
Chloe, with ev'ry charm poſſeſt,
A face that's fair, a mind that's bleſt,
With ſparkling wit, and ſolid ſenſe,
And ſoft perſuaſive eloquence.
In framing her divinely fair,
Nature employ'd her utmoſt care,
That we in *Chloe*'s form might find
A *Venus*, with *Minerva*'s mind.

Anonymus.

The ſame Inverted.

WHEN hagged *Roga*, hobbling walks,
Or ſnarling grins, or ſnaffling talks;
No *granny* can with her compare,
Such wither'd looks! ſuch teeth! and hair.
Roga, with ev'ry ill poſſeſt,
A frightful phyz; deform'd at beſt,
As void of wit, as void of ſenſe;
To common reaſon ſmall pretence!
In framing her reverſe from fair,
Nature employ'd unuſual care,
That we in *Roga*'s form might find
A *Shipton*, with *Erinnys*' mind.

Trionymus.

Occaſion'd by a Lady's playing on the Harpſicord.

WHEN * *Celia*'s waxen fingers nimbly move
The ſpeaking ſtrings, the *Muſes* from above
Lean down to hear; with admiration ſeiz'd,
Each earthly mortal, tho' in pain, locks pleas'd,
Their ſorrows vaniſh and their minds are eaſe'd.
The feather'd tribe ſtrain their harmonious throats,
And joyous try to imitate her notes;
Till loſt in ecſtaſies, at ev'ry air
They wonder, and their tuneful parts forbear.
The very fiends peep from the abyſs below,
And fancy that their tortures milder grow:
The angry *furies* ceaſe to ſcourge or wound,
And curling ſnakes their heads hang liſt'ning round.
Ixion on his racking wheel lies ſtill;
And *Siſyphus*'s ſtone reſts on the hill.
Pluto too grimly ſmiles to hear ſuch charms,
And penſive, envious ſtands with folded arms.
Sweet inſtrument! in which ſuch charms do dwell
As all black humours from the mind diſpel,
And by compoſing it makes heav'n of hell,--
Bleſs'd recreation! 'tis in thee we find
An exerciſe for body and for mind;
By thee our ſpirits much more active prove,
And fitter both for buſineſs and for love.

* *Mrs.* W---l---s. *J. H. Lincoln's-Inn.*

N. B. *The* Taming of the Shrew *muſt be deferr'd till next Month, if we can then find Room for it, it being very long. And the other Pieces by the ſame Hand ſhall have a Place the firſt Opportunity.*

The Epiſtle *upon* Gay's Fables *ſhall be inſerted next Month. The ſecond Part of the* Sturdy Beggar *never came to Hand; and what we have being very long, we were forc'd to omit it for the preſent, and ſhould be ſtill glad to have the whole, before we give it.*

The Medicinal Pieces *ſhall very ſoon be taken notice of.*

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THE
Monthly Chronologer.

MONDAY, *Jan.* 3.

IN purſuance of his Majeſty's Royal Charter, erecting the Contributors to the charitable Fund, at *Edinburgh*, for the Maintenance of ſick Poor, into a Body Corporate, by the Name of *The Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh*, the firſt general Meeting was held in the Borough Room, where the Managers for the current Year were choſen, and ſeveral By-Laws agreed to.

Died at *Edinburgh*, and buried in the *Grey-Fryars* Church-Yard the laſt Year.

	Men	Wom.	Child.	Stillb.	Tot.
January	23	24	26	0	73
February	22	22	23	3	70
March	24	28	26	2	80
April	18	25	44	3	90
May	15	24	38	6	83
June	9	13	22	2	46
July	8	15	29	3	55
Auguſt	11	19	21	4	55
September	20	25	20	8	73
October	17	21	28	13	79
November	11	28	43	5	87
December	15	35	38	4	92
In all	193	279	358	53	883

Decreaſed in Burials this Year 91.

TUESDAY, 4.

This Night, about 7 o'Clock, a dreadful Fire broke out in the *Inner-Temple* adjoining to the Hall, and continued burning with great Fury till Five next Morning; which entirely conſumed the *Inner Temple* Kitchen, Buttery, and the great Stairs that lead to the Hall; but the Hall was, with great Difficulty, preſerved, which was owing to the Party-Wall. It likewiſe conſumed upwards of 30 Chambers. At its breaking out, there was a great Scarcity of Water; otherwiſe, 'tis thought, it would have been extinguiſh'd, without doing any conſiderable Damage. 'Tis ſaid, that ſeveral Writings of great Conſequence were conſumed in the Flames. His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* came there about 11 o'Clock, and by his Preſence animated the People, gave Money to the Firemen, *&c.* and ſtaid till it was quite over. A Party of the Foot Guards were placed in the *Temple* Garden, to take Care of the valuable Goods, Writings, *&c.* that were carried thither.

TUESDAY, 11.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor receiv'd from his Royal Highneſs the Prince, a Bank Note for 500*l.* to be apply'd to the releaſing poor Freemen of the City of *London* out of Priſon. (See Vol. V. p. 699.)

Forty-ſeven Perſons had been to the End of laſt Week try'd and convicted for retailing of Spirituous Liquors, 28 of whom have paid their Fines of 100*l.* each, and the reſt have moſtly moved off their Goods, *&c.* And this Day, 11 more were try'd and convicted for the ſaid Offence. The two next Days ſeveral others were alſo convicted.

WEDNESDAY, 12.

Was a Meeting of the Truſtees for the Colony of *Georgia*, at the *Georgia* Office, on Mr. *Oglethorp*'s Arrival; at which there was a great Appearance of Noblemen and Gentlemen. He had the unanimous Thanks of the Board and gave them an Account of the Situation of Affairs in *Georgia*: The *Indian* Nations 700 Miles diſtance, acknowledge his Majeſty's Authority, and trade with the *Engliſh* from *Savannah*. The *Spaniſh* Captain General of *Florida*, and Council of War, who reſide at St. *Auguſtine*, have ſign'd a Treaty with the Colony: And beſides *Savannah*, which is much increaſed in Buildings, there are the three other Towns founded this Year, *viz. Auguſta*, *Frederica* and *Darien*, the two latter of which are in a very thriving Way: A new Town of *Ebenezer* is built by the *Saltzburghers*, and there are ſeveral Villages, and Gentlemen ſetled at their own Expences, thro' the Country, and ſeveral Forts in a defenſible Condition on the Southern Frontiers. Trade is likely to flouriſh, there having been ſeveral Ships loaded this Year from *Georgia*.

THURSDAY, 13.

This Night, a very violent Fire happen'd at *Royſton* in *Hertfordſhire*, which deſtroyed about 25 Houſes, beſides Barns, *&c.*

SATURDAY, 15.

Early this Morning, Mr. *Carrington*, one of his Majeſty's Meſſengers arrived at St. *James*'s, with the agreeable News, that on Thurſday the 13th, between nine and Ten o' Clock in the Morning, the King embarked on board the *Carolina* Yatch, at *Helvoetſluys*, and immediately ſet Sail, in Company with all the other Yatchs, for *England*, the Wind being then at S. W. by W. and that his Majeſty landed in good Health at *Leſtoff* in *Suffolk*, yeſterday at Noon; that Night his Ma-

jeſty

Jeſty lay at *Stratford* in the ſame County, and this Morning about Six his Majeſty ſet forward, and paſſing in an open Chaiſe thro' the City of *London*, arrived at St. *James*'s about two in the Afternoon. (See Vol. V. p. 700)

SUNDAY, 16.

This Day a grand Council was held at St. *James*'s, at which the Queen was preſent; when her Majeſty reſign'd to the King her Commiſſion, which appointed her Sole Guardian of this Realm during his Majeſty's Abſence.

MONDAY, 17.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old-Baily*, at which were tried 70 Priſoners; of theſe 30 were caſt for Tranſportation, 31 acquitted; 3 ſentenc'd, for a Conſpiracy againſt one *Drinkwater*, to ſtand twice on the Pillory, to be impriſon'd 2 Years, and to find Sureties for 3 Years after for their good Behaviour; and 6 receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Joſeph Herbert*, for ſtealing a ſilver Cup from the *Globe* Tavern, *Fleetſtreet*; *James Ryan*, *Hugh Mac Mahan*, *Gerrad Fitzgerald*, *James Faulkner*, *Garrard Farril*, for robbing *James North*, *Francis Smith*, *Edward Robinſon* and others on the Highway, and ſtripping, binding and gagging them in a barbarous Manner.

TUESDAY, 18.

This Day the Ld. Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* waited on his Majeſty, to congratulate him on his ſafe Arrival; when Mr. Baron *Thomſon* made their Compliments in the following Speech.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London*, moſt humbly intreat your Majeſty's Permiſſion to congratulate your Majeſty on your ſafe Return to *Great Britain*.

Your Preſence, Sir, diſpels all thoſe Anxieties and Fears for your Welfare which your *Abſence* occaſioned; your People are animated with freſh Joy to find themſelves again under your Majeſty's immediate Influence and Protection; and nothing could have alleviated the Want of that Bleſſing, but the mild and prudent Adminiſtration of your Majeſty's Royal Conſort.

Theſe your Majeſty's moſt faithful and dutiful Subjects, being ſenſible of their Happineſs in the full Enjoyment of all their Liberties, Rights and Privileges, during the whole Courſe of your Majeſty's Reign, and having a firm Reliance on your Majeſty's Vigilance and Care for their future Welfare and Proſperity, beg Leave to tender their grateful Acknowledgments, and to aſſure your Majeſty of their moſt affectionate Zeal for the Support of your Royal Perſon and Government upon all Occaſions.

To which his Majeſty return'd this moſt gracious Anſwer.

I thank you for this freſh Inſtance of your Duty and Affection to my Perſon and Government. You may depend upon the Continuance of my Care to preſerve the Peace and Tranquillity, and to promote the Trade and Welfare of this great and flouriſhing City.

They all had the Honour to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand; and his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood on *George Champion* and *John Lequeſne*, Aldermen; and on *William Rous* and *Benjamin Rawlins*, the two Sheriffs.

They were afterwards introduced to her Majeſty, and Mr. Baron *Thomſon* made their Compliments as followeth.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London*, humbly beg Leave to congratulate your Majeſty on the King's ſafe Arrival.

'Tis with grateful Hearts, that theſe, his Majeſty's moſt faithful Subjects, preſume to offer their humble Acknowledgments to your Majeſty, for your juſt and prudent Adminiſtration during his Majeſty's Abſence.

To your Wiſdom and Conduct, Madam, we owe the allaying all Diſcontents, and the ſuppreſſing all publick Diſorders. And whatever Diviſions may happen, the People ſtill univerſally confeſs your Majeſty's Goodneſs, your Piety, and all thoſe Virtues, which make your Royal Example a Pattern to this Age, and muſt have a happy Influence for the Benefit of Poſterity.

To which her Majeſty return'd a moſt gracious Anſwer; and they all had the Honour to kiſs her Majeſty's Hand.

WEDNESDAY, 19.

His Majeſty in Council prick'd down the following Sheriffs for the Year enſuing, *viz.* For *Berks*, Matt. Weymondſel; *Bedf.* Francis Jeſſop; *Bucks*, James Herbert; *Cumb.* William Hicks; *Cheſh.* Thomas Booth; *Cambr. & Hunt.* William Mitchell; *Devon.* Richard Stevens; *Derby.* Wrightſon Mundey; *Dorſet.* Henry Whitaker; *Eſſex*, Herbert Friſt; *Glouc.* W. Robins; *Heref.* Robert Plummer; *Hertf.* Richard Gorges; *Kent*, Thomas Malin; *Leiceſt.* Timothy St. Nicholas; *Linc.* Coney Tunard; *Monm.* Anthony Morgan; *Northamp.* Henry Ogley, Eſqrs; *Northum.* Sir John Robinſon of Cranford, Bart. *Norfolk*, Peter Roſier; *Notting.* William Challand; *Oxf.* Samuel Greenhill; *Rutl.* Redenall Pearſe; *Shropſ.* John Powell; *Somerſ.* John Perriam; *Staff.* Thomas Jolliff; *Suffolk*, John Cooper; *Southamp.* Norton Powlet; *Surrey*, John Ruſh; *Suſſex*, Edw. Madgick; *Warwickſh.* Charles Palmer; *Wiltſh.* William Hedges; *Worceſtſh.* John Matthews; Eſquires. For *WALES*. *Angleſea*, Edmund Meyrick; *Brecon*, Watſon Powell; *Caermar.* Samuel Hughes; *Cardig.* Thomas Jones: *Caernar.* George Devereux;

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Denbigh, Edward Williams; *Flint*, Francis Price; *Glamorg.* Robert Knight; *Merion.* Robert Meyrick; *Montg.* Edward Rogers; *Pembr.* Thomas Davis; *Radnorſh.* John Jones; Eſquires.

THURSDAY, 20.

The Birth-Day of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* was celebrated, when his Royal Highneſs enter'd into the 31ſt Year of his Age.

FRIDAY, 21.

The Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and by Virtue of his Majeſty's Commiſſion, was prorogued to the firſt Day of *February* next, when they are to meet for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs. The Convocation which ſtood prorogued to *Feb.* 3, was further prorogued to the 18th of the ſame Month.

SATURDAY, 22.

This Morning, about 5 o'Clock, a Fire broke out at the Houſe of Mr. *Hughſon*, a Glazier, in *Ragged-Row* near *King's-Arms-Stairs*, *Southwark*, which burnt that Houſe with two more, and damaged ſeveral others. Mrs. *Hughſon*, who had been brought to Bed about a Week, was burnt in the Flames, together with the Nurſe and young Child. Mr. *Hughſon*, in endeavouring to ſave his Wife, narrowly eſcaped by jumping out of Window.

WEDNESDAY, 26.

This Day, all the Priſoners who were in *Whitechapel* Gaol for Debt were diſcharg'd by the Executors of the late Mr. *Wright* of *Newington Green*. (See Vol. V. p. 434.)

MONDAY, 31.

The 30th of *Jan.* falling this Year on a Sunday, the Anniverſary Faſt for the Martyrdom of K. *Charles* I. was obſerv'd on this Day, according to the Act of Parliament. And what is remarkable, there was no Sermon before either Houſe of Parliament (they not then ſitting;) the like having never happen'd ſince the Appointment of the ſaid Faſt.

The Number of thoſe who have died laſt Year in the City and Suburbs of *Vienna*, appears according to an exact Liſt, to be 7054, excluſive of Infants not a Year old, *viz.* 1358 Men, 1293 Women, 2290 Boys, 2113 Girls.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

PEREGRINE *Bertie*, Eſq; to Miſs *Paine*, of *Chancery Lane*.

William Andrews of *Coventry*, Eſq; to the Relict of *William Aſhe*, of *Suffolk*, Eſq;

Henry Ibbotſon, of *Leeds*, Eſq; to Miſs *Feljambe*, of *Yorkſhire*.

Sir *Humphrey Monnoux*, Bart. to Miſs *Mary Savage*, a Daughter of the late Counteſs of *Coventry*, by *Thomas Savage* of *Elmly Caſtle*, *Worceſter*.

Charles Bowles, of *New-Windſor*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Fellows*, of *Red-Lyon Square*.

Joſeph Brooke, of the *Temple*, Eſq; to the Grand-daughter of Mr. *Boſt*, the *Navy-Brewer* at *Chatham*.

Mr. *Abraham Fowler*, of *Fleet-ſtreet*, Banker, to Mrs. *Halſo*, a Widow Lady.

Stephen Jackſon, Eſq; to Miſs *Wynn*, of *Oxford*.

Stephen Janſſen, Eſq; to Miſs *Gualtier*.

James Manningham, of *Middleſex*, Eſq; to Miſs *Louiſa Tye*, of *Berks*.

John Johnſon, Eſq; an eminent *Barbadoes* Merchant, to the Relict of the late *Daniel Weſtcombe*, of *New-Broadſtreet*, Eſq;

Rev. Mr. *Rolleſton*, Rector of *Aſton*, *Derbyſhire*, to Miſs *Dorothy Burdett*, Siſter of Sir *Robert Burdett*, Bart.

James Watſon, Eſq; of *Saughton* in *Scotland*, to the Lady *Helen Hope*, Daughter of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Hopeton*.

Sir *George Champion*, Kt. Alderman of *Bridge-Within*, to Mrs. *Mead*, Widow of Mr. *Mead*, late Banker in *Fleet-ſtreet*.

Gabriel Hanger, Eſq; to Miſs *Bond* an Heireſs.

Arthur Pollard, Eſq; (Secretary to the Rt. Hon. *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſq; Speaker to the Hon. Houſe of Commons) to the only Daughter of Mrs. *Miller*, of *Greenwich*.

The Lady of *William Baxil*, of *Welton* in *Bucks*, Eſq; brought to Bed of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

AT *Dublin*, *Arthur Baldwin*, Eſq; Regiſter and Clerk of the Faculties of the High Court of Chancery.

Chriſtopher Smelt, Eſq; formerly Deputy Governor of the *Bahama* Iſlands.

At *Topcliffe*, *Yorkſhire*, Sir *William Robinſon*, of *Newby*, Bart. who was ſucceeded in his Honour by his Eldeſt Son, *Metcalfe Robinſon*, Eſq; who ſoon after died ſuddenly at *York*; ſo that the Dignity and Eſtate deſcends to Rear-Admiral *Tancred Robinſon*, now at *Liſbon*. Sir *William* was Father alſo to Col. *William Robinſon*, of the Guards, and to *Thomas Robinſon*, Eſq; Envoy at *Vienna*.

Edward Gibbon, Eſq; a *S. S.* Director in the Year 1720.

Felix Calvert, Eſq; a very eminent Brewer in *Whitecroſs-Street*.

Capt. *Luck*, Commander of the *Canterbury* Man of War.

At *Glaſgow*, the Rev. Mr. *James Stirling*, Miniſter of the Goſpel in the Barony of *Glaſgow*, of an extraordinary good Character.

At *Dublin*, *Bruen Worthington*, Eſq; Clerk of the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*.

John Bicknel, late *Filazer* for *Kent*, *Canterbury*, *Surrey*, and *Suſſex*, which he had before ſurrendered to his Son.

At *Edinburgh*, Sir *James Holborn* of *Menſtrie*, Bart.

At *Clapham* —— *Chevers*, Eſq; who dying a Bachelor, has left his Eſtate to charitable Uſes.

At

At his House in *Ormond-street*, *John Lethieullier*, Esq;

Mr. Robert Knaplock, formerly an eminent Bookseller in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*.

At his House in *Red-Lyon-street*, *William Gaston* Esq;

Col. *John Eaton*, of the second Regiment of Foot Guards.

Mr. *Ross Lee*, Rector of St. *Matthew Friday-street*, and one of the Brothers of St. *Catherine's* near the Tower.

At his House in *Bartlett's-Buildings*, *Holborn*, in an advanc'd Age, Sir *John Phillips*, of *Picton Castle*, *Pembr.* Bart. remarkable for his exemplary Life and Conversation, and Acts of Charity.

Mr. *Richard Williamson*, Under Treasurer, and Clerk of the Mis-sent Letters in the *Post-Office*.

At *Martyn-Abbey*, *Surrey*, Lady *Noel*, who had been 48 Years the Widow of Sir *Thomas Noel*, of *Leicestershire*, Bart. aged 75.

Mr. *Godschild*, a Common-Council-Man of *Bridge-Ward*.

Rev. Dr. *Andrews*, Rector of *Ockham*, *Surrey*.

At *Edinburgh*, in the 58th Year of his Age, *Francis Pringle*, M. D. the worthy Brother of the late most worthy Lord *Newhall*.

Mr. *Jennings*, Clerk of the Journals to the House of Peers.

Richard Wyatt, Esq; Sollicitor for the *Welsh* Ports in the Customhouse.

At *Richmansworth*, *Bucks*, the Rev. Mr. *Rogers*, Fellow of *Eaton-College*.

At his Seat at *Loseby*, in *Leicestershire*, *Isaac Wodaston*, Esq;

The Right Hon. Sir *Thomas Reeves*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; who succeeded the Lord Chief Justice *Eyre* in that Place the 26th of last *January*.

Sir *Richard Smith* of *Wendlock*, *Salop*, *Bart.*

Mr. *Samuel Humphreys*, a Gentleman well-skill'd in the learned Languages, and the polite among the modern: He had no small Genius for Poetry; but some Disappointments he met with, forc'd him to appear as a Translator. (See Vol. IV. p. 35.)

In *Ireland*, the Hon. *Henry St. Lawrence*, Esq; Brother to the Lord *Heath*.

Sir *Gerald Aylmer*, Second Baronet of that Kingdom.

Alex. Choke, Esq; Clerk of the Debentures in the Exchequer.

At *Guilford*, *Samuel Wharton*, Esq; possess'd of 4000 l. *per. Ann.*

Robert Humphries, Esq; Nephew of the late Sir *Wm. Humphries*, Bart. formerly Lord Mayor of *London*.

At his Palace at *Lambeth*, in the 79th Year of his Age, his Grace Dr. *William Wake*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; to which he was translated from the See of *Lincoln*, in the Year 1716, in the room of Archbishop *Tenison*, deceas'd.

Hon. Col. *Leigh Backwell*, Son to the Alderman, who suffer'd so much by shutting up the Exchequer in the Reign of K. *Charles* II.

Charles Parker, Esq; formerly Consul at *Madeira*.

The Lady *Wishart*, Relict of the late Admiral.

Rev. Mr. *Waite*, Rector of *Thorefby*, in *Lincolnshire*, Lecturer of the *Middle Temple*, and of St. *Vedast*, *Foster Lane*.

Mr. *Alexander Inglish*, Surgeon General to the Army, and to *Chelsea College*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Charles Beake*, Vicar of *Stroud*, *Kent*, presented to the Living of *Stockbury* in the same County.

Mr. *Edw. Palmer*, to the Living of *Ringmere*; near *Lewes*, *Suffex*.

Mr. *Arthur Bedford*, of *Afke's Hospital*, *Hoxton*, Author of the Scripture Chronology, &c. made Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*. As also is Mr. *Howard* of St. *Dunstan's*.

Mr. *Isaac Finch*, presented to the Vicarage of *Goudhurst*, *Kent*.

Mr. *Mudge*, Vicar of *Plymouth*, installed a Prebendary of *Exeter*.

Mr. *Thomas Wilson*, presented to the Vicarage of *Bungay Trinity*, *Suffolk*.

Mr. *Thomas Beeve*, to the Rectory of *Rotherfield*, *Suffex*.

Mr. *Edward Patterson* to the Rectory of *Froom*, *Somersetshire*. He was also appointed to succeed the late Mr. *Ross Lee*, as one of the Brothers of St. *Katherine's* near the Tower.

Mr. *Morris*, to the Vicarage of *Shalford*, *Essex*.

Mr. *Pinkney*, to the Rectory of *Neath*, *Glamorganshire*.

Mr. *Upton* presented to a Prebend of the Cathedral of *Rochester*.

Hon. and Rev. Mr. *Carmichael*, to the Rectory of *Drayton*, *Bucks*.

Mr. *Reddington* to the Rectory of *Heathel*, *Norfolk*.

Dr. *Friend* made Canon of *Christ-Church*, and is succeeded as Canon of *Windsor* by Dr. *Hatton*.

Mr. *Anguish*, to the Rectory of *Deptford* in *Kent*.

Mr. *Grigman* chosen Morning Lecturer for St. *Michael's*, *Cornhill*.

Mr. *Cæsar Curtis*, Son to the present Mayor of *Rochester*, installed a Minor Canon in the Cathedral Church of *Rochester*.

Mr. *Carter*, Lecturer of St. *Margaret's Pattens*, appointed Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

MR. *Stanley* made Deputy Comptroller of the Excise, in the room of the late Mr. *Hughet*.

Francis

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Francis Poole, Esq; appointed Receiver-General of the Stamp-Duties, in the Room of the late *Henry Cartwright*, Esq;

Commodore *Matthews* succeeds the late *Thomas Kempthorn*, Esq; as Commissioner of the Navy at *Chatham*.

John Jesse, Esq; Deputy Secretary of the Post-Office, succeeds the late Mr. *Williamson* as Deputy Cashier; as does Mr. *John Barber*, as Inspector of dead Letters at the said Office.

Captain *Hodges* appointed to succeed Colonel *Churchill*, as Colonel of a Company in the Second Regiment of Foot Guards.

Ensign *Townshend* succeeds Captain *Hodges*, and Mr. *Rich*, a Cadet, succeeds Mr. *Townshend*.

Capt Lieut. *Needham* made Col. of a Company in the same Regiment, in the room of the late Col. *Eaton*; Capt. *Southby* succeeds Capt. *Needham* and Ensign *Newton* succeeds Capt. *Southby*.

James Hugonin, Esq; made Serjeant at Arms in Ordinary to attend upon his Majesty's Royal Person, in the room of *Joseph Lawson*, Esq; deceased.

Mr. *Mostyn*, Brother to *Thomas Mostyn*, Esq; Member of Parliament for the County of *Flint*, appointed Capt. of a Company in the Regiment of Foot, commanded by General *Handasyde*.

Mr. *Patrick*, chosen Usher of the *Charter-house* School.

The Right Hon. *John Willes*, Esq; Attorney-General, kiss'd the King's Hand, on his being appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, in the room of the Lord Chief Justice *Reeve*, deceas'd. When his Majesty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood on him.

Dudley Rider, Esq; kiss'd his Majesty's Hand, on being appointed Attorney-General; As did *John Strange*, Esq; on being appointed Sollicitor-General, in his room.

PERSONS *declared* BANKRUPTS.

ROBERT Adams, of *Lavenham*, *Suffolk*, Malster. *Samuel Hayworth*, of *Chelsea*, Chapman and Dealer in Coals. *William Rutter*, of *Chalford*, *Gloucestersh.* Clothier. *John Mitchell*, of St. *Paul's-Wharf*, Lighterman. *Peter Burhall*, of *Halifax*, *Yorksh.* Grocer. *John Earner*, of St. *James's-Market*, Grocer. *Wm. Mullens*, of *New-Sarum*, *Wilts*, Cutler. *Luke Burmaker*, late of *Colebarbour*, *Thames-street*, *London*, Sugar-Baker. *William Pitts*, of *Lynn-Regis*, *Norfolk*, Felt-Maker. *Stephen Elbeck*, of *Wortley*, *Yorksh.* Clothier and Chapman. *Christopher Foxley*, of *Lime-street*, Merchant. *Thomas Welthorp*, of St. *James's* Upholder. *Richard Aldworth*, of *New-bridge*, *Oxon*, Malt-Factor. *John Hutchinson*, of *Doncaster*, Wine-Merchant. *Robert Pickerd*, of *Fenchurch-street*, Chapman, &c. *William Ball* of *Gloucester*, Chapman. *Henry Miles*, of *Shaftsbury*, in *Dorsetsh.* Chapman. *John Kay*, of *Totties* in *Holmfirth*, *Yorksh.* Clothier. *Frederick Cordis*, of St. *John*, *Wapping*, in *Middlesex*, Sugar-Baker. *Jeremiah Winter*, of *Cheapside*, *London*, Linen-Draper. *Peter Delight*, of *Thames street*, *London*, Cheesemonger.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 101 ¼ a ⅜		*Afric.* 14	
—*Bonds* 3 15		*Royal Ass.* 110	
—*Annu.* 111 ¼		*Lon. ditto* 14 ¼ a ⅜	
Bank 148 ⅞ 9 ⅝		3 *per C. An.* 103 ¾	
—*Circ.* 1*l* 12*s* 6*d*		*Eng. Copper*	
Mil. Bank 118		*Salt Tallies* 2 a 3	
India 177 ½		*Emp. Loan* 113 ⅛	
—*Bonds* 6*l.* 7		*Equiv.* 112 ⅜	

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 3 2 1/22		*Bilboa* 41 ⅛ a ¼	
D. Sight 35 a 34		*Leghorn* 50	
Rotter. 35 4		*Genoa* 53	
Hamb. 34 1 a 34		*Venice* 50 ⅛	
P. Sight 32 ⅛ a ¼		*Lisb.* 5 5 ⅛ a ¼	
Bourdx. 31 ¼ a ⅞		*Oport.* 5 5 5 a ¼	
Cadiz 42 ⅜		*Antw.* 35 9 a 8	
Madrid 41 ⅜ a 2		*Dublin* 10 ⅜ a ¼	

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	27 30	*Oates*	12 13
Rye	11 16	*Tares*	22 24
Barley	17 18	*Pease*	27 30
H. Beans	22 23	*H. Pease*	11 15
P. Malt	22 25	*B. Malt*	15 18

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Dec.* 28 to *Jan.* 25.

Christned	Males 672	Females 670	1342
Buried	Males 892	Females 952	1844
Died under 2 Years old			642
Between 2 and 5			171
5	10		64
10	20		59
20	30		146
30	40		162
40	50		161
50	60		143
60	70		140
70	80		89
80	90		47
90 and upwards			20
			1844

Hay 42 to 45*s.* a Load.

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SINCE our laſt we have the following remarkable Articles of Advice from foreign Parts.

From *Italy*, That the important Affair between the *Emperor* and *Spain* had been at laſt entirely ſettled, and the Acts of mutual Ceſſion and Guaranty agreed on and exchanged; in Conſequence of which the *Spaniards* began to evacuate the ſtrong Places of *Tuſcany*, about the End of laſt Month; and their Men of War having ſailed from *Porto Specie*, arrived at *Leghorn* the 29th paſt, ſoon after which their Troops began to embark, and ſome of them are ſince ſailed for *Spain*: At the ſame Time it is ſaid that every Thing has been adjuſted between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Paris*, relating to the Evacuation of the ſtrong Places poſſeſſed by *France* in the Empire, *viz.* *Fort Keil*, *Triers*, and *Philipſburg*; and that Orders are already gone from *Paris*, for delivering up thoſe Places to the *Germans*; ſo that we find *France* and her Allies are likely to adjuſt all their Affairs upon the Continent, to their own Liking, without any Mediation; and if the *Emperor* ſhould engage in a War with the *Turk*, they may have an Opportunity of adjuſting in the ſame Manner their Affairs in ſome other Parts of the World; which will be an Opportunity we can hardly ſuppoſe they'll neglect to embrace; unleſs we ſuppoſe them as blind as ſome of their Neighbours.

From *Germany*, *Paris*, and *Holland*, We hear that the *French* are likewiſe in a fair Way of getting the Affair relating to the Dutchies of *Bergues* and *Juliers* ſettled to their own liking; for the *Electors* of *Bavaria*, *Palatine* and *Cologn*, have entered into an Aſſociation, by which they have ſettled the Succeſſion to thoſe Dutchies, after the Death of the preſent *Elector Palatine*; and which, in Caſe of Oppoſition, is to be ſupported by *France*: This Settlement has been communicated to the States General; and as it from thence appears, that the *King* of *Pruſſia* is to be entirely excluded from having any Share in that Succeſſion, his Miniſter at the *Hague*, who ſays his Maſter has the ſtrongeſt and beſt Pretenſions, beſtirs himſelf with great Vigour, to prevent their High Mightineſſes from approving of that Aſſociation, or the Settlement thereby made; and as the States, not without Reaſon, ſeem no Way pleaſed with *France*'s intermeddling in this Affair; the *Marquis de Fenelon*, the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, has, by Orders from his Court, delivered a very complaiſant Memorial, whereby his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* declares, that he will take no Step in that Affair which may be diſadvantageous to the *States General*, and that he will act in Concert with their High Mightineſſes in whatever may concern them relating thereto. But we may believe that *France* will do all in her Power to prevent the *King* of *Pruſſia*'s having any Part of either of theſe Dutchies; becauſe as *Pruſſia* is now the moſt powerful Prince of the Empire, next the Emperor, with reſpect at leaſt to his *German* Dominions, it would be in his Power to keep the Fortifications in better Repair, and a more numerous Army in the Country, in order to prevent the *French* making themſelves Maſters of it upon any Emergency, than any other *German* Prince could do; and therefore it will always be the Intereſt of *France* to prevent *Pruſſia*, or any other powerful Prince, from getting a Footing in thoſe Dutchies, or in any other Country of *Germany* upon the *Weſt* Side of the *Rhine*; all which Countries the *French* have long had a Deſign of annexing to their own Dominions; and their new Acquiſition of *Lorain* will not a little contribute to the Succeſs of that Deſign, whenever the Confuſion or the Stupidity of any of their principal Neighbours ſhall afford them an Opportunity. Joined to this political Reaſon, they have a religious Reaſon for oppoſing the Pretenſions of *Pruſſia*; becauſe if the Succeſſion of theſe two Dutchies ſhould devolve to him, it would ſtrengthen the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Europe*; and Reaſons of this Nature ſeem of late to be of greater Weight with the *Roman* Catholick Courts of *Europe*, than they have appeared to be with thoſe who call themſelves Proteſtants

From the *Hague*, That Mr. *Trevor*, the *Britiſh* Miniſter there, having renewed his Application to the *States General*, in relation to the Diſpute about *Ter Veer* and *Fluſſing*, between the *Prince of Orange* and the *States of Zealand*, their High Mightineſſes wrote a Letter to the States of that Province, ſignifying that, altho', as Executors of the Will of the late *King William*, they had no Power to paſs any definitive Sentence in relation to that Diſpute, yet they had offered to the *King of Great Britain* their Mediation for terminating that Affair, with which they had reaſon to hope their Noble Mightineſſes would not be diſpleaſed; that in Caſe their Mediation ſhould be accepted by all Parties, they hoped their Noble Mightineſſes would contribute as far as in them lay to put an End to it, in the moſt amicable Manner; and that if the Exigency of Affairs ſhould require, that they would augment the Sum of 300,000 Florins already offered by their Noble Mightineſſes, to his Serene Highneſs. To this Letter, the *States of Zealand* have wrote an Anſwer to their High Mightineſſes, in which they declare, that they accept with Pleaſure the Mediation offered by their High Mightineſſes; that they will moſt readily liſten to any Propoſals which ſhall be judged neceſſary to accommodate that Affair, provided they are not contrary to the Reſolutions taken by them in *January* 1733, and in *March* laſt; and that they are not againſt augmenting the Sum of 300,000 Florins already offered his Serene Highneſs, if the ſame ſhould be thought juſt or neceſſary. This is the Subſtance

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ſtance of the Letter and Anſwer, but we may eaſily foreſee that this Affair will not be eaſily accommodated; for it is abſolutely againſt the Safety as well as Intereſt of the *States of Zealand* to allow *Ter-Veer* and *Fluſhing*, two of the principal Keys of their Province, to be in the Poſſeſſion of any Prince or Potentate not entirely dependent upon them; and it may perhaps be thought not altogether conſiſtent with the Honour of the Family of *Orange*, to accept of any Sum in Lieu of two Marquiſates which have always added ſo much to the Power and Influence of that Family; Riches having always been deſpiſed by noble and great Minds, when put in Competition with that which adds to their Power and Influence.

The Regency of *Genoa* have publiſhed a new Proclamation promiſing a Reward to any one that ſhall take, or kill *King Theodore*; and in this new Proclamation they have likewiſe promiſed a Reward to any one that ſhall take or kill the *Advocate Acoſta*, or his Son, or *Michael Piſſanode Durazzo*, the 3 Perſons who accompanied *K. Theodore* in his Retreat from *Corſica*.

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

1. THE Bachelor of *Salamanca*: Or, Memoirs of Don *Cherubim de la Ronde*. In 3 Parts. Tranſlated from the *French* of Mr. *le Sage*, by Mr. *Lockman* Printed for Meſſ. *Bettesworth* and *Hitch*; *Dover* and *Hawkins*, 12mo, price 3 *s.*

2. *Bacchus* and *Venus*: Or, a ſelect Collection of near 200 witty and diverting Songs and Catches in Love and Gallantry. Printed for *R. Montagu*, 12mo, price 2 *s.* 6 *d.*

3. An Ode to the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, imploring his Majeſty's Return. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6 *d.*

4. Patriotic Love: An Ode, chiefly occaſion'd by ſome late Acts of Parliament. Printed for *W. Lewis*, price 6 *d.*

5. A compleat Collection of old and new *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Songs, with their reſpective Tunes. In 4 Pocket-Volumes, price 1 *s.* each ſtitch'd. Printed for *J. Clarke.*

* 6. Health: A Poem, ſhewing how to procure, preſerve, and reſtore it. The 5th Edition. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1 *s.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

7. An Enquiry into the Morals of the Antients. By *George England.* Printed for Meſſ. *Bettesworth* and *Hitch*, 8vo, price 9 *s.*

8. Memorials preſented by the Deputies of the Council of Trade in *France*, to the Royal-Council, in 1701. Now firſt publiſh'd in *French* and *Engliſh*. Sold by Meſſ. *Knapton*, 8vo. price 3 *s.* 6 *d.*

9. Inſtitutes of Learning, taken from *Ariſtotle*, *Plutarch*, *Longinus*, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus*, *Cicero*, *Quintilian*, and many other Writers both antient and modern. By the Rev. *Edw. Manwaring*. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, price 1 *s.*

10. The Riſe and Progreſs of the Papal Power. Done from the *French* of Abbot *Vertot*, by Mr. *Slucie*. Printed for *F. Cogan*, price 1 *s.*

11. A ſhort View of *Latin* Grammar: In a Method entirely new. For the Uſe of Schools. By *John Stirling*, M. A. Printed for *T. Aſhley*, price 6 *d.*

* 12. The Strength and Weakneſs of human Reaſon. The 2d Edition corrected. Printed for *C. Rivington.* 12mo, price 2 *s.* 6 *d.*

13. An Enquiry into the Meaning of Demoniacks in the New Teſtament. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1 *s.*

14. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. *John Gill*; containing Remarks on ſome Paſſages in the Dedication to his Sermon on the great Storm. Sold by *J. Lewis*, price 6 *d.*

15. A Letter from Mrs. *Jane Jones*, alias *Jenny Diver*, in *Drury-Lane*, to Mrs. *Arabella B—wl—s*, near *Wine Office-Court*, *Fleet-ſtreet*, Printed for *A. Dodd*, price 6 *d*,

16. A modeſt Vindication of the truly illuſtrious Order of Ubiquarians from ſome late Aſperſions raiſed againſt it. Sold at the Pamphlet Shops, price 6 *d.*

17. A Diſſertation upon the Surface of the Earth, as delineated in a Specimen of a Philoſophical Chorographical Chart of *Eaſt-Kent*. By *Chriſtopher Packe*, M. D. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6 *d.*

18. Impartial Thoughts on the Supremacy of the Civil Magiſtrate. By *Francis Squire*, A. M. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1 *s.*

POLITICAL.

19. An Eſſay on Parties and a Free Government in the Character of an antient Trimmer. With the original Preface, taken from a MS. wrote in the Reign of King *Charles* I. Printed for *W. Warner*, and *J. Wilford*, price 1 *s.*

20. Memoirs of the Times; in a Letter to a Friend in the Country. Printed for *A. Dodd*, price 1 *s.*

21. Reaſons for repealing the Pot-Act. Printed for *T. Boreman*, price 4 *d.*

SERMONS.

22. Sermons preach'd at the Royal-Chapel of *White hall*. By *George Carleton*, M. A. Printed for *W. Parker*, 8vo, price 5 *s.* 6 *d.*

23. A Sermon preach'd at *Hallaton*, on Occaſion of the Small Pox breaking out there. By *George Fenwicke*, B. D. Sold by *T. Longman*, price 6 *d.*

24. A Sermon preach'd in the *Charter-Houſe-Chapel*, on Monday *Dec.* 13, 1736. being the Day appointed for the Commemoration of the Founder. By the Rev. *George Wilkinſon*, Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 6 *d.*

THEOLOGICAL.

25. Social Religion exemplified, in an Account of the firſt Settlement of Chriſtianity in the City of *Caerludd*. Printed for *J. Buckland*, price 1 *s.*

26. An Eſſay on Religion. The 2d Edition, with Additions. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

27. Truth aſcertain'd and Error confuted. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 3 *d.*

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

FEBRUARY, 1737.

A Correſpondent having favour'd us with ſome Remarks on a late *Scheme*, we think it proper firſt to give our Readers ſome Account of the *Scheme* itſelf, which was publiſh'd in the *General Evening-Poſt* of *Jan.* 25. under the following Title.

A Scheme *for raiſing one Million and a Half, or perhaps two Millions, towards the Supply for the current Year, or for the ſucceeding one, in total Diſcharge of a Land-Tax, and without laying any new Tax or Burthen on the People.*

S the Time approaches when the *Original Fund* of the *Bank* will be redeemable by *Parliament, viz.* upon one Year's Notice after *Aug.* 1, 1742, and conſequently their Privilege of *Banking*, or iſſuing out Caſh-Notes, excluſively of all other Corporations, will then *ceaſe*; and as all the reſt of the Debt due to them, beſides what is charged on their Original Fund, may be paid off before that Time, it cannot be amiſs, *now* to conſider the *true Value* of a *new Grant*. And I chuſe the rather, *now*, to enter upon this Subject, becauſe, ſince the National Debt to the Bank is very large, being upwards of *ten Millions*, the Managers of the Bank will rightly conclude, that it cannot be diſcharged upon one Year's Notice and Preparation; and from thence will be leſs ready to offer the Publick the *true Value of a new Grant:* And unleſs therefore, we do ſoon take this Matter into Conſideration, and now prepare to reduce the Bank Debt, the Nation will receive no Benefit from the Expiration of their Term.

In order to compute the *Value* of a *new Term* of Years to a Bank, moſt People will think it ſufficient to take at a Medium the *Amount* of the *Profits*, which the Bank make yearly of their Buſineſs of *Banking*, (by which, I mean the Profits they make of the Caſh lodged in their Hands, be it by lending on the Malt, or the Land-Tax, or by diſcounting Bills, or by having lent to the Government on Annuities without increaſing their Capital, *&c.*) and having fixed what this *Amount* comes to, then to turn to *Tables* of *Intereſt*, and ſee what is the *preſent Value* of an *Annuity* for *ſuch* a *Term of Years*, as ſhall be intended to be granted, (Money being

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at 3 *per Cent.*) and then after that to ſet down for the *true Value* of a *new Term* of Years to a *Bank*, ſo many *Years Purchaſe* upon the annual Amount of the Profits of Banking, as an *Annuity* for ſuch a Term of Years in Tables of Intereſt appears to be worth. But then this is not all that is to be taken into Conſideration; for the Bank are veſted with a greater Extent of *Powers* and *Privileges* than they have ever yet made uſe of.

For inſtance; The Bank have Power to lend Money on *Land*, and no doubt might have put out prodigious Sums that Way, and have had a better Intereſt for their Money than moſt private People; becauſe whoever borrowed it of them would be free from any Charges for the Procuration or Continuation of it, and free from the uncertain ſudden Demands often artfully made by private Perſons, to diſtreſs and make Advantage of a Borrower: And the Readineſs of People to borrow of Corporations upon their Land, appeared by the many Engagements of that Kind made to the *Land-Bank* in K. *William*'s Reign, during its very ſhort Continuance. Had the Bank then lent out their Money on *Land*, they would have ſtrengthen'd both their *Credit* and their *Intereſt*, and alſo extended their Uſefulneſs by relieving the Landed-Property, of which there is a great deal at this Time in Mortgage, moſt unaccountably at 5 *per Cent.* while inferior Securities bear a Premium at 3 *per Cent.*

Another *Branch* of *Buſineſs* which the Bank have Powers to tranſact, but yet never meddle with, is the *Remittance* of *Money* backwards and forwards to *London*, from all the chief trading Cities in *England*, for which they ſhould have proper Offices, or inferior Banks erected in all ſuch Cities and Towns as they intend to manage a Remittance with; this, beſides what Profit might be expected upon the Remittances, would naturally bring great part of the Caſh which is now circulated in the Country to be lodged in their Hands.

I muſt here next obſerve, that in that Branch of Buſineſs in which they do employ themſelves, which is that of a *London Banker*, they very much contract and narrow their Dealings, and alſo their Uſefulneſs to the Publick, by refuſing to take in Payment the *Foreign Coins*, for which Reaſon it is impracticable with many Traders to keep their Caſh with them; not that I mean to ſuggeſt that they ought to take in Payment the Foreign Coins, at the Rate they now go at, but they might regulate and prevent that Folly or Humour in the Nation, which is very much to our Prejudice, of giving more for foreign Coins than their intrinſick Value. For it is really true, that our People will exchange a greater Quantity of pure Gold contained in our *Guineas*, for a leſſer Quantity contained in *Moidores* and *Thirty ſix Shilling Pieces*; ſo that our new coined full-weight Guineas, are continually exported by Degrees privately, while our Returns are made in Foreign Gold; and the Difference is ſo conſiderable, that, conſidering the Shortneſs of Time it may be tranſacted in, it is very well worth while to export the one to make the Returns in the other, to the Loſs of the Nation. Now this is what the *Bank* might of themſelves eaſily prevent, by making ſome publick Declaration of the true intrinſick Value of theſe Pieces, upon an exact *Eſſay* made, I mean as to ſuch of them as are of full Weight; and likewiſe by advertiſing at the ſame Time their true Value by *Tale*, as they generally run one with another; and by declaring further, that they would take them in Payment at ſuch a Rate, (according to the *Eſſay*) as to thoſe of the Pieces that are of full Weight; and at ſuch a Rate by *Tale*, according as they had found the Value was by Tale.

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Tale. After such a Declaration, from a Corporation of their Weight, no one would give more than they had set 'em at; and the Consequence would be, 1st, Indeed, that the Moidores and 36 Shilling Pieces would pass at about 3d. a piece less than they now do; but, 2dly, It would be, that the Bank would keep perhaps a *third* more Cash than they now do; and, 3dly, That the Nation would save for the future any Loss suffered by Returns made in foreign Coins over-rated; and, 4thly, That great Part of these Pieces would be brought to the Mint, and occasion a very large and honourable *Coinage*, to the Glory of his *Majesty's Reign*.

I proceed now to estimate the *Profits* the Bank make of their Business of *Banking*, and the *True Value* of a *New Term*; which I do thus, *viz.* The Bank, it is well known, divide 5 ½ *per Cent.* yearly on their Capital Stock, unto their several Proprietors: They receive but 4 *per Cent.* from the Government, on the Debt due from thence, except that on the Sum of 1,600,000 *l.* they do receive 6 *per Cent.* Their Capital Stock, I mean their Stock in their Books upon which they make this Dividend, is 8,959,995 *l.* I don't mean their Debt from the Government, which is somewhat more, but their Capital Stock in their Books is whereabout I have placed it, rather more than less; and by thus placing it at the lowest, I make also the Profits of Banking something less than they are. Now then I say,

	L.
A Dividend of 5 ½ *per Cent.* on 8,959,995 *l.* is =	492,799
But 4 *per Cent.* on 8,959,995 *l.* is but =	358,399
Add the 2 *per Ct.* over on 1,600,000 *l.* =	32,000
	390,399
Both the last Sums being deducted from the first, the Remainder must be the Profits of Banking	102,400

Now turn to Tables of Interest, and see what an Annuity for a Term of Years, we will suppose of 31 Years, is worth in present Value, (Money being at 3 *per Cent.*) and you will find it to be 20 Years Purchase; then see what the present Value is of an Annuity for six Years and a Half, and you will find it to be almost six Years Purchase:

	L.
Then, I say, 20 Times 102,400 *l.* is =	2,048,000
Then deduct 6 Times the said Sum =	614,400
This Remainder must be the present Value to be paid for lengthening the Term to 31 Years	1,433,600

It may be objected, perhaps, that the Profits of Banking are not quite so much as I have put 'em at, by reason that the Bank have an Allowance from the Government (over and above the Interest paid them) of 5,898 *l.* towards their Charges of Management, which in my Way of computing I have not deducted. But to this I answer, that as I presume, it will be continued in the future Grant, that will make no Alteration or Deception in the Estimate.

There are moreover some *Items*, which have arisen from the Profits of Banking, which as they have not been divided out among the Bank Proprietors, I have not yet estimated, *viz.* the Money laid out in their new Building; the Purchase Money the Estate cost on which it is built; the great Sum one of their late Di-

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rectors got from them, for which they are in some Jeopardy; all these, since they are not necessary annual Expences, must be taken into the Account. I cannot exactly say what they amount to, but take 'em all together to be upwards of 60,000*l.* and to have risen in about the Space of ten Years, and so then when reduced into yearly Produce, will make the Profits of Banking to be about 6000*l. per Ann.* more; and this by our Method of computing, adds to the Value of a new Term, enlarged to 31 Years, the further Sum of 84,000*l.*

I must likewise take Notice, that in 1730, 1731, and 1732, the Bank divided on their Stock 5 ¼ *per Cent.* and as the Interest they receive from the Government is exactly the same now as it was then; I do not see the Reason why they cannot make as much Profit now as they did then, or at least why they may not expect very soon to do so again, (I don't suppose that thro' Subtilty they have a Mind in their present Situation to seem to make less than they do) yet as this *Quarter per Cent.* more on their Stock is 22,399*l. per Ann.* and consequently the Purchase Money of a new Term, upon account of this additional Profit, is according to our Method of Computation, 313,586*l.* more, and was proper to mention.

As to the other Advantages of the *Bank*, above-mention'd, which they make no use of, I do not go about to offer any Computation of their Value, because till Experiment has been made, different Persons will differ very widely in their Estimates; all I mean is, to acquaint the World with 'em, that the *Bidders* for the *new Term* or *Grant*, may know all the *inviting Circumstances*, and that the *Nation* may have a fair and *full Price* offered for what they part with.

Thus, I think, I have more than barely hinted at the Means of saving entirely the *Land-Tax* for *one Year*, and perhaps for *two*, or perhaps for *more*, in Case, as many think, one Shilling in the Pound without this Help would have sufficed; and if it shall be thought fit to be made an Article of Agreement in the New Contract, that some Part of the Debt shall continue at 4 *per Cent.* during the whole Term to be granted, in like manner as there is at present a Part at 6 *per Cent.* not redeemable till after 1742, that will be then another Consideration to invite a yet higher Price; and if it shall be thought fit to extend the Term to more than 31 Years, the Value of the Grant to be sure will be proportionably increased; but I am not willing to propose any Time that much exceeds what there is a Precedent for by the last Judgment of *Parliament* about this Matter, which in 1713, extended the Term to 1742, with a Year's Notice, which together makes 30 Years from that *Æra*.

I have somewhat further to add, but will forbear at present, and conclude with desiring my Readers to observe, that what is here offered is all in behalf of the *Landed Interest*, which has long groaned under a very heavy Weight, unequally placed; but if after all I should see this Scheme mangled, and by piece-meal applied to other Purposes, I own I should repent of having writ these Lines.

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

Qui decipi vult, decipiatur.

SIR, *Feb.* 3. 1734.

THE Parson of our Parish is one of those modern High-Churchmen who carry the Doctrine of Passive Obedience higher than ever the *Sacheverellians* did; for the latter only said, that we ought to yield Passive Obedience to the King; but the former say, we ought to yield Passive Obedience not only to the King, but to the King's Minister: Nay, they say,

Say, we ought to yield Active as well as Paſſive Obedience to the Miniſter, and that not only when he executes the Laws, but when he breaks the Laws by ſending us Orders, under his higheſt Diſpleaſure, to vote for ſuch or ſuch a Candidate, at an Election for Members of Parliament: What may be our Doctor's Motive for embracing ſo odd an Opinion I ſhall not pretend to determine; but the Doctrine ſeems to be of great Service to *him*; for he has already got *two fat* Livings, and is in Expectation of ſome Dignity very ſpeedily: And, in the mean time, that he may be ſufficiently inſtructed in the Duty of his Office, he has a great many Pamphlets and News-Papers ſent him, *Gratis*; (as it is called, tho' in my Opinion, he pays a terrible Price for them) for which Reaſon, I generally pay him a Viſit once a Week, in order to read thoſe Papers which I can find no where elſe, but at our Exciſe Office, which is at a greater Diſtance.

Laſt *Saturday* I went, as uſual, and found in the *General Evening-Poſt* of the *Tueſday* before, *a Scheme for a total Diſcharge of the Land Tax, without laying any new Tax or Burthen upon the People*. This extraordinary Title I confeſs ſurpriſed me; for tho' I immediately took it to be a Jeſuitical Scheme, for procuring a new and a cheap Purchaſe to the *Bank*, by impoſing upon thoſe Land-holders who underſtand nothing of Trade or Taxes, yet I could not conceive how it was poſſible for a Man to form ſuch a mean Opinion of the Underſtandings of the Land-holders of *England*, as to imagine he could put ſo groſs an Impoſition upon them.

The Scheme I peruſed with that Contempt it deſerved, becauſe I ſuppoſed *it* to proceed from ſome low and ſelfiſh Proprietor of *Bank Stock*, who would, with Pleaſure, expoſe the Nation to certain future Ruin, if he could get to himſelf an immediate Profit, by raiſing the Price of his Stock; but upon my throwing the Paper aſide, the Doctor asked me, What I thought of that glorious Scheme? This made me look ſerious; and upon finding he was inſtructed to trumpet its Praiſe, I began to ſuſpect it proceeded from ſome higher Hand than I at firſt dream'd of; whereupon I deſired Leave to carry the Paper home with me, which was granted, on promiſe to return it next Day.

As this Scheme is calculated to cajole and deceive our landed Gentlemen, and has, I hear, been publiſhed and recommended with great Induſtry, the Remarks I have made, or ſome ſuch Remarks, ought, I think, to be publiſhed for the Sake of Truth, and for the Sake of the Trade, the Proſperity, and conſequently the landed Intereſt of this Kingdom, which is my Reaſon for ſending them to you.

The Title our Projector has given to his Scheme, as I have ſaid, gave me a good deal of Surpriſe, conſidering the Paper I found it publiſhed in; for there is but one Way of raiſing Money for the publick Service, without laying any new Burthen upon the People, and that is by calling all thoſe to a ſtrict Account who have plundered the People: This is the only poſſible Way of raiſing Money without burthening the People, and by this Method a much larger Sum than our Projector mentions, a much larger Sum than I ſhall now take upon me to mention, might be raiſed, and juſtly raiſed; but I could not expect to ſee ſuch a Scheme publiſhed in a Paper which I knew to be countenanced by none but Directors, Stock-jobbers, Brokers, and ſuch other Harpies, who fatten upon the Spoils of Labour and Induſtry.

Does our Projector think, that the Retrenching the Liberty of our landed Gentlemen, as well as our Merchants, with reſpect to forming themſelves

themſelves into Societies for Banking, is no Hardſhip upon them? Does he think, that an excluſive Privilege of any Kind granted to a particular Society, is no Burthen upon the People? Is not every ſuch Privilege a Monopoly? And has not every Kind of Monopoly been always deemed, not only a Burthen but a Grievance upon the People of *Great Britain*? This very Privilege which the Bank has for ſo long enjoyed, I could demonſtrate to be a moſt heavy Burthen upon the People, and a great Prejudice to the Landed Intereſt, as well as the Trading Intereſt of this Kingdom; for if it had not been for this Privilege, we ſhould have had a Bank perhaps in every County of *England*, and probably half a Dozen different Banks at *London*; by which means no Merchant of tolerable Credit would ever have been ſtraitned for want of ready Money at a low Intereſt when he had Occaſion for it, nor would any Landed Gentleman, who had a good Title to his Eſtate, have been obliged to pay ſuch *Premiums* to Brokers, or ſuch an Intereſt to Mortgagees, as they are now generally obliged to pay: Whereas our preſent Bank has never, ſo far as I have heard, aſſiſted any Landed Gentleman, nor any Merchant, except in and about *London* only; ſo that they ſeem to be ſomething like the Dog in the Manger, they will neither aſſiſt the Landed Gentleman, nor allow any other Society to put themſelves in a Way of aſſiſting them.

I ſhall not now pretend to find fault with the Bank's not lending, upon Mortgages, tho' I'm convinced it would be of great Service to the Nation; but for this purpoſe it would be neceſſary to eſtabliſh Regiſters in every County, as well as to put thoſe we have under more proper Regulations, and it would be likewiſe neceſſary to regulate and abridge our preſent Methods of Conveyance, both which, I'm afraid, our Lawyers will always have Intereſt enough to prevent. Nor ſhall I find Fault with the Bank's refuſing to take in Payment the foreign Coins; becauſe, while we have but one Bank, the Thing is, in my Opinion, impracticable; for the Bank could never take them at any current Rate, without being under a Neceſſity of weighing every ſingle Piece, which never can be worth the while of ſuch a great and opulent Society: But to imagine that their taking ſuch Coins in Payment, or making any publick Declaration of the true intrinſick Value of thoſe Pieces, upon an exact Eſſay made, would prevent People's exchanging a greater Quantity of pure Gold contained in our Guineas, for a leſſer Quantity contained in Moidores and Thirty ſix Shillings Pieces, is ridiculous, and ſhews that our Projector's Knowledge of Trade is as ſuperficial as his Knowledge of the true Intereſt of the Nation. The Reaſon of the Difference between the Purchaſe of Gold in Guineas, and the Purchaſe of the ſame Sort of Gold in foreign Coins, is becauſe the latter may be exported with Safety, whereas it is hazardous to export or melt down the former, and the Difference of the Purchaſe will always be equal to the Value generally put upon this Hazard; therefore this Difference does not proceed from any Folly or Humour in the Nation, but from a moſt natural and obvious Cauſe; for which Reaſon I hope our Projector will, for the future, be more cautious how he accuſes the Nation of Folly or Humour; for the greateſt Folly or Humour this Nation has ever been guilty of, has been in agreeing to his Monopolizing Schemes, and even that Agreement, as it has generally been purchaſed, is rather to be aſcribed to the Knavery of a few, than to the Folly or Humour of the Nation in general.

Now for the Project itſelf, I ſhall

he

be ſorry to ſee the Nation again reduced to the hard Neceſſity of ſelling a Monopoly in Banking to any Society whatever. I am certain we cannot be under any ſuch Neceſſity now in Time of a profound Peace, unleſs it be to purchaſe a falſe and ſhort-lived View of Popularity to one certain Man, I mean our Projector; for a View of Popularity not founded in *Truth* will never be laſting, will always be deceitful. But ſuppoſing that a Monopoly, or exclu-ſive *Privilege* in Banking could be granted to a particular Society, without doing an Injury to the People in general, or to any other particular Society now formed, or hereafter to be formed, and that a large Sum of Money might be raiſed for the publick Service, by granting ſuch a Monopoly, Ought not ſuch an extraordinary Method of raiſing Money to be reſerved for a Time of extraordinary Difficulty and Danger? Shall we in Time of Peace ſweep the Exchequer clean, and for the Sake of gaining ſome Sort of Popularity to our preſent Adminiſtration make it impoſſible for any future Adminiſtration either to defend the Nation in Time of War, or even to ſupport itſelf in Time of Peace, without burthening the People with new and extraordinary Taxes? Thoſe who think of nothing but temporary Expedients, who have a Regard for nothing but themſelves, but contrive ſuch Meaſures, but no Man that has any Regard for his Country, or his Poſterity, can ever approve of them.

This, I ſay, no Man could approve of, even ſuppoſe we had no Debt, ſuppoſe we had no ruinous Taxes upon our Trade; but when the Nation is ſo loaded with Debt, when our Trade is in the utmoſt Danger of being loſt by the many Taxes upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, to apply Money raiſed by ſuch an extraordinary Method to the current Service, only to prevent the People's being ſenſible of that Expence, which our preſent Meaſures make neceſſary, would be a moſt ridiculous, a moſt pernicious Expedient. What then muſt we think of a Scheme, not only for making uſe of ſuch an Expedient, but for anticipating that Expedient, and making uſe of it five or ſix Years before it is neceſſary for us ſo much as to think or conſider whether or not a new Term ought to be granted to the Bank. By ſuch a Scheme, propoſed at ſuch a Time, it would ſeem as if our Projector were afraid leſt ſuch a pernicious Expedient ſhould be left unappropriated by the preſent Adminiſtration; which ſhews he has as little Regard for them, as he ſeems to have for the future Happineſs or Security of his Country.

If there were now any Occaſion for conſidering, whether or no it would be proper to grant a new Term to the Bank, and how much they ought to pay for that Term, our Projector has upon the Main taken the right Method of Calculating how much we ought to make them pay for ſuch a new Term as he ſuppoſes; but even in this he ſeems to ſhew as little Favour to the Publick as poſſible. For it is certain there is a high Probability, that the Bank may and probably will, as ſoon as this new Term is granted, make as large Dividends as ever they have done; nay if they will pleaſe but to aſſiſt the landed Intereſt a little, by lending at two and a half *per Cent.* upon ſuch Mortgages as are indiſputable, they may vaſtly increaſe their annual Profits, and may therefore make much larger Dividends than ever they have made; ſo that their future Dividends ought to be reckoned at above 6 *per Cent.* from whence the Account would come out much more in Favour of the Publick than our Projector has thought fit to make it; for ſuppoſing their Dividends for the Future to be but 6 *per Cent.* and no more, the Account will ſtand thus,

A

	£.
A Dividend of 6 *per Cent.* on 8,959,995 *l.* is =	537,600
But 4 *per Cent.* on 8,959,995 *l.* is but =	358,399
Add the 2 *per Cent.* over on 1,600,000 *l.* =	32,000
	390,399
Both the last Sums deducted from the first, the Remainder must be the Profits of Banking	147,201

Now turn to Tables of Interest, and see what such an Annuity for a Term of Years, we will suppose of 31 Years, is worth in present Value, (Money being at 3 *per Cent.*) and you will find it to be 20 Years Purchase; then see what the present Value is of such an Annuity for 6 Years and a Half, and you will find it to be almost 6 Years Purchase.

Then, I say, 20 Times 147,201 *l.* is	2,944,020
Then deduct 6 Times the said Sum of 147,201 *l.* which is	883,206 B
This Remainder must be the present Value to be paid for a Term of 31 Years, to commence *Aug.* 1. next	2,060,814 C

I know that several plausible Objections may be made against these Calculations, which I shall state and answer as briefly as I can. In the first Place it may be said, that since the Bank has divided but 5 ½ *per Cent.* for several Years past, we ought not to state their future Profits at 6 *per Cent.* but I say that as they have never, since the late Increase of their Capital, divided less than 5 ½, the least we can reckon their past Profits at is 6 *per Cent.* For if we allow the Directors of the Bank to have been honest and prudent Managers for the Proprietors, they have never divided out all their Profits, but have every Year reserved such a Sum as they thought would, at the End of the Term, be sufficient to purchase a Renewal of that Term.

Suppose a Man had a leasehold Estate of 100 *l.* a Year for 30 Years, and that he proposed, at the End of the Term, to purchase a Renewal of his Term at a reasonable Price; such a Man would not surely suppose that he could live at the Rate of 100 *l.* a Year, but would propose to save as much Yearly as would in 30 Years be sufficient to purchase a Renewal of his Term; for which End he must, according to Computation, save and put out to Interest regularly about 36 *l.* yearly, which being above a third Part of his yearly Rent, or Profits, we must from thence grant, that if the Directors of the Bank have managed the Affairs of that Company, as any prudent Man would manage his own private Affairs, they have saved, and put out to Interest regularly, above one third of their annual Profits, which amounts to above a Half *per Cent.* Deduction from the Dividends they might otherwise have made; and therefore the least we can compute their present Annuities and Profits at, must be 6 *per Cent.* yearly, upon the whole capital Stock: And as the Credit of a Bank will always increase the more, the longer it continues established, there is, I think, a Certainty that their Profits may be increased, but not the least Probability that their Profits can be diminished, unless an universal Wreck and Ruin should overwhelm this Nation, which the Application of this Money, according to our Projector's Scheme, would, as I shall hereafter shew, very much contribute to bring upon us.

Next it may be said, that the Dividends made by the Bank, so far as they

they exceed the Annuity paid them by the Government, muſt be look'd on as a caſual Annuity, and therefore not be valued at the ſame Rate with a certain Annuity. To which I anſwer, that all Caſualties may, and always are reduced to a Certainty, in order to compute their Value, by ſtating them at a Medium, between the loweſt and the higheſt Sum they can be ſuppoſed to amount to; and according to this Method, every Man who conſiders the Nature of Banking, and how vaſtly a private Banker, as well as a banking Society, may increaſe his Profits after he acquires an eſtabliſhed Credit, muſt allow that 6 *per Cent.* is rather below than above the Medium between the higheſt and the loweſt Sum the Bank Dividends may be ſuppoſed for the future to amount to; ſo that an Annuity of near 2 *per Cent.* ariſing from their Profits by Banking, may be reckoned as certain as any other Annuity whatſoever, and is therefore to be valued at the ſame Rate with a certain Annuity.

Laſtly, It may be ſaid, that an Annuity ariſing from the Profits of any Trade, ought not to be valued at ſo high a Rate, as an Annuity payable in ready Money out of Lands, or any other certain Fund, becauſe the former always requires Management, Labour, Pains, and Expence, neither of which is required in the latter. The Anſwer to this is very plain and eaſy, becauſe every Director, and every Officer, is paid for his Management, Labour, Pains, and Expence, out of the Profits, before the Dividends or net Profits are computed; ſo that the Dividends, with reſpect to the Proprietors, is an Annuity that comes to them regularly without any Management, Labour, Pains, or Expence; and ought therefore to be valued at as high a Rate as any other Annuity whatſoever.

Theſe are all the Objections I can think of; and having, I think, removed every one of them, I ſhall take Notice of two Circumſtances that will increaſe the Sum, which the Publick ought to demand from the Bank for a new Term of 31 Years. The firſt is, that, as this new Term cannot be made to commence before the firſt of *Auguſt* next, the Conſideration Money to be paid for that Term by the Bank will probably be made payable on that Day, and therefore the preſent Value of an Annuity for 6 Years only, inſtead of 6 and a Half, is to be deducted from the preſent Value of the Annuity for 31 Years; that is to ſay, the Sum of 797,388*l.* only, inſtead of the Sum of 883,206*l.* is to be deducted from the Sum of 2,944,020*l.* in which caſe the Remainder will be 2,146,631*l.* which is the leaſt Sum the Publick ought to inſiſt on: But there is another Circumſtance which will intitle the Publick to inſiſt upon a higher Price, and that is, the great Loſs the Proprietors of the Bank muſt ſuſtain, if they ſhould refuſe to accept of the Terms the Publick ſhall be pleaſed to offer; for as Bank Stock now ſells for near 150 *per Cent.* every one of the Proprietors would loſe one third Part of his Capital, by the Bank's not accepting of the Terms that ſhall be offered; which is a Circumſtance the Publick ought certainly to make ſome Advantage of, eſpecially conſidering the heavy Load of Debts and Taxes the Nation now groans under; and from this Circumſtance I muſt think, that the Publick ought to inſiſt upon having at leaſt 2,500,000*l.* from the Bank for a new Term of 31 Years; in caſe it ſhould be found neceſſary for us to continue that excluſive Privilege the Bank now enjoys, which I hope it never will.

But ſuppoſing the Nation to be under a Neceſſity of ſelling a new Term to the Bank, and ſuppoſing that the preſent Time is the moſt proper for that Purpoſe, let us conſider

ſider how the Money to be raiſed by that Sale, or Grant, ought to be applied. Upon this Queſtion I muſt ſay I am vaſtly ſurprized to hear any Man pretend it ought to be applied to the current Service of this or any future Year, conſidering the many Taxes we are now ſubject to, which are greatly prejudicial, not only to the Landed Intereſt, but to the Trading Intereſt, and even to the Liberties of this Kingdom.

Our Projector, according to a late Practice, plumes himſelf much upon the Relief that may this Way be procured for the Landed Intereſt, by freeing them entirely from the Land Tax; but this Relief cannot poſſibly be procured, as long as we have any Taxes ſubſiſting upon the Neceſſaries of Life; becauſe it is certain, that the reviving or continuing of any Tax upon the Neceſſaries of Life, in order to relieve the Landed Intereſt of a Shilling in the Pound Land Tax, can never be a Relief to thoſe Landed Gentlemen, who ſtand moſt in need of Relief, I mean thoſe of 60*l.* a Year, or under: It may, indeed, be a preſent Relief to Gentlemen of large and opulent Fortunes, but never can be a Relief to thoſe whoſe Share of any Tax upon the Neceſſaries of Life, will generally amount to near as much as their Share of a Tax of equal Value upon Land would amount to; therefore, if we have any Regard to thoſe Landed Gentlemen, who ſtand moſt in need of Relief, we ought to bend all our Meaſures towards relieving them of thoſe Taxes upon the Neceſſaries of Life, which are not only an immediate and grievous Burthen upon them, but a moſt deſtructive Burthen upon our Trade, becauſe they inhance the Price of all our Manufactures; and if our Trade ſhould be undone, if moſt of our Cities and Towns ſhould be rendered deſolate and uninhabited, which will at laſt be the Caſe, if our preſent high Duties continue upon thoſe Things, that are neceſſary for our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, I ſhall leave it to our Landed Men of all Ranks and Conditions to conſider, how much their Eſtates in Land and Houſes muſt decreaſe in their Value, and whether it be prudent in them to run ſuch a Risk for the Sake of ſaving for one Year or two, or more, a Shilling in the Pound Land Tax.

I ſhall readily grant, that the Tax which is called the *Land Tax*, is moſt unequally raiſed; for by the Law every Year made for that purpoſe, *all Eſtates in Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, or other Chattels or perſonal Eſtate whatſoever*, are ſubjected to that Tax; and yet, notwithſtanding the expreſs Words of the Law, it is well known what a ſmall Share is paid towards that Tax, by thoſe who are poſſeſſed of perſonal Eſtates only: Then with reſpect to thoſe who have Eſtates in our Funds, I muſt ſay, I think it a little extraordinary, that they ſhould be made altogether free of paying any Share towards the Expence neceſſary for protecting them in the Enjoyment of their Property in thoſe Funds: I can think of no juſt Reaſon for granting them any ſuch Immunity; and, therefore, thoſe who pretend ſuch an Affection for the Landed Intereſt of this Kingdom, ought to ſhew that Affection, by endeavouring to ſubject our rich Stockjobbers to the Land Tax; and by endeavouring to put the Law in Execution, with reſpect to the raiſing it in a juſt and equitable Manner, upon all other perſonal Eſtates; which would greatly contribute towards freeing our Landed Gentlemen from thoſe many Taxes, upon the Neceſſaries of Life, that now render the Support of their Families ſo expenſive to them; and then they could eaſily afford to pay ſuch a ſmall Tax upon Land, as would be neceſſary for the Support of our Government in Time of Peace,

Peace, or for the Defence of the Nation in Time of War, eſpecially if no undeſerved Penſions or Salaries were granted, no uſeleſs Poſts continued, nor any unneceſſary Expence incurred.

This would be a Project worthy A the Thanks of every Man who wiſhes well to his Country; but this would greatly leſſen the Power and the Influence of our Miniſters; for as the *Land Tax*, or that Tax which is called the *Land Tax*, is raiſed without the Expence of maintaining B any Officers, it affords to our Miniſters no Room for rewarding their Favourites, or Slaves, with lucrative Poſts, or Employments; but for this very Reaſon, every Man, who is not the Favourite or Slave of a Miniſter, will be for raiſing Money for the C publick Service in this Way rather than any other; becauſe by thoſe Taxes, which ſerve to increaſe or keep up the Number of our Officers, our Liberties may be overturned, which they can never be by any Tax raiſed in the ſame Manner in which D the Land Tax is raiſed at preſent; and the preſent Method of raiſing it might be much improved, by making every County name their own Collectors, and anſwer for their Deficiencies, which is the Method that has been long practiſed in *Scotland*, and E was lately propoſed in Parliament to have been eſtabliſhed in *England*; but by I do not know what Fate, the Propoſition happened to be over-ruled.

For this Reaſon, every Landed Gentleman will deſpiſe that Relief F which is propoſed to be given him, by continuing thoſe Taxes that lie heavy upon the Neceſſaries of Life, and will be convinced that ſuch Schemes do not proceed from any Regard to the Landed Intereſt, but from a Deſire to continue the Power G and Influence of Miniſters, by which the Freedom and Independency of Parliaments may be brought into the moſt imminent Danger. And for the ſame Reaſon, if any Money be now to be raiſed by granting a new Term to the Bank, it is to be hoped, that every Man, except thoſe who are, or have a Mind to be the Slaves of Miniſters, will be for applying that Money, towards relieving us from thoſe Taxes that lie heavy upon the Neceſſaries of Life; with reſpect to which we can be under no Difficulty which to chuſe.

I have already ſhown that the Publick may expect, and ought to inſiſt upon having 2,500,000*l.* for ſuch a Grant; and if ſuch a Price can be obtained, one Million of it ought certainly to be applied towards relieving us from the Salt-Duty, which is a moſt heavy Tax upon our Trade, upon our Shipping, upon our Poor, and upon our Landed Gentlemen of ſmall Fortunes, who live in the Country, and generally keep ſome Part of their Eſtate in their own Poſſeſſion, or farm a Part of ſome neighbouring Gentleman's Eſtate; and by the remaining Part of this Price, we may not only pay off the Debt which ſtill remains due on Account of the Navy, but we may, with the uſual Aſſiſtance from the Sinking Fund make a good Step towards freeing the Nation from the Tax upon Soap, and likewiſe from that upon Candles, both which contribute greatly to enhance the Price of all our Manufactures, and conſequently to the Ruin of our Trade, upon the Preſervation of which the preſent yearly Revenue of every Landed Gentleman's Eſtate very much depends.

But beſides the Advantage that would accrue to the Nation in general, by being relieved from any of thoſe Taxes which lie heavy upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, I ſhall now ſhew, that every Landed Gentleman who has not above 60*l.* a Year Land Eſtate, will be a greater Gainer by applying this Money to the Uſes I have mentioned, than by applying it to relieving him from a Shilling in the Pound Land-

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Tax. For this purpose I shall suppose the Debt still due on Account of the Navy to be about 500,000 *l.* which must be paid off either by a Shilling in the Pound Land-Tax, or by some other Tax of which the Landed Gentlemen must pay their Share: I shall suppose that if it be not paid off by the Money to be got from the Bank, it will be paid off by continuing the Salt Duty for 3 Years longer; and therefore I shall consider that Duty as fixed upon us for 10 Years to come: As for the Taxes upon Soap and Candles, I must look on them as fixed upon the Nation for 31 Years to come; because, I believe, it will be at least 31 Years, before all our Debts can be paid off by the Produce of the Sinking Fund, unless we suppose it is for the future to be more religiously applied than we can reasonably, in such a Case, suppose.

Now let us consider what a Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year Land Estate may be supposed to pay Yearly towards each of these Taxes; and here I shall suppose that every such Gentleman has at least 10 Persons in his Family, whom he maintains in Bed, Board, and Washing; for if he has any Servants to whom he gives Wages in lieu of either of those Necessaries, the dearer those Necessaries are rendered by the Taxes upon them, the greater Wages he must pay; because poor Servants and Day-Labourers must have the Necessaries of Life, and as they have no Way to purchase them but by Means of their Wages, if the Price of Necessaries be enhanced by Taxes, their Wages must necessarily be increased, which is confirmed by woful Experience in all manner of Business: I must likewise suppose that every Tax raises the Price of that Commodity upon which it is laid, much higher in Proportion than the Value of the Tax laid upon it: This also is confirmed by Experience, and is a Consequence not only natural but necessary.

After what is premised I shall suppose, that a Landed Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year pays 14 *s.* a Year for Salt to his Family more than he would pay if there were no Duty upon that Commodity; that he pays 20 *s.* a Year for Soap consumed in his Family more than he would pay if there were no Duty upon Soap, and that he pays 13 *s.* a Year for Candles more than he would pay if there were no Duty upon Tallow or Candles. Each of these extraordinary Payments, we must therefore look on as Annuities issuing out of his Estate on account of those Taxes, for the Terms I have respectively mentioned; and for this Reason, in order to discover a Man's present Gain, by any Step taken towards the abolishing of those Taxes, we must compute the present Value of those Annuities.

The Annuity of 14 *s.* a Year such a Man is to pay for 10 Years on account of the Duty upon Salt, is worth in present Value 8½ Years Purchase or 6 *l.* The present Value of the Annuity of 20 *s.* he is to pay for 31 Years, on account of the Duty upon Soap, at 20 Years Purchase, is 20 *l.* and the present Value of the Annuity of 13 *s.* he is to pay for 31 Years on account of the Duty upon Candles, at 20 Years Purchase, is 13 *l.* These last two present Values being added together make 33 *l.* which would be the Gain of every Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year Estate, if the Duties on Soap and Candles were both to be absolutely and at once discharged; but as a Million only, Part of the Sum to be paid by the Bank, can, as I have supposed, be applied to that Purpose, we are therefore to see what Gainer such a Gentleman will be by the partial Abolition to be made by the Application of that Sum, in order to which we must compute what the Produce of those two Taxes is worth in present Value, because that present Value will be in Proportion to one Million, as the whole Gain

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is to the partial Gain. If I have been rightly informed the Net Produce of these two Taxes for last Year, amounted to about 365,000 *l.* and if we look upon this as an Annuity payable by the People to continue for 31 Years, it is worth in present Value, A at 20 Years Purchase, 7,300,000 *l.* Therefore the Proportion will be thus,

7,300,000*l.* : 1,000,000*l.* :: 33*l.* : 4*l.* 5*s.*

Consequently this Sum of 4 *l.* 5 *s.* is the Gain every Landed Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year will make by the Application of this Million towards abo- B lishing the Duties upon Soap and Candles; which being added to 6 *l.* Gain, every such Man will make by the total Abolition of the Salt Duty, the whole Gain will amount to 10 *l.* 5 *s.*

Now let us see what a Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year Land Estate will gain C by making him free of 1 *s.* in the Pound Land Tax for five Years, which the said Sum of 2,500,000 *l.* would very near do, if the Whole were to be applied that Way. Here I shall suppose, that every Landed Gentleman in *Great Britain*, one D with another, has his Estate valued towards the Land Tax at two Thirds of the real Value; according to which we must reckon, that every Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year pays 40 *s.* a Year towards a Land Tax of 1 *s.* in the Pound; therefore every such Gen- E tleman will be, by this Method of Application, made free of an Annuity of 40 *s.* a Year, which must otherwise have issued out of his Estate for a Term of five Years, the present Value of which at 4 ½ Years Purchase, amounts to 9 *l.* only; from F whence it is plain, that every Gentleman in *Great Britain* of 60 *l.* a Year Land Estate and no more, will lose 25 *s.* a Year by applying the said Sum of 2,500,000 *l.* towards freeing him from the Land Tax, instead of G applying it towards relieving him of those Taxes which lie heavy upon the Necessaries of Life; and every Man of a Land Estate under 60 *l.* a Year will be still a greater Loser; nay, what is most piteous, and really pleads for Compassion from every rich Man in the Kingdom, the poorer the Land-Holder is, the greater Loser he will be, by this Method of Application.

These Calculations I have made for the Use of those Land-Holders only who have some Regard for their Country and their Posterity, in order to shew them, that the Ease pretended to be prepared for them by this Scheme, or by any such Scheme, can be no Ease, but must be a Loss to the Land-Holder who has not above 60 *l.* a Year; for as to those modern fine Gentlemen who think it ridiculous to have any Regard to their Country, or their Posterity, when it comes in a Competition with their own immediate Ease or Advantage, I know that Calculation as well as Reason is vain; I know it would be as ridiculous to offer Reason or Calculation to them, as it would be to make Love to the Prostitutes in a common Brothel; I know the Price to be paid is the only Argument for gaining the Consent of either; but in this Nation, I hope, the Male Prostitutes will always be as much despised as the Female; I am sure the former Sort are by much the most noxious Animals of the two.

But as for those Landed Gentlemen who have any Virtue or Modesty left, I believe the Suppositions, upon which my Calculations are founded, will not to them seem extravagant. If my Suppositions are right, my Calculations cannot be wrong; and therefore they must see that the principal Design of the Advocates for this, and every such Scheme, must be, to give an Ease to the Rich, by grinding the Face of the Poor, and to destroy our Trade, and our Constitution, by continuing that Distress and Dependence which was first created, and is daily increased, by the many small Taxes the

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the Neceſſaries of Life were, by the late glorious, but expenſive War ſubjected to. That this is the Deſign of the Author of this Scheme is to me demonſtrable; and as he makes his Calculations as favourable as he can for the Bank, I am convinced the Scheme proceeds from ſome eminent Stockjobber, who is a great Friend to the Bank, and has probably a conſiderable Share in their Capital; but by the Wiſdom and Honour of his Countrymen, I hope his Deſign will be rendered abortive.

After having thus clearly ſhewn, that this Scheme would be an Oppreſſion upon, inſtead of being a Relief to, the Landed Gentlemen of ſmall Fortunes, who, next to our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, are the People that ſtand moſt in need of Relief, I believe I need add no other Argument for convincing every honeſt *Engliſhman*, that it ought to be rejected: However I muſt beg Leave to mention one other, which is, That the applying any Part of the Money to be got from the Bank for a new Term, to the current Service of this or any future Year, would be a great Injuſtice done to *England*, becauſe it would be providing for that Service to which the whole Iſland ought to contribute, without ſubjecting *Scotland* to a ſingle Farthing; for the excluſive Privilege of the Bank of *England* does not extend to *Scotland*, nor will our Bank, I believe, ever deſire it ſhould; and therefore *Scotland* has no Title to receive any Benefit by what the Bank pays for continuing that Privilege; the whole Sum ought, indeed, in ſtrict Juſtice, to be applied towards paying off thoſe Debts which were contracted before the Union; but as a great deal more than a proportionable Part of the Duties upon Salt, Soap, and Candles, are levied upon *England*, as *Scotland* pays but a ſmall Share of the Produce of either of theſe Duties, the Advantage which *England* will reap by the Method of Application I have propoſed, will be much more conſiderable than the Injuſtice thereby done; therefore, I believe, the Injuſtice will not be much regarded by the People of *England*; whereas, to apply any Part of the Sum to be got from the Bank, to the current Service of this or any future Year, will be ſuch a glaring Piece of Injuſtice, and the Advantage will be felt by ſo few, that every *Engliſhman* will probably reſent the Injuſtice, and no *Scottiſhman* of Honour will deſire the Favour: For this Reaſon it is juſtly to be apprehended, that ſuch a Meaſure would raiſe great Diſaffection towards his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and therefore it never can be countenanced, much leſs propoſed, by a Man who has nothing in View, but the Security and Defence of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment.

I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that this Scheme, deceitful and wicked as it is, may have one good Effect; I hope it will put People in mind, that as the Term the Bank has, is drawing near an End, the Publick ought to begin to think of redeeming the Nation from that Monopoly, and therefore they ought now to begin to pay off that Capital, which muſt be all redeemed before an End can be put to their excluſive Privilege: For which Reaſon, I hope, the Sinking Fund will for this Year, at leaſt, be wholly applied towards paying off a Part of their Capital; for if the Nation ſhould, by any future Calamity, be obliged to ſell them a new Term, the leſs their Capital happens at that Time to be, the better Price we may expect for that new Term; and if the Nation ſhould be ſo lucky as not to fall under any ſuch Neceſſity, the leſs their remaining Capital is, at the End of their preſent Term, the more eaſy it will be for the Nation to get rid of that Monopoly, which

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they muſt enjoy till their whole Capital be paid off. *I am, SIR,*

Your conſtant Reader, and humble Servant,

A YEOMAN *of* KENT.

Craftſman, Feb. 5. N° 553.

Extracts from the Inſtrument of Aſſurance, *which the preſent King of* Sweden *offer'd to the States.* *(See p. 39)*

THE *Queen of Sweden* being deſirous to have her *Royal Conſort*, the hereditary Prince of *Heſſe, join'd with her in the Adminiſtration of the regal Power*, ſhe made a formal Propoſal to the *States of the Kingdom* for that Purpoſe; which meeting with great Oppoſition from the *Nobility*, ſhe ſent another Letter to the *States*, acquainting them that ſhe was willing to recede from ſharing any Part of the *regal Power*, and that it ſhould be executed by her *Conſort* alone. At the ſame Time, the Prince of *Heſſe Caſſel*, the intended Sovereign, ſent a *Declaration of the People's Rights*, as we call it; from whence I have extracted the following Articles.

Art. 6. Whereas I deſire nothing more earneſtly than the *good Government of the Kingdom*, and the Preſervation of the Rights belonging to *me*, and the *States*, I ſhall therefore always concur with *them*, they having both now and hereafter full Power to enact ſuch Statutes and Ordinances, for *themſelves* and the *Kingdom*, as they find neceſſary, for the *publick Good*, and *their own Happineſs and Safety*. Wherefore I do hereby give Aſſurance, univerſally and openly, that I will, to the utmoſt of my Power, uſe the *regal Authority*, committed to me, for promoting the general Good of the Kingdom, and every Member thereof; being determined to ground my Authority, by Lenity and Juſtice, in the *Hearts of my Subjects*, and to rule and govern according to the *Kingdom's Statutes* and *Ordinances*, and more eſpecially agreeably to the *Inſtrument of Government*, which the *States* have already ordain'd, or ſhall *hereafter* think proper for their Security and Welfare to enact.

Art. 7. I cannot give the *States of the Kingdom*, and its Inhabitants, a ſtronger and more convincing Proof of theſe my ſincere and good Intentions, than that I do, jointly with them, demonſtrate a real Averſion for *ſovereign Power*, or an *unlimited regal Authority*; which hath, by many Ways, ſo fatally injured, diminiſh'd, and viſibly weaken'd the Kingdom. Wherefore to the End *ſuch arbitrary Power* may for ever be extinguiſh'd, and rooted up, I do declare, in the ſame Manner as the *States* have already done, that he *ought to forfeit the royal Throne*, and be eſteem'd *an Enemy to the Kingdom*, who either by *open Violence*, or *ſecret Machinations*, ſhall endeavour to make himſelf an *arbitrary Sovereign*; and whatever Perſon is convicted of the like Contrivances, ſhall be deem'd a *Traitor to his Country*, and puniſh'd accordingly. Wherefore no Perſon ſhall be admitted into *any Employment*, within the Kingdom, or any of its Provinces, be he either *ſpiritual* or *temporal*, *high* or *low*, who does not beforehand, by ſolemn Oath, according to the *ſet Form* preſcribed, abjure *ſuch pernicious arbitrary Government*, as deſtructive and incompatible with the Kingdom's Happineſs and Proſperity.

Art. 8. And to remove all Jealouſy of *ſuch a Sovereign Power's* being introduced, I do promiſe that all ſuch important Affairs, as the *States of the Kingdom* do, by the *Inſtrument of Government*, or *Rule of the Chancery*, appoint to be diſcuſs'd there, ſhall not be debated in the *Cabinet*; it being impoſſible for any *Regency* to be inform'd of all the Circumſtances, relating to many Affairs, when with any

any particular Views they may be laid before the *Cabinet*; and to the End *ſuch Practices* may be effectually prevented, no Perſon ſhall, upon the Forfeiture of his *Place*, preſume to lay any Thing of Importance before *Us*, be it of what Nature or Kind it will, but in the *Council of the Kingdom*; it being always ſafer for a *religious* and *juſt King* to take the Advice of his *Council*, and let all weighty Matters be concluded by the *Plurality of Voices*, than to let any Caſe be determined by the Repreſentation of a *ſingle Perſon*.

Art. 9. I do promiſe to govern and rule the Kingdom, by the Advice of the *Kingdom's Council*; nor will I *take it amiſs of any one*, or *ſhew the leaſt Reſentment*, tho' Things are not always reſolved according to *my Opinion*. Neither will I blame any one, becauſe the *Event* falls out contrary to what was expected; ſince the *Kingdom's Council* are reſponſible, if, by Means of their Votes, any Thing be acted contrary to the *Inſtrument of Government*, the *fundamental Laws, Rights, and Privileges of any of the States*. I do alſo farther promiſe, not to uſe the leaſt Incroachment, or any Ways obſtruct the *Deliberation of the States*, nor take ill whatever *Debates, Diſcourſes*, or *Concluſions*, may happen, and be made amongſt them; but do hereby declare, that I will have a general Love and Kindneſs for *all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom*; ſo that what any of them may have *already ſpoken*, or ſhall ſpeak *hereafter*, out of Zeal for the *publick Good*, ſhall not be imputed to them as a *Crime*; but I will rather, on all Occaſions, reward *ſuch good intention'd Men* with my Favour and Affection.

Art. 10. In ſupplying the Vacancies, that may happen in the *Kingdom's Senate*, as well as *all other Places of Truſt*, I do promiſe, in all Points, to obſerve and follow the *Inſtrument of Government*, eſtabliſh'd by the *States* laſt Year, ſo far as it is not alter'd by *this Inſtrument of Aſſurance*, or may be farther amended by the *States of the Kingdom* now aſſembled; and I will alſo maintain the *Employments* in their due and lawful Honour and Reputation, that the important Affairs of the Nation may be executed with ſo much the more Reſpect and Vigour. And as an *unreſtrain'd Power of diſpoſing of Employments* may be thought by many to be a Means, whereby an *arbitrary* and *unlimited Government* may be again introduced, I do therefore promiſe, that *all Offices* and *Employments*, from a *Colonel* to a *Field Marſhal*, and *all civil Places of the ſame Rank*, ſhall only be given in *Council*, according to the *Majority of Votes*.

Art. 11. No Perſon ſhall be ſuſpended from the *Execution of his Truſt*, without a *previous, lawful Enquiry*; much leſs ſhall any one, as long as he is able to diſcharge his Duty, be diſplaced before Judgment be given in his Caſe, according to Law.

Art. 13. The *Kingdom's Treaſure*, not apply'd by the *States* to any particular Uſe, be the Sums great or ſmall, ſhall not be diſpoſed of, but by the Advice and Plurality of the Votes of the *Council of the Kingdom*; and all due Care ſhall be taken, that the *Expence* do not exceed the *Income*.

Art. 22. And that the *States of the Kingdom* may be the more firmly aſſured of my ſincere and good Intentions for the publick Welfare, I do therefore declare that they ſhall be free and abſolved from their *Oath of Homage and Allegiance*, in Caſe it be found that I have, on my Part, violated the *Oath* and *Aſſurance*, which I hereby make to the *States of the Kingdom*, or do infringe, or break any Statutes they ſhall *farther* think fit to enact, for the Security of their *Religion, Liberties* and *Properties*.

Art. 23. Whereas I find it proper that *this Declaration*, which I am firmly reſolved to obſerve, be made univerſally publick, for every one's Re-

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Regulation; I shall therefore, with Contempt and Disdain, observe if any one, whether he be *high* or *low*, *Native* or *Foreigner*, should be so ill-advised as to propose, under Pretence of pleasing me, the making of *any Alteration* herein, or offer to allow me *greater Power*, and *Authority*, than is contain'd in the *foregoing Articles*; since I desire *no greater Authority* than, on one Side, to gain the *Hearts of all honest People*; and, on the other, to be their Protection and Defence against all Attempts upon their *just and honourable Liberties*. All which I do with my own Hand subscribe, and with my corporal Oath confirm, as I desire that God will preserve my Body and Soul.—*Stockholm* the 22d of *March*, 1720.

Sign'd, *Frederick of Hesse.*

Upon this frank, ample and most solemn Declaration, and Recognition of the *Swedish Liberties*, the *States* immediately came to an unanimous Resolution to confer the *regal Dignity* upon his Royal Highness the Prince of *Hesse*; and having afterwards chosen a *Committee of the four Orders* to present their *Act of Election* to him, in which they again asserted their *Liberties*, he made a short Speech to them, and told them, That he could not with Gratitude enough acknowledge the extraordinary Mark of Affection, which the *Queen* had shewn him, on this Occasion; and that he thankfully accepted the Offer the *States* made him; and would make it the whole Study of his Life to shew them how much he thought himself obliged to them, for advancing him to the Throne; and that, during the whole Course of his Reign, he would be solely guided by the Advice of the *Council of the Kingdom*; and would, on all Occasions, promote the Welfare and Glory of the Nation; and endeavour to live with them, not only as their *King*, but as their *Friend* and *Brother*.

Fog's *Journal*, Feb. 5. N° 430.

The Voice of the People.

POPE *John* XXIII. being asked at a certain Time, what Thing was farthest distant from Truth, answer'd, the Opinion of the Vulgar. *Phocion* was so strongly perswaded of the same Thing, that making a Speech once in *Athens*, and observing that the whole Assembly applauded him, he ask'd his Friends, who stood by, wherein he had spoke amiss; it appearing to him that in the blind Applause of the People there was no Room for just Praise. I do not approve such rigorous Sentiments, neither can I affirm that the People is the direct Antipod of Truth. Sometimes they are in the right; but then it is either by Chance or the Light of another Understanding. A certain wise Man compar'd the Vulgar to the Moon, on Account of their Inconstancy: There was likewise Room for this Comparison, because they never shine with their own Light.

Was Truth to be decided by the Plurality of Voices, we must look for sound Doctrine in the Koran of *Mahomet*, not in the Gospel of Christ; it being certain that the Koran has more Votes on its Side than the Gospel. Whoever considers that there is only one Way which leads to Truth, and that the Paths of Error are infinite, will not be surpriz'd, as Men proceed in their Journey with such a scanty Light, that the greatest Part of them should lose themselves.

Even in that People which was called by the Name of *God's People*, so far oftentimes were the Voice of God and the Voice of the People from being the same, that there was not so much as the least Harmony between them. Thus it happen'd on many Occasions: But the Case of their asking a King of *Samuel* has something particular in it. The Voice of God, by the Mouth of the

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Prophet, diſſuaded them from ſuch an Election. But how far was the Voice of the People from chiming in with the Organ of God? They inſiſt once and again upon having a King: And what Foundation do they go upon? Why upon this, *That we alſo may be like all the Nations*, (1 Sam. viii.) Here two Things are to be remark'd, that the Voice of the People err'd; and that its being qualify'd with the Authority of other Nations did not hinder it from doing ſo.

I believ'd for ſome Time that in one certain Affair the Voice of the People might be infallible, *viz.* in their Notions of the Qualities of Men. It appear'd to me that he was unqueſtionably wiſe or good, whom all the People reckon'd ſo, and the contrary. But upon ſecond Reflection I found that in this alſo the popular Opinion is miſtaken ſometimes. As *Phocion* once was rebuking the People of *Athens* with ſome Severity, his Adverſary, *Demoſthenes*, ſaid to him; *Conſider that the People will kill thee if they ſhould begin to be mad.* *They would kill me* (anſwer'd *Phocion*) *if they ſhould begin to be in their right Senſes:* By theſe Words declaring that, in his Mind, the People never form to themſelves a juſt Idea of the Qualifications of Men. The unhappy End of the ſame *Phocion* confirm'd his Opinion in a great Meaſure, ſince he was put to Death by the furious People of *Athens*, as an Enemy to his Country, notwithſtanding that he was the beſt Man of all *Greece* in thoſe Days.

As to what concerns Virtue and Vice, the one being miſtaken for the other in certain Individuals, the Errors of different Countries have been ſo many on this Head that you meet with them at every Step in Hiſtory. To make one abſolutely diſtruſt the Voice of the People, he needs only to reflect upon the moſt extravagant Errors, which in Affairs of Religion, Government, Cuſtoms and Laws, have been, and ſtill are authoriz'd by the general Conſent, or which is the ſame Thing, by the Majority of different Communities, Bodies corporate, and national Synods. *Cicero* ſaid that there was no Abſurdity how great ſoever, that had not been maintain'd by ſome Philoſopher; with more Reaſon will I ſay, that there is no blundering Conceit that is not warranted by one Set of People or other.

Univerſal Spectator, Feb. 5. N° 435

Of Talkativeneſs.

I HAVE ſomewhere read a Story of a King, call'd *Archelaus*: His *Valet de Chambre*, a *Barber*, and who was us'd to dreſs him, was, it ſeems, like our modern Barbers, a very loquacious Gentleman: When he came one Day to *trim* his Majeſty, he began with, *Pray, Sir, how do you pleaſe to have me cut your Hair.* His Majeſty reply'd, *ſilently.* Your great Talkers, like this *Barber*, think that no one has any Thing to do but to liſten to their Impertinence. I cannot but heartily pity poor *Horace*, when he met with that *impertinent Babler*, that almoſt kill'd him with his Torrent of Diſcourſe: We have the ſame Set of *modern Impertinents*, and one can hardly walk from the *Exchange* to the *Temple*, from the *Temple* to St. *James's*, without meeting half a Dozen of them. I am very much pleas'd with a little Tale that is told of *Iſocrates*: This *Maſter* of *Oratory*, when a *loquacious Pupil* wou'd have enter'd himſelf under his Tutorage, ask'd a *double Fee*; the *one*, he ſaid, was to learn him to *ſpeak well*; the *other*, for what was of more Importance, to teach him to *hold his Peace.* I cou'd wiſh that ſome of our *young Orators*, who frequent the *Temple* and *Fleet-ſtreet* Coffee-Houſes, were to go thro' a Courſe of Lectures under ſuch a Tutor as *Iſocrates*; we ſhou'd then have fewer

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Political, Theological, Theatrical, Poetical, and other miſcellaneous publick Harangues at thoſe publick *Schools of Elocution.*

Some have a ſtrong Impulſe to divulge *Secrets*, either that they do know, or do not know; theſe are Traitors to Society, leaky Veſſels unfit for Uſe, who can contain nothing. Others will boaſt of *Favours* they may have found; but far, far oftner, thoſe which they never receiv'd: Theſe loſe that Credit they wou'd gain by too much endeavouring to ſecure it, and *by proving too much prove nothing.* They who have the Tinkling of *Rhymes* in their *Pericranium*, generally turn out *Repeaters*, and will tune out their *Poetical Productions* tho' it be to a *Merchant* on *high Change*, or a *Serjeant* at *Law* in his Hurry from the *King's-Bench* to the *Common-Pleas.* A *Sailor*, a *Soldier*, a *Parſon*, an *old Woman*, a *common Porter*, or a *common Miſtreſs*, muſt all attend to the Harmony of his Numbers.

Your *Story-tellers* are ſtill another Kind of *Impertinents* in *Garrulity*, and may be divided into two Sects; the firſt abound moſt in the Flow of Words to *introduce* their Story; the other lays not ſo much Dependence on the flouriſhing Preamble as on the *Epiſodes* and *Digreſſions* in the *Narration:* The one cannot tell a Jeſt 'till they have harangued an Hour to introduce it properly; the other, who are *old Dons* of *Threeſcore*, ſtray into a Waſte of Words, and are loſt in thoſe thouſand unneceſſary Circumſtances which are the Follies of Age.

I wou'd not preſcribe a *total Privation* of the Office of the *Tongue*, but wou'd ſtill indulge my ſeveral Patients in as free an Exerciſe of their Talents of Locution, Prolocution, and Circumlocution, as they now enjoy: I wou'd only inſiſt on one Form or Mode of Speech; and that is call'd *Soliloquy*, or *Self-Talk.* I think it improper to lay our Publick Orators under an abſolute Tax of Silence, but wou'd enjoin them that they ſhou'd make their ſeveral Harangues in their own Chambers only; nor need they complain of the Want of an Audience, when they may, in Imitation of the great *Demoſthenes*, imagine every *Chair* a *Politician*, as he did every *Cabbage Stalk* in his Garden a *Denizon* of *Athens.* Thus, by frequent Converſation with *themſelves*, they might at laſt find out, that to ſpeak *to themſelves* is in Reality the beſt Method to learn to ſpeak *to others.*

ON Saturday, Feb. 5. *appear'd a new Weekly Paper under the Title of*, Common Senſe: Or, The *Engliſhman's* Journal. *This firſt won an Introductory Paper, in which the Author, among other Things, ſays:*

Another Difficulty that occur'd to me, was the preſent great Number of my Weekly Brethren, with whom all People, except the Stationers, and the Stamp-Office, think themſelves already overſtock'd; but this Difficulty upon farther Conſideration leſſen'd.

As for the *London Journal*, it cannot poſſibly interfere with me, as appears from the very Title of my Paper; moreover I was inform'd, that Paper of the ſame Size and Goodneſs as the *London Journal*, being to be had much cheaper unprinted and unſtamp'd, and yet as uſeful to all Intents and Purpoſes, was now univerſally prefer'd.

Fog's Journal, by a natural Progreſſion from *Miſt* to *Fog*, is now condenſed into a Cloud, and only uſed by Way of wet brown Paper, in caſe of Falls and Contuſions.

The *Craftſman* was the only Rival that gave me any Concern — that being the only one, I thought there was World enough for us both, and perſuaded myſelf that, wiſer than *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, we ſhould content ourſelves with dividing it between us; beſides that, I never obſerved Mr. *D'Anvers* to be an Enemy *to Common Senſe.*

Being a Man of great Learning, I have, in chuſing the Name of my Paper, had before my Eyes that excellent Precept of *Horace* to Authors, to begin modeſtly, and not to promiſe more than they are able to perform. I have therefore only entitled it *Common Senſe*, which is all I pretend to myſelf, and no more than what (I dare ſay) the humbleſt of my Readers pretends to likewiſe.

But as a farther Incouragement to try me, I declare that tho' I only promiſe Common Senſe, yet if I have any Wit, my Readers ſhall have it into the Bargain. Wherefore I deſire my Cuſtomers to look upon this Weekly Expence as a Two-penny Ticket in a Lottery; it may poſſibly come up Wit, and if a Blank, at worſt, *Common Senſe*.

But as Modeſty is the beſt Recommendation to great Minds, ſo it is apt to prejudice little ones, who miſtake it for Ignorance, or Guilt; therefore that I may not ſuffer by it, I muſt repeat a known Obſervation, that Common Senſe is no ſuch common Thing. I could give many Inſtances of this Truth, if I would, but decline it at preſent, and chuſe to refer my Readers to their ſeveral Friends and Acquaintance.

Should I here be ask'd then what I mean by Common Senſe, if it is ſo uncommon a Thing? I confeſs I ſhould be at a Loſs to know how to define it. I take Common Senſe, like Common Honeſty, rather to be call'd common, becauſe it ſhould be ſo, than becauſe it is ſo; it is rather that Rule by which Men judge of other Peoples Actions, than direct their own; the plain Reſult of right Reaſon admitted by all, and practiſed by few.

I can't help thinking how very advantagious it may be to a great many People to purchaſe my Paper, were it only for the Sake of the Title. —— Have you read Common Senſe? —— Have you got Common Senſe? are Queſtions which one ſhould be very ſorry not to be able to anſwer in the Affirmative; and yet in order to be able to do it with Truth, a Precaution of this Kind may poſſibly not be unneceſſary, at leaſt it can do no Hurt.

As to the Deſign of my Paper, it is to take in all Subjects whatſoever, and try them by the Standard of Common Senſe. My Intention is to rebuke Vice, correct Errors, reform Abuſes, and ſhame Folly and Prejudice, without Regard to any Thing but Common Senſe; which as it implies common Decency too, I ſhall confine myſelf to Things, and not attack Perſons; it being my Deſire to improve or amuſe every body, without ſhocking any body.

Grubſtreet Journal, Feb. 10. N° 372.

Of Alienation Fines.

Gentlemen,

NO one more approves the Reſtoration of *Charles* II. than myſelf; but ſurely it might have been conducted with more Advantage to the Subject than it was. Bad Men may make good Laws, the Governors in 1653 made an *Act* for the aboliſhing *Fines on Original Writs* (which was then intended to extend to *Alienation Fines*) at a Time when they were in great Want of Money; and that Law was nevertheleſs repealed at the Reſtoration: Since which Time Taxes then unheard of have been chearfully paid for the neceſſary Support of the Government, and we ſtill pay thoſe *Fines*; which, I think, a late learned Author had forgot, when he called *Alienation Fines* in a more northern Country a *Badge of Slavery*. When the Civil Liſt was ſupported by the Revenues of the Crown, and Taxes raiſed upon extraordinary Occaſions only, the *Fines* abovementioned were more reaſonable, than in Times when the Civil Liſt and the Deficiencies

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thereof (when any happen) are well supplied by Parliament. I am, &c.

Daily Gazetteer, Feb. 10. N° 510.

The Swediſh *Government a Common-wealth, according to the* Craftſman's *Account*

THE Authors of the *Craftſman* having been for many Years endeavouring to ſubvert the preſent Form of Government, begin now to tell *us* what Sort of Government they would ſubſtitute in its Place; and *they* ſeem, by the two laſt Letters in that Paper, (See p. 39, 71) to propoſe that of *Sweden* for their Model; which, ſuppoſing it to be ſuch a one as they have repreſented it, is to all Intents and Purpoſes a Common-wealth.

For if the *Craftſman*'s Account of the preſent Conſtitution of *Sweden* be true, the King has not the leaſt Share, Influence or Power, in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of that Nation, nor has any Thing of Royalty in him, but meerly the Name and Title. For my Part, I ſee no manner of Difference between no King at all, and ſuch a one as the *Craftſman* pretends the preſent King of *Sweden* to be; for it is not the Name, but the Power and Office of a King, that makes the Difference between a Monarchy and a Republick.

The Eſſence of our Government, as *Rapin* obſerves, conſiſting in the Correſpondence and ſtrict Union of the King's Prerogatives with the People's Liberties; *So far are thoſe from deſtroying one another*, ſays that Writer, *that they are rather the ſtrongeſt Cement of that ſtrict Union ſo neceſſary between the Prince and People; for the King, by means of his Prerogatives, is able to protect his Subjects; to ſee the Laws duly executed, and Juſtice impartially adminiſtred; to defend the Weak againſt their powerful Oppreſſors; to aſſiſt the Unfortunate, and puniſh the Diſturbers of the Society.* It theſe Prerogatives are of the very Eſſence of our Government, if ſo many great Advantages flow from them; what muſt be the Conſequence of diveſting the Crown of theſe Prerogatives, but an intire Alteration of our Conſtitution, and either introducing a Common-wealth or an Ariſtocracy, in the Room of a *limited Monarchy*, which for ſo many Ages has been our Pride and our Glory; or which is more likely to happen, involving us in a State of Anarchy and Confuſion?

As to this *Swediſh Inſtrument of Aſſurance*, it may, perhaps, be a good Model for a Common-wealth, but it is certainly totally inconſiſtent even with a *limited Monarchy*; for a Monarchy, let it be limited as it will, (and I think no Monarchy can be well more limited than our own) ſuppoſes, by the very Meaning and Import of the Word, that ſome Power and Prerogative of ſome Kind or other, ſhould be veſted in the King, and not that he ſhould be abſolutely a Cypher, and conſtituted only for State and Show, or as a mere *Maſter of the Ceremonies* to the State.

Even the *Dutch* inveſted their *Stadtholder*, while that Office ſubſiſted, with more Power than the *Swedes*, according to Mr. *D'Anvers*, now allow their King; for the *Stadtholder* of that Republick, had not only the Command of all the Land and Sea Forces, but the Diſpoſition of all military Imployments; he had likewiſe, in a great Meaſure, the appointing of Magiſtrates; for the Towns preſented 3 of their Nomination to him, out of which he made Choice of one; and he had many other Rights and Prerogatives, which bordered much nearer upon Sovereign Power, than the *Inſtrument of Aſſurance* aforementioned, gives to the Kings of *Sweden*.

But ſuppoſing this *Inſtrument of Aſſurance* ſhould be compared with any *other Inſtrument of the ſame Kind*; ſup-

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ſuppoſing it ſhould be compared with the *Declaration of Rights*, which is the Inſtrument, I preſume that Mr. *D'Anvers* alludes to; I don't ſee that it would be any Thing to the Purpoſe, unleſs he would ſpeak plain, and ingenuouſly confeſs, that he would have the People of *Great Britain* reduce their Government to a Republick, and only retain the Name of a King, as the People of *Sweden* have done; for the *Declaration of Rights* was not intended to introduce any new Form of Government, but only to claim and aſſert the Rights, Liberties and Privileges of the Subject under the Old. It asked nothing for the People, but what they were juſtly intituled to, nor deſired to take any thing from the King, which legally and rightfully belonged to him. Our glorious Anceſtors bravely engaged in the Defence of the Laws and Liberties of their Country, againſt the worſt of Superſtition and Tyranny; *Romiſh* Superſtition, and *French* Tyranny; but never had it in their Heads, under that Pretence, to new frame or model the Conſtitution, and to reduce the Kings of *Great Britain*, to the Condition of a Doge of *Venice*: That was a Work reſerved for their *wiſer* and *abler* Succeſſors, the preſent Patriots!

At the Deſire of a Correſpondent, the following is inſerted: Which was ſent by the Author in the 15*th Year of his Age, when at* Eton *School, to one of his Maſters.*

Rev. SIR,

AS it behoves every rational Creature, now and then to reflect, and have a juſt Senſe of the End of his Creation; I have ſet apart all vain Amuſements this Day, to enjoy the ſweet Satisfaction of my own Thoughts in Retirement; to indulge my Mind in its Conceptions, and to give a full Scope to its Ideas; to traverſe o'er the Univerſe; to contemplate on the Works of Nature, artfully improv'd by Man's Invention, Experience and Obſervation: To conſider the Decoys of the World, in the Purſuit of its empty Pleaſures, and gilded Vanities; the Allurements to its bitter Sweets; the Frailty of their Enjoyment; and the Indifference afterwards: The Flaſh of its Delights; the Duration of its Anxieties; the near Affinity of Pleaſure and Pain; the ſlow Tongue of Envy to a good Report, the ſwift Tongue of Calumny to Defamation; the Wiſdom of ſome Men, the Weakneſs of others, and the Wickedneſs of many: That the World is divided into two Parts, the chief Study of the one being to deceive the other. Theſe confus'd Thoughts, with innumerable others, made me as it were quite indifferent to Things of this World; and even to myſelf: And to relieve my Mind under theſe intricate Notions of Things, I recollected the following Remark.

The world's a labyrinth;
And men are wanderers;
Each tries a ſeveral way to gain his end;
And all with diſtant views to find it out:
If in his courſe he meets with oppoſition,
And puzzl'd how to take the various winding,
In order to intangle his opponent,
Himſelf intangles ſtronger than before.

Theſe were my Reflections; but ere I cou'd well finiſh 'em, my Thoughts hurry'd on to the final Concluſion of all, by conſidering, That whatever Poſſeſſions we here injoy are but a borrow'd Inheritance, which we are to pay to our Succeſſors; that worldly Goods are the Delight of the Body, and goodly Works the Delight of the Soul; Avarice the Puniſhment of the Rich; and Content the Comfort of the Poor. What avails then the inſatiable Thirſt of the Miſer after Riches? ſince they conſiſt only in uſeful Sufficiency, not in uſeleſs Superfluity; and increaſe in Proportion as they are diſtributed among the Poor.

Vain, fooliſh Man! has Reaſon's *Gift and knows not what it is, nor how*

how to use it. The *ſummum Bonum* therefore, and ſafeſt Direction that can be given Man in this Life, to obtain the Riches of the next, is to embrace the Paths of Virtue; they alone lead to eternal Felicity: And to abhor the Steps of Vice; they alone lead to endleſs Miſery.

Theſe Conſiderations drew me to the final Point, and I concluded the Whole with the following Reflection.

Life is a lethargy;
Our actions viſions,
And when Death ſummoneth to pay his due,
Awake free-born into an endleſs world;
Where each man's deeds impartially are judg'd,
And as are found paſt actions good or bad,
Have their deſerts accordingly aſſign'd.

Thus was I buſy'd in comparing the tranſitory Things of this Life, with the permanent Things of the next; the Certainty of the one, with the Uncertainties of the other: And as I have communicated my Thoughts to you, I ſhould be well pleas'd to find we agree in our Opinions.

I am, with due Reſpect,
Rev. SIR,
Your moſt Obedient, and ſubmiſſive Pupil,
J. A. HESSE.

Weekly Miſcellany, Feb. 11. N° 216.

A Short View of the preſent State of the Nation, with Reſpect to Religion *and* Government.

WHOEVER looks back to the *Civil* and *Religious* State of this Nation for many Years paſt, and ſeriouſly conſiders, what Ends have been purſuing, what Steps have been taking, and what is the natural Tendency of them; muſt be convinced than it is high Time to bethink ourſelves, if we have any Concern for the Safety of the *Whole*. — Unprecedented Freedoms taken with the *King* and the *Royal Family*, and a ſtudied Endeavour to make them appear ungracious in the Eyes of the People; — a Contempt, or rather Defiance, not only of the *Executive*, but of the whole *Legiſlative* Power; — Open Attacks upon *Religion*, and a profane and irreverent Treatment of Things *Sacred*. — An undiſguiſed and unwearied Endeavour to prejudice the Nation againſt the preſent *Eſtabliſhment* of the *Church*, and the decrying *all* national Eſtabliſhments whatſoever: — And, to crown all, *Popery* gaining Ground daily, by preſerving at leaſt an *outward* Reſpect for Religion, and by the Advantage the Prieſts reap from that profane and open *Contempt* of it, which is found among thoſe, who call themſelves *Proteſtants*.

They who do not ſee theſe Things muſt be blind; and they, who do not attend to the natural Effects and Conſequences of them, little better. But as many as do ſee and attend, and at the ſame Time have a juſt Concern for the Peace and Welfare of their Country, muſt conſider where theſe Things will end; they muſt and cannot but think that the Indulgence of the Government has already gone a ſufficient Length, and that it is high Time to keep a more ſtrict Rein over *Licentiouſneſs* of all Kinds.

After enlarging upon the ſeveral Particulars above, and ſhewing the Influence that Religion has upon Civil Government, and conſequently the Wiſdom and Importance of keeping up a Senſe and Reverence of it on the Minds of the People; and the Advantages given to Popery, *by the open Profaneneſs of* Proteſtants, *and the Attempts of many to diſparage the eſtabliſh'd Church; he concludes upon this Head,* That with theſe Advantages it is a Thing not to be wondered at, that *Popery* gains Ground, and Proſelytes multiply; but it wou'd be Matter of very great Wonder, if our Superiors in the *State* ſhould think the daily Increaſe of Popery, a Thing not worthy their Conſideration or Regard; when every Convert to *Popery*, is at the ſame Time a Convert to the *Pretender*.

And

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And as for the great Numbers among us, who have been led by the general Licentiousness of our Days to sit loose to *all Religion*; tho' they can have no particular Fondness for Popery, yet if it should ever come to the Trial, which God forbid, no Reason can be conceived, why they should chuse to bring Inconveniencies upon themselves by being *Protestants*. Such Supports will prove *broken Reeds* in the Day of Danger; and if so, it must surely be the Wisdom and Interest, as well as the Duty and Honour, of a *Protestant* Government, to lay effectual Restraints upon *Profaneness* and *Impiety* of every Kind, and to leave no Means unessay'd, by which a Sense of *God* and *Religion* may be preserv'd upon the Minds of the People.

To this, there is one farther Motive; which, however despised and laughed at by the Unthinking and Profane, sits heavy upon the Hearts of serious People; and that is, the Danger of God's withdrawing his Favour and Protection from a People who take so little Care to deserve it; and the just Apprehension of some *national* Judgment, where there is found a *national* Disregard of the Honour of him and his Laws; and much more, where both are openly *affronted* and *violated*, without *Shame* or *Restraint*.

Craftsman, Feb. 12. N° 554.

Extract from a Pamphlet, printed in the Year 1682, *shewing how the Liberty of the* French Parliament *was subverted.*

THE Way that *France* got rid of their *Parliaments*, and thereby of all *Law*, but *Will* and *Pleasure*, was this. After divers of the Devices of the *Ministers* had been carefully follow'd, at last, to crown the Work, a *Parliament* being call'd at *Paris*, and Wars then on Foot, and a Cloud of Troubles by the *French King* made to appear before the *Parliament*'s Eyes, and good Store of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* fitted for the Work; in that Assembly, a Pretence was made by the *French* King to his *chief Minister*, and by the *Minister* to the *Parliament*, that, since they had so good, and gracious, and wise a Prince; and since Troubles and Wars were now within their Bowels; and great Danger did oftentimes accrue to the Kingdom, for want of the Timely assembling of *Parliament* to raise Money to defray the necessary Occasions; that, in Times of such Emergencies, it was very fit, that an extraordinary Care should be taken to prevent such Inconveniencies; that the *King*, only out of his abundant Goodness and Wisdom, and the Care he had of his Subjects, in those Times of Danger, was resolved to do all, on his Part, that could be done for the Preservation of his People; whose Prosperity was always more dear to him than his own; that he, good Man, whatever Power they intrusted him with, it was as safe as in their own Hands; that, these Things consider'd, the *King* could see no Way so effectual to prevent the Mischiefs threaten'd, as to be enabled with sufficient Power to raise *such Sums of Money*, as the Occasions might require, in the *Interval of Parliament*.

These fine, specious Pretences prevail'd, with the Help of other Arts, to get a Power invested in the *French King* by the *Parliament*, that, at any Time, during the *Interval of Parliament*, the *King* should have Liberty to raise what Money he pleased; which *that King* more faithfully perform'd than any other Promise he ever made; and by Virtue of *this Power*, the Day became his own, and the *People* his *Vassals*, until the *Estates of Parliament* shall meet to retract that Power, which, most Men believe, will not be before Doom's-Day in the Afternoon.

And,

And, as this had been a Pattern for *England* to walk by, when the *House of Commons* were so eager to give what was none of their own, and to advance the *Prerogative* beyond its due Bounds; and the Stream running both high and strong, a *Bill* was prepared, and was actually brought into the *House of Commons*, and read once, with Power to the *King* to raise what Money he pleased upon an extraordinary Occasion, as the *Dutch War* was pretended to be; and the Scheme had doubtless succeeded, had not Lord *Clarendon*, then *Lord Chancellor*, been awaken'd by an intimate Friend, who, being inform'd what was doing in the House, came to him and shew'd him what the Consequences were, which such an unheard of Thing would produce, demanding what the *Ministers* were about, and telling him, that he came to the Honour and Greatness he was in by the *Gown*, and not by the *Sword*, and, if *that Bill* pass'd, he advised him to consider, what his *Gown*, or *all the Lawyers Gowns in England*, were worth. This Lord, being a Person of great Honour and Love for his Country, was the Occasion of the *Ministers* retreating from the Pursuit of this Affair. Thus a *Bill*, tho' once read in the House, to give his Majesty Power to raise Money at Pleasure, was dropp'd, so far as it only dwindled into a *Bill* of 75,000 *l.* not exceeding a *Month's Tax*.

And no doubt, tho' *this Bill* was dress'd up in the *French Mode*, for *emergent Occasions*; yet, had it pass'd in the same Manner the *Ministers* design'd, there would not have wanted *emergent Occasions*, and *extraordinary Services*, to have given Colour for the keeping the Power so got, no more than there doth in *France* at this Day, whose King hath never been at Leisure yet to call his *Parliament* to dispute *this* Point.

One cannot help observing (says Mr. *D'Anvers*'s Correspondent) upon this Occasion, how naturally the same Measures produce the same Effects in all Countries. *Spain* seems to have been the first *Gothick* Government, whose Liberties were destroy'd by what we call a *Vote of Credit*; or a Confidence reposed in the *King* to raise Money, at Pleasure, during the Interval of *Parliament*. *France* afterwards fell into the same Snare; and *England* very narrowly escaped it, in the Reign of K. *Charles* II. for considering the Genius of *that King* and his *Ministers*, it is highly probable that he would have attempted, at least, to play the same Game; but the *Parliament*, in those Days, as bad as it is represented, was too wise to put it in his Power; and if a greater Confidence has been placed in some of our Princes since the *Revolution*, without any bad Effects on our *Liberties*, it is more owing to their Goodness than our own Wisdom.

Indeed, when we reflect upon the Ambition of *Princes*, the Artifices of *guilty Ministers* to screen themselves from Punishment, and the *prevailing Corruption* of the Age; it seems almost miraculous that there should be such a Thing as a *free Government* left upon the Face of the Earth. God knows, there are very few, properly so call'd; and therefore it is downright Madness in any People, who are still in Possession of that inestimable Blessing, not to grow wise by the Experience of other Nations, who have lost it; or to put it in the Power of the *Prince* or his *Ministers* to take it away, by their *own Consent*.

Fog's *Journal*, Feb. 12. N° 431.

Of the City of Hamburgh, *with several Observations on the* Hamburghers, *and other* Germans, *&c.*

THIS City passes for one of the richest in all *Germany*; its Commerce drawing hither abundance

of Traders from every Nation in *Europe*. The River *Elb* greatly imbelliſhes it, and furniſhes Means for ſuch Ships as have Buſineſs here to come up to the Foot of its Ramparts. It is a fine regular City, and full of handſome Buildings, having in and about it ſeveral noble Walks; and as for its publick Edifices, their Beauty correſponds with the Opulence of its Citizens. All Affairs, Political and Civil, are in the Hands of its Magiſtrates, who repreſent the Sovereign. *Hamburgh* is one of thoſe which are ſtiled Imperial Cities; has the Right of defending itſelf, coining Money, *&c.* and, for a certain Homage paid the Emperor, enjoys all the Privileges of a free, independent Commonwealth.

Germany has a conſiderable Number of ſuch Cities, which are indeed ſo many little Republicks. How ſcanty ſoever their Territories may be, they are of greater Conſideration than thoſe of many Sovereigns one meets with in *Germany:* For this Country alone incloſes more Courts than all *Europe* beſides put together. Very frequently, a Traveller, in one Day, rides thro' five or ſix different States. Inconſiderable as theſe Princes are, they yet have about them divers Gentlemen, who play the Parts of Courtiers: Theſe they gratify with a very little Coſt, and the greateſt Expence thoſe Shadows of Sovereignty are at, is for their Table, which generally runs away with two Thirds of their Revenue.

We find as many of your Highneſſes in *Germany*, as we do of your Excellencies in *Brabant:* But the *German* Highneſſes have one very notable Advantage over the *Flemiſh* Excellencies. This is their having the lamentable Right of tormenting the Inhabitants of two or three poor Villages; nay and even that of taking away their Lives, if a Fancy takes them in the Head ſo to do: Whereas the Excellencies of *Brabant* and *Flanders* are only private Gentlemen, who have no Manner of Power over their Vaſſals, but ſuch as Gentry commonly aſſume in all other Countries. Happy would it be for *Germany*, if all theſe Petit Sovereigns were, by the Emperor, reduced to the ſame Situation as the Kings of *France* have brought that numerous Herd of little Tyrants, wherewith their Dominions were formerly infeſted.

To live comfortably in *Germany*, a Man muſt be born in one of the Imperial Cities, or in a Territory appertaining to ſome one of the Electors. Theſe Princes are as powerful, nay even formidable, as thoſe others whom I have been mentioning, are weak, and inconſiderable. There are divers Electors whoſe Courts are not any Way inferior to thoſe of Kings; all one ſees there truly ſavouring of Grandeur and Magnificence.

Denmark pretends to certain Prerogatives over the *Hamburghers*, who are often in Diſputes with that Crown; and would perhaps be unable to ſuſtain them, if the Empire was not obliged to protect *Hamburgh* as an Imperial City, and did not oppoſe whatever is attempted to its Prejudice.

The Citizens and Merchants of *Hamburgh* are exceeding polite: Their Attachment to Trade prevents not their applying themſelves to thoſe Duties, which Decency and good Breeding require. They are Lovers of Arts and Sciences, which they alſo cultivate. Here are ſeveral very well choſen Libraries. The greateſt Philoſopher this Day in *Germany* is a *Hamburgher*.

On Occaſion of mentioning Puffendorf *and* Leibnitz, *who were* Germans, *he makes a Digreſſion in Praiſe of learned Men, and quotes the following Paſſage from* Voltaire: *It is not long ſince that, in a ſelect Company, was ſtarted and much canvaſſed, this frivolous and thread-bare Queſtion, Who*

Who was the greateſt Man had ever been upon Earth; whether Cæſar, Alexander, Tamerlain, Cromwell, *&c? One made Anſwer, that, without Contradiction, it was Sir* Iſaac Newton. — *That Gentleman was abſolutely in the Right: For, if true Greatneſs conſiſts in having receiv'd from Heaven a mighty Genius, and employed it for the Illumination of himſelf and others, a Man like Sir* Iſaac Newton, *who is ſcarce to be met with in ten Centuries of Years, is really and truly the great Man; and theſe Politicians, theſe Conquerors, whereof no Age was ever deficient, are generally ſpeaking, no other than illuſtrious Criminals.*

In general, all the *Germans* are great Travellers; but there are abundance of them who know not how to make the ſame Advantage of their Travels, as do the *Hamburghers*. One half of their Barons, and other Gentry of a lower Claſs, who traverſe a Part of *Europe*, remember nothing, at their Return home, but barely the Names of thoſe Cities they ſaw; it ſufficing them to have conſounded a deal of Money at *Paris*, *Rome*, *Venice*, *Madrid* or *London*. They afterwards find Means to reimburſe themſelves, by fleecing their miſerable Vaſſals: And wo to thoſe Wretches whoſe Lords, when they were at *Paris*, chanced to light into the Hands of any of the Opera Laſſes: Each Jewel, or other Donative, received by the greedy Harlot, does them as much Prejudice as a Storm of Hail when it beats down and deſtroys the Produce of their Fields.

The meaner Sort of the *Hamburgheri* dread none of theſe Afterclaps: They are ſure of not being oppreſſed or moleſted; and if they labour, it is only for themſelves. It would be well, if content and ſatisfied with the Privileges they enjoy, they would learn how not to abuſe them, and to keep themſelves within the Bounds of a prudent and wholeſome Subjection to their Magiſtrates: But they too often make a very ill Uſe of their Liberties, and no Mob in the World are more inſolent than thoſe of *Hamburgh*.

The City of *Hamburgh* has near her a very dangerous Rival, which gains Ground inſenſibly. This is *Altena*, a Place which daily renders itſelf more and more conſiderable. A moſt exceſſive Jealouſy reigns between the Inhabitants of theſe two Cities, and which is ſo far from any Probability of diminiſhing, that it will hourly augment, if the Growth of *Altena* continues.

Daily Gazetteer, Feb. 16. N° 515.

From the Dublin Society, *for improving Trade, Husbandry*, &c.

IF we had Mines of Gold and Silver of our own, and could raiſe ſufficient Quantities of thoſe valuable Metals, we might then ſafely indulge ourſelves in the Conſumption of foreign Commodities; a large Stock of Bullion would be of little Uſe to us, and lie as dead in our Coffers, as if it had ſtill remained in the Mines, unleſs it were exported for all the Conveniencies we want; we might then even gratify every innocent Vanity without Detriment to the Publick, and purchaſe a great deal of the Labour of other Countries with very little of our own: In that Caſe, however, the Community would be neither ſo happy, nor ſo powerful, as it would be, were all our People thoroughly employed. The Labour of a whole People, is of much more Conſequence and Value, than the richeſt Mines of Gold or Silver; and where they abound, and a Nation depends upon them, the lower Rank are generally idle and beggarly.

Africa, *Peru*, and *Spain*, are ſtrong Inſtances of this, where amidſt the greateſt Treaſures of this Kind, the common People are remarkably indigent and miſerable, while *England*

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and *Holland*, tho' deſtitute of Mines, are able, by their Induſtry, to drain the Wealth of thoſe very Countries, and maintain themſelves in Plenty and Proſperity.

Were our People, as theirs are, fully and uſefully employed, our Labour would afford another Method of ſupporting ourſelves under conſiderable Importations: The *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, do not deny themſelves any foreign Commodities of Uſe or of Conveniency, but they pay the Price of them in their own Goods, and earn them by their own Hands; and could our People do the ſame, give their Crops and Manufactures for all they conſume of foreign Growth, our Trade would be a ſaving one at leaſt, and our Luxury abundantly leſs deſtructive.

Should a Foreigner ſee the great Flocks of Sheep and Herds of Cattle, which cover our Land, and the Rich among us parading in foreign Silks, and living ſumptuouſly, he muſt needs imagine, that all the reſt of our People are well fed and clothed; but he will be ſoon convinced of the contrary, when he finds ſuch Numbers go naked and ſtarving, and that Wool, Beef, and Butter, which ſhould be the Portion of the Poor, ſent Abroad to purchaſe Luxuries for the Rich.

It has been computed, that 20 poor Families, who never taſte Fleſh Meat, might be comfortably ſupplied for a whole Year, with as much Beef and Butter, as has been exported to purchaſe a Head-dreſs for a Lady. If this be the Effect of Trade, we ſhall be undone by Trading.

It is the Opinion of ſome, that foreign Trade, ſince the Time it has prevailed ſo much in this Part of the World, has increaſed the Number of Poor; and as our Trade is at preſent managed, this ſeems to carry a great deal of Reaſon with it; for when we had no Traffick with other Countries, and neither ſent them our Commodities, nor took any from them, we lived upon the Produce of our own Soil and Labour, by which Means all the Neceſſaries of Life were cheap and in great Plenty; none could want, ſince the Rich had no other Way of diſpoſing of their Superfluities, but in Hoſpitality and Charity. But when we came to import great Quantities of foreign Goods for the Conſumption of the Rich, and to export a great Part of our native Commodities, which were the Suſtenance of the Poor, then all Proviſions became dear and ſcarce, and the Work of the Poor was undervalued and ſlighted for the Sake of foreign Goods, which were more in Faſhion.

Daily Gazetteer, Feb. 17. N° 516.

Sir William Temple's *Account of the Government of the United Provinces; as a Contraſt to the Government of* Sweden, *publiſh'd in the* Craftſman. *(See p. 77.)*

THE ſeven United Provinces chuſe their reſpective Deputies, and ſend them to the *Hague*, for the Compoſing of three ſeveral Colleges, called the States General, the Council of State, and the Chamber of Accompts. The ſovereign Power of this united State, lies effectively in the States General, which uſed at firſt to be convoked on extraordinary Occaſions, by the Council of State; but that ſeldom, in Regard, they uſually conſiſted of above 800 Perſons, whoſe meeting together in one Place, from ſo many ſeveral Parts, gave too great a Shake to the whole Body of the Union. In the Abſence of the States General, the Council of State repreſented their Authority, and executed their Reſolutions, and judged of the Neceſſity of a new Convocation; till after the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Departure from the Government, the provincial Eſtates deſired of the General, that they

they might, by their constant, respective Deputies, continue their Assembly under the Name of States General, which were never after assembled but at *Bergen ap zoom*, for ratifying, with more solemn Form and Authority, the Truce concluded with Duke *Albert* and *Spain*.

Hereupon they first framed the ordinary Council, called the States General, which has ever since passed by that Name, and sits constantly in the Court at the *Hague*, represents the Sovereignty of the Union, gives Audiences and Dispatches to all foreign Ministers; but yet is, indeed, only a Representative of the States General, the Assembly whereof are wholly disused.

The Council of State, the Admiralty, and the Treasury, are all subordinate to this Council; all which, are continued in as near a Resemblance, as could be, to the several Councils used in the Time, when the Provinces were subject to their several Principalities, or united under one, in the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*; only the several Deputies (composing one Voice) now succeeding the single Persons imployed under the former Governments: And the *Hague*, which was the antient Seat of the Counts of *Holland*, still continues to be so of all these Councils.

The Members of all these Councils, are placed and changed by the several Provinces, according to their different or agreeing Customs. To the States General, every one sends their Deputies in what Number they please; some two, some ten or twelve, which makes no Difference, because all Matters are carried, not by the Votes of Persons, but Provinces; and all the Deputies from one Province, how few or many soever, have one single Vote. The Provinces differ likewise in the Time fixed for their Deputation; some sending for a Year, some for more, and others for Life. The Province of *Holland* send one of their Nobles, who is perpetual; two Deputies chosen out of their eight chief Towns, and one out of North *Holland*; and with these, two of their Provincial Council of State, and their Pensioner.

Neither Stadtholder or Governor, or any Person in military Charge, has Session in the States General. Every Province presides their Week in Turns, and by the most qualified Person of the Deputies of that Province: He sits in a Chair with Arms, at the Middle of a long Table, capable of holding about thirty Persons; for about that Number, this Council is usually composed of. The Grefsier, who is in nature of a Secretary, sits at the lower End of the Table: When a foreign Minister has Audience, he is seated at the Middle of this Table, over against the President.

This is the Course in all Affairs before them, except in Cases of Peace and War; of foreign Alliances; of raising or coining of Monies, or the Privileges of each Province or Member of the Union. In all which all the Provinces must concur, Plurality not being at all weighed or observed. This Council is not Sovereign, but only represents the Sovereignty; and therefore, tho' Ambassadors are both received and sent in their Name; yet neither are their own chosen, or foreign Ministers answered, nor any of those mentioned Affairs resolved, without consulting first the States of each Province by their respective Deputies, and receiving Orders from them.

The Council of State is composed of Deputies from the several Provinces, but after another Manner than the States General, the Number being fixed. *Gelderland* sends two; *Holland*, three; *Zealand* and *Utrecht*, two a Piece; *Friesland*, *Overyssel* and *Groningen*, each of them; one making in

in all twelve. They vote not by Provinces, but by perſonal Voices; and every Deputy preſides by Turns.

The Council of State executes the Reſolutions of the States General; conſults and propoſes to them the moſt expedient Way of raiſing Troops, and levying Monies; ſuperintends the Milice, the Fortifications, the Contributions out of Enemies Country, &c.

The Abſoluteneſs of the Senates in each Town, and the Immenſity of the Taxes thro' the whole State, are both of them greater than in many of thoſe Governments, which are eſteemed moſt arbitrary among their Neighbours.

This ſtomachful People, who could not endure the leaſt Exerciſe of arbitrary Power or Impoſitions, or the Sight of any foreign Troops under the *Spaniſh* Government; have been ſince inured to all of them in the higheſt Degree, under their own popular Magiſtrates; bridled with hard Laws, terrified with ſevere Executions, environed with foreign Troops, and oppreſs'd with the moſt cruel Hardſhip and Variety of Taxes, that was ever known under any Government.

The Authority of the Princes of *Orange*, tho' intermitted upon the Death of the laſt, and Infancy of this preſent Prince; yet as it muſt be ever acknowledged to have been a moſt eſſential Part, in the firſt Frame of this Government, and in all the Fortunes thereof, during the whole Growth and Progreſs of the State; ſo has it ever preſerved a very ſtrong Root, not only in Six of the Provinces, but even in the general and popular Affections of the Province of *Holland* itſelf, whoſe States have, for theſe laſt 20 Years, ſo much endeavoured to ſuppreſs or exclude it.

Upon the Death of the laſt Prince of *Orange*, by the great Influence of the Province of *Holland* among the reſt, the Authority of the Princes came to be ſhared among the ſeveral Magiſtracies of the State; thoſe of the Cities aſſumed the laſt Nomination of their ſeveral Magiſtrates; the States Provincial, the Diſpoſal of all military Commands in thoſe Troops, which their Share was to pay; and the States General the Command of the Armies, by Officers of their own Appointment, ſubſtituted and changed at their Will. No Power remain'd to pardon what was once condemn'd by Rigour of Law; nor any Perſon to repreſent the Port and Dignity of a Sovereign State; both which could not fail of being ſenſibly miſſed by the People.

I ſhall conclude (ſays the *Gazetter*) with only one or two Obſervations; the firſt is, that none of theſe popular States ever long preſerve their original Conſtitution, but ſoon change their Form, and fall under the Dominion, if not the Tyranny, of a Few.

The next Obſervation is, that the Authority of the Princes of *Orange*, which Sir *William Temple* ſays, *had a moſt eſſential Part in the firſt Frame of this Government*, did not very long ſurvive that of the States, but fell likewiſe a Sacrifice to the Ambition of a few leading and popular Men, by which Means the whole Conſtitution of this State is now intirely changed from what it originally was.

Craftſman, Feb. 19. N° 555.

Cauſes of the Poverty of the Country, &c.

I AM ſorry to obſerve (ſays Mr. *D'Anvers*) from every Day's Experience, that we are far from being in ſuch an happy Condition as the *C—t-Writers* have been long endeavouring to perſuade us; for, to ſay nothing of the *State of Europe*, and our own particular Intereſts *abroad*, the leaſt View of our *domeſtick Affairs* is ſufficient to convince us of this melancholy Truth.

If

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If we look into the *Country*, or give any Credit to Gentlemen of all Parties, who come from thence, there never was a more deplorable Scene of Poverty and Misery than at preſent. We hear of nothing but *Tenants* breaking, or throwing up their Farms; and of ſuch a dreadful Scarcity of *Money*, that inſtead of being able to pay their *Rents*, they can hardly *find* Means to diſcharge their Servants Wages and ſupport their Families. Nay, I am well aſſured *that*, in ſome diſtant Parts of *England*, they have not Money enough to pay a *Land-Tax of* 4 *s. in the Pound*, were it to be levy'd as it is in other Countries.

It may be ask'd, from whence does *this Poverty of the Country* proceed? To which I anſwer, that it is owing to various Cauſes, but particularly the following.

1. To the great Multiplicity of *Taxes*, which is a continual Drain of Money out of the *Country*; for *this Money* ſeldom returns to them again in any Quantity, unleſs in a Manner, which not only tends to debauch their *Morals*, and bribe them out of their *Liberties*, but to drain them of ſtill more. As to the *Land-Tax*, the whole Weight of it falls upon the *Landlord*, in the firſt Inſtance at leaſt; but what gnaws the Bowels of the *poor Farmer* are the *Duties upon Commodities*, which include almoſt *all the Neceſſaries of Life*; and *theſe* being taken from him, in an imperceptible Manner, he finds himſelf unable to pay his Rent, or carry on his Buſineſs, without knowing the Reaſon of it.

2. The *Poverty of the Country* proceeds, in a very great Meaſure, from the Reſidence of the chief Nobility and Gentry in *this Town*; where they live in the utmoſt Extravagance, and but rarely go into the Country with any other Deſign than to ſqueeze as much Money as they can out of their *Tenants*, in order to recruit their empty Purſes, and ſupply the Expences of the next Year in *London*.

3. The *Country* hath nothing to balance theſe immenſe Draughts upon them, beſides the *Commodities* and *Manufactures*, which they ſend up to *London* for Sale; but the *former* have of late Years borne ſo cheap a Price, conſidering their Expences, and the *latter* are ſunk to ſo low an Ebb, that the Money they receive in Return bears no Proportion to what is drawn from them; not to mention the vaſt Quantities of Goods of all Kinds, with which the *Country* is ſupply'd from *this great Metropolis*.

It will be ſaid, perhaps, that if all this be true, what renders the *Country* poor muſt of Courſe make the *City* rich; and I confeſs it is natural enough to ſuppoſe ſo, upon firſt Thoughts; but if we conſider the Matter a little more ſtrictly, it will appear otherwiſe; for nothing can ſupport a *great trading City* in Opulence, for any Length of Time, but a *rich and flouriſhing Country*; eſpecially, *ſuch a City as this*, which depends ſo much upon *domeſtick Trade*, or the Conſumption of Commodities in *this Kingdom*, which are imported from *abroad*.

Suppoſing therefore, for Argument's Sake, that the *City of London* is now in as good a Condition as ever it was, ſince its firſt Foundation; how long will it laſt ſo, if the *Country* ſhould be totally exhauſted of *Money*, and obliged to live upon the *natural Produce of their Lands*?

But is this really the Caſe, at preſent? —— I am ready to grant that there are ſeveral Men, of *great overgrown Fortunes*, ſtill in the City. But who are they? Do they conſiſt of *honeſt Merchants* and *fair Adventurers*, who endeavour to enrich the Nation, as well as themſelves, by exporting our *Manufactures*, and turning the *Balance of Trade* in our Favour? Or are they compoſed of *Uſurers*, *Stock-jobbers*, and *Managers of great money'd Com-*

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Companies; who live, like Drones, upon the Labour of the industrious Hive, and are so far from advancing or encouraging *Trade*, that they have already dry'd up some of its most beneficial Springs, and turn'd others into their *own iniquitous* and *destructive Channel?*

It is very far from my Thoughts to suggest that *all the rich Gentlemen in the City* are of *this Kind*; since I have the Pleasure to know that several *worthy Merchants* have possess'd themselves of considerable Wealth by great Industry and good Fortune; for which they ought to be look'd upon as *Benefactors to their Country*, instead of being envy'd, or calumniated. But alas! how few are *these*, as to Number or Value, in Comparison with the *Others?*

If we descend to the *inferior Class of Traders*, and ask them, *how Business goes on*; I am afraid they will answer, *never worse*; and give us some substantial Arguments to prove that they do not complain without Reason.

In short, I believe it will appear, upon the least Enquiry, that there never was a greater Scarcity of Money, in *this Town*, than at present; excepting what is lock'd up in *private Coffers*, or circulated amongst *Bankers* and *Brokers* in the *Funds*, which hardly ever comes into *Trade*.

Besides these Obstructions to the *Circulation of Money*, there are other Reasons for the *Want of it*, thro' the whole Kingdom, which require only to be just mention'd.

The first, and greatest of all, is the continual Draught, which *Foreigners* are making upon us, for the Interest of Money in our *Funds*. I think, it is generally computed that they have about *ten Millions* there; the Interest of which, at 4 *per Cent.* is 400,000 *l. per Ann.* This is an Evil, which was intirely brought upon us by our *Debts*; and I don't see how it can ever be prevented, without *paying them off*, or *something worse*.

Another great Drain of Money out of this Kingdom, is occasioned by the modern Vogue, so prevailing amongst our *young Nobility* and *Gentry*, not only of *Travelling* for a Year or two, as was formerly the Custom; but even taking up their Residence in *foreign Countries*, and spending the greatest Part of their Estates there. I have heard this Article computed at above 100,000 *l. per Ann* which I am afraid is too moderate a Calculation.

Whilst all these Incumbrances lie upon us, how can it be expected that *Trade*, *Industry*, and *Manufactures* should flourish; or that the Nation should not decline in *Riches*, *Glory*, and *Power?*

That this is, at present, our unhappy Case, both in *Town* and *Country*, is at last confess'd by one of the Writers in the *Gazetteer*; of whom I should not take the least Notice, as much as he begs for it, had he not fallen directly in my Way, whilst I was writing upon this Subject.

Speaking of *national Discontents*, (Gazetteer, Feb. 11) he hath the following remarkable Passage. — *To say that we have now* no such Complaints, *or that there are* no real Causes at all for them; *that we are a* thriving, flourishing People, *as well or better able to pay* Taxes *as ever*; *and that* all Suggestions to the contrary *are owing to the Malice of* ill designing Men, *and* Enemies to the Government, *would be denying the* plainest Facts, *and asserting Things against* all Sense and Experience.

Having made this Concession, he is very angry with me, *for laying all the Blame of this*, as he is pleased to charge me, *on the* present Administration, *as if they had been the* sole *and* chief Authors *of this growing Evil, while the* true Causes *of it are conceal'd from the People.*

It is not very ingenuous to charge me, in so plain and open a Manner, with laying the whole Blame upon the

the *preſent Adminiſtration*; becauſe I am not at Liberty either to own the *Charge*, or to juſtify it; but this is one of the old ſtale Artifices of the *miniſterial Fraternity*. However I will venture to give my Opinion, in general, that the *People* cannot be at any great Loſs to know the *true Cauſes* of their Misfortunes, and who have been the *chief*, if not the *ſole Authors* of them.

He adds, *that the* Craftſman's Catholicon *is* Changing the Miniſtry. *This one* Recipe *is to cure* all political Diſeaſes; *to mend every Error in our* Conſtitution; *and to make us all as ſound and healthy, in our* civil Capacity, *as we could wiſh to be.*

But, for God's Sake, in what Paper of the *Craftſman* did he meet with *this Recipe?* For my Part, I remember no ſuch, and hope the World does not believe me to be ſo much a *Quack*. A *Complication of Diſtempers*, and a *decay'd Conſtitution* are not eaſily cured; but I think the *Alteratives* are generally eſteem'd the beſt Remedies, in theſe Caſes; and, to quit the Allegory, it is not meerly a *Change of the Miniſtry*, but an *Alteration of Meaſures*, on which we muſt depend for Relief, whenever *national Misfortunes* fall upon us.

He then thinks to puzzle me with a long String of ſilly Queſtions to the ſame Purpoſe.

What Good, quoth he, *could a* Change of the Miniſtry *do us, and in what Reſpects would this mend our* Conſtitution? *Would this make the People of* England *wiſe and virtuous, ſober and temperate, laborious and frugal?* To which I anſwer, that ſuppoſing this to be a bad *Miniſtry*, (which I am very far from aſſerting) and the next to be a *good one*, (for which I am not anſwerable) a *Change would* in all Probability produce *theſe Effects*, in a great Meaſure, by the Purſuit of *honeſt Meaſures*, and *wholeſome Laws*; unleſs *our Author* will undertake to prove that there is no Difference between a *good* and a *bad Adminiſtration*; or that the Example of our *Superiors* hath no Effect on the Minds and Morals of the *People*.

Would this oblige Country Gentlemen (ſays he) *to live at home?* I ſhall anſwer this by asking another Queſtion. What is it, that induces *Country Gentlemen*, to live in *Town* ſo much? Is it not becauſe the *Town* is the great Mart of *Places*; and that every Gentleman, whoſe Eſtate hath been impoveriſh'd by *Taxes*, is willing to *lick himſelf whole again*, as Sir *Francis Wronghead* expreſſes it, by a Share in them?

But ſee how *our Author* riſes in his Interrogatories!——*Could* Changing the Miniſtry *cure the Ambition of the* Engliſh Gentry, *in ſtruggling with one another, ſpending their Eſtates, and inflaming the Nation about* Court-Preferments, and Places under the Government?

This Queſtion is ſufficiently anſwer'd in the preceding Article. I ſhall therefore only add, that if *Places* and *Preferments* are the Bait, which draws *Country Gentlemen* into ſuch unhappy Conteſts, remove the Temptation, by leſſening the Number of *thoſe Places*, (as may be eaſily done, without any Detriment to the Nation) and the Cure of *this Evil* will be greatly advanced.

Upon the whole, the great Points to be purſued, are the *Reduction of our national Expences*, the *Payment of our Debts*, and the *Redemption of all burthenſome Duties*. This is the *Craftſman's Catholicon*; a Remedy, which muſt be ſoon apply'd, and the ſooner the better, by whatever Hands it may be adminiſter'd; or nothing, in my Opinion, but inevitable Deſtruction can befal this Nation.

Grubſtreet Journal, Feb. 17. N° 373.

A Modern Polite CONVERSATION, *as it really paſs'd between* 5 *young Ladies and a young Gentleman (who to conceal their true Names) are here called* Miſs COURTLY, *Miſs* FIDGET, *Mr.* SPRITELY, *Miſs* TRIFLE, *Miſs* EDGING *and Miſs* WELDON: *Publiſh'd with a Deſign to expoſe the Inſipidneſs of ſuch Converſation.*

Court. OH! Miſs *Fidget*, how well you came to go with me to the Play t'other Night!

Fidg. Oh, dear Miſs *Courtly*, I beg a thouſand Pardons; but upon my Life, it was not my Fault; was it now, Mr. *Spritely?*

Sprite. No, indeed, Mem, I'll anſwer for Miſs *Fidget*; for I was with her all that Ev'ning.

Court. I inſiſt upon knowing where.

Sprite. Shall I tell, Miſs *Fidget?*

Fidg. Oh! no; don't tell, Mr. *Spritely*;——yes, hang it, you may too, if you will.

Sprite. Then, Mem, to tell you the Truth, Miſs *Fidget*, and my Sifter, and I were all at my Lady *Allnight*'s Aſſemblée.

Court. Oh! you wicked Things you! not to let me know of it; when you had heard me ſo often ſay too, how much I wanted to go —I ſwear I take it monſtrous ill.— Pray, don't you think my Lady looks well in her Sac?

Sprite. Oh! yes; moſt adorably fine.

Fidg. Oh monſtrous! I am aſtoniſh'd to hear you ſay ſo; I think I never ſaw any Thing look ſo frightful —— and then ſhe had got on the moſt horrible *Tête de mouton* I ever ſaw.——Pray, do you know who is her Milliner?

Sprite. Yes; Mrs. *Leſanti*, that makes up all the Dutcheſs of *Fripery*'s *French* Heads.

Fidg. Lord! I do not like 'em one Bit; beſides, I think the *Coeffe*'s too forward a Mile.

Sprite. Oh! for that, I can aſſure you, Mem, they wear 'em ſo; they were all ſuch at Court on the Birth-night.

Fidg. Why, was you there? Lord! I am the moſt unfortunate Creature —all that Day I was ill with a violent Pain in the Head ——It always happens ſo, when I am to go any where.—Well! if ever I make another Engagement—Oh! Miſs *Trifle*, when are you and I to go to the new Opera? Will you go next *Saturday?*

Trif. Lord! Mem, I have ſeen it.

Fidg. Indeed! and how do you like it?

Trif. Oh! moſt violently! the fineſt Thing!——'tis full of *Adagio*.

Fidg. Oh! that dear *Adagio!*—— I am charm'd with the *Adagio*, 'tis ſo quick and nimble; and keeps up one's Spirits —— I deteſt any Thing dull —— Lord! what do you think I heard laſt Night?

Trif. Lord! what? I don't know:

Frig. Tho' I ſwear, I don't believe there's any Thing in it.

Trif. Well! but what?

Fidg. Why, that *Farinelli* is going away.

Trif. Oh, good God! I hope not —I would not have him go, without ſeeing him once more in * *Arti furſi* for all the World.

Fidg. Oh! there is the ſweeteſt Song in that dear Opera, that begins † *Sunkinevi ebitati.*

Sprite. Oh! that's Miſs *Fairlove*'s favourite Song; ſhe's always humming it.

Fidg. Lord! Mr. *Spritely*, ſhe can't ſing — I never heard any Body make ſuch a terrible noiſe in my Life.

Sprite. I aſſure you, Mem, ſhe learns of Dr. *Pepuſch*; he comes Home to her three Times a Week.

Fidg. Indeed! well, I think the Money, and Time too, are thrown away

* *Artaxerxes.* † Son qual nave agitata.

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away upon her —— Oh lack-a-Day, Miſs *Edging*, when did you ſee Mr. *Tattle?*

Edg. Lord! Miſs *Fidget*, why, do you know Mr. *Tattle?* I was dancing with him t'other Night — I ſwear, I think he's a mighty pretty Man.

Fidg. Devil! I am ſure he gallanted me a Fan ſo laſt Week, will coſt half a Crown to get it new mounted ——Pray, Miſs *Edging*, where did you buy *your* Fan? I like it prodigiouſly.

Edg. I bought it in the City; it coſt me but Eighteen-pence.

Fidg. Well! I ſwear 'tis mighty pretty; I'll get me one of 'em To-morrow, if I live—they ſay, there is a new-faſhion'd Sort of Fans juſt come up in *France*.—Lord, I ſhould like prodigiouſly to go to *France*— Miſs *Edging*, let you and I go.

Edg. Lord! I ſhould be afraid of the Sea; beſides, they ſay it makes People very ſick — Was you ever at Sea?

Fidg. Oh! yes; when I was down at *Portſmouth*, my Papa and Mama, and my Brother and I went all over in a Boat together to *Goſport*; and I was not one bit or crum ſick; and my Papa ſaid I had a vaſt deal of Courage.

Edg. Lord! I wonder at you; I am ſure I ſhou'd be ſick — I love riding better; my Brother has promis'd to get me a new Pad this Spring.

Fidg. I thought you had one.

Edg. Yes, but poor Thing! what can one do? it ſtumbles ſo, I had almoſt broke my Neck three or four Times laſt Summer — then I am to go a Hunting too in the Summer.

Fidg. Lord! I ſhould love dearly to ride a Hunting — I fancy 'tis mighty pleaſant — Was you ever a Hunting? — Do you ride well?

Edg. Yes indeed, my Brother ſays I am a mighty good Horſe-woman.

Fidg. I like a Coach beſt.

Edg. Oh! I can't endure a Coach; it always makes me ſick.——Lord! What d'ye think? I was at *Quadrille* laſt Night at Lady *Fancy's*, and won four *Sans prendres* running.

Fidg. Lord! I don't like *Quadrille* one bit; I think *Tradrille* a vaſt deal prettier.

Edg. I ſwear I don't think ſo— Lord! I have wretched Fortune at Cards.

Fidg. Beſides, I love *Whisk* the beſt of any Game.

Edg. Oh! that's a dreadful dull Game.

Fidg. No, indeed, I think 'tis a charming pretty Game —— Mr. *Weldon* ſays I play very well at it — he always loves to have me for his Partner; and he's counted a tiptop Player himſelf.

Edg. Pray, have you heard the new Singer?

Fidg. No, but I will to morrow Night; pray, how do you like him?

Edg. I don't know — ſo, ſo — I don't think him ſo good as *Conti*.

Fidg. Lord! I heard a Gentleman ſay laſt Night, that underſtands Muſick very well, that he's better than *Conti*; what do you think, Mr. *Spritely?*

Sprite. Oh! No, indeed, Mem, not ſo well as *Conti*.

Edg. Do you underſtand Muſick, Mr. *Spritely*.

Sprite. Oh! Nothing to ſpeak of, Mem.

Fidg. Yes, indeed, Mr. *Spritely* plays very finely upon the *German* Flute; he learns of *Weidiman*.

Edg. Lord! That is a dear Creature, that *Weidiman*.

Fidg. Oh! But *Martini* is my Favourite, the fine Haut-boy.

Edg. Oh! No; I like *Jemmy Nani* beſt — I heard that Mr. *Handel* ſhould ſay, that he thought *Jemmy Nani* the beſt Violin in the World. — Oh! Dear Miſs *Weldon*, when was you dancing?

Weld. Laſt Friday Night.

Edg. How many Couple had you?

Weld. Nine.

Edg. Lord! I think Nine's to many; I like eight Couple beſt—pray, what Dances did you dance? Did you dance the new Dance?—there —Lord! I forget the Name ——

Weld. What! *Lord Tinſel's Vagary?*

Edg. No.

Weld. What then! the new *Hunt the Squirrel?*

Edg. No — piſh! That ever I ſhould forget!—I have the fooliſheſt Memory—'tis ſomething of *Rary.*

Weld. Oh! I know what you mean — the *Tepperary.*

Edg. Yes, yes, yes, yes, that's it —'tis a charming Dance.——Pray, was Miſs *Patchit* there?

Weld. Yes, ſhe danc'd with young *Barreau.*

Edg. Lord! That's a frightful Fellow! What a terrible long Noſe he has!

Weld. Yes, but he dances very prettily.

Edg. Lord! I am ſurpriz'd to hear you talk ſo ——— I never ſaw any Body poke out their Head ſo in my Life — beſides, he keeps no Time ———Pray now, had Miſs *Patchit* got on her new *Solitaire?*

Weld. Yes, but I did not like it one bit—and they ſay, they are falſe Stones too.

Edg. And yet now I heard it commended prodigiouſly t'other Night — I want ſadly to ſee it; tho' I don't believe I ſhall like it.—— Lord! what's a Clock! I muſt be going Home —— to be ſure, my Papa will hang me for keeping the Horſes out ſo long.

Weld. Oh! no, 'tis but 9 o'Clock.

Edg. Lord! I muſt go — by that Time I get Home and undreſs me, our Supper will be ready — Miſs *Weldon*, is your Chariot here? or will you go Home in mine?

Weld. Lord! Isn't my Fellow here yet? — pray, Sir, [*to the Footman*] be ſo good as to tell my Man, he may go Home with the Chariot; for I ſhall go Home with Miſs *Edging.*—

Oh Lord! who goes to the Maſquerade?

All together. I, I, I, I.

Weld. What Habits have you got?

Court. Lord! I don't know, I muſt ſee about one to Morrow in the Afternoon.

Fidg. Lord! I have got a Chimney-ſweeper.

Edg. And I have a Butcher.

Weld. And I am to be dreſt like a young Rake— I am to have my Brother's Cloaths —— Oh! good God! 'tis a Quarter after Nine; I ſhall be hang'd for ſtaying; for I promis'd my Mama to be at Home before 9 ——Come, Miſs *Edging*, for God's ſake let's go. [*Here a Propoſal being made by Miſs* Courtly, *they all ſate down to Cards.*]

Common Senſe, Feb. 19. N° 3.

The Weighing of the Great Mogol, *emblematically explain'd.*

BERNIER informs us of a very extraordinary Cuſtom which prevails to this Day in the Empire of *Mogol.* —— His *Imperial* Majeſty is annually weigh'd upon his Birth-day, and if it appears that ſince his former Weighing he has made any conſiderable Acquiſition of Fleſh, it is Matter of publick Rejoicing throughout his whole Dominions. ——Upon that great Day too his Subjects are obliged to make him Preſents which ſeldom amount to leſs than thirty Millions.

This ſeems to be a Cuſtom obſerved for Antiquity or Form-ſake; but the original Purpoſe for which it was at firſt wiſely eſtabliſhed, either neglected or quite forgotten: For it is impoſſible to imagine that his *Mogol* Majeſty's good and loyal Subjects ſhould find ſuch Matter of Joy in the literal Increaſe of their Sovereign's Materiality, which muſt of courſe render him leſs qualified for the Functions of his Government; ſo that it is more reaſonably to be

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presumed, that as all the Oriental Nations chuse to convey their Precepts of Religion, Morality, and Government through Hieroglyphicks, Types, and Emblems, this Custom was originally allegorical, and signified the political Increase of his Majesty's Weight, as to Credit, Power, and Dominions; which might justly administer great Joy to his faithful Subjects.

Or to carry my Conjecture a little farther, Is it impossible that his now absolute Empire might formerly have been a limited one? The equal Balance of which it might be necessary often to examine, in order to preserve it in its just Equilibrium; in which Case, it is highly probable his Majesty was weigh'd against some Counterpoise; or to speak plainer, the Prerogative of the Prince might be examined with relation to the Rights and Privileges of the Subject.

It will be no Objection to my Conjecture, to alledge the present absolute Form of that Government, since a very little Knowledge of History will shew us, that the most absolute Governments now in the World have been originally free ones; and only bought, bully'd, or beaten out of their Liberties.

This may very probably have been the Case in *Indostan*, where the Nobles and the Representatives of the People might think it both civil and prudent not to weigh quite fair against his Majesty, but to lighten their own Scale, that he might preponderate a little. This little by Degrees increas'd the Bulk of their Successors, by continually adding more and more to it.

This Superiority of Weight probably pleas'd his Majesty, and gave him a Relish for more, which these great annual Presents swelling up his Civil List, enabled him the better to gratify, by having wherewithal to corrupt the Weights on the Part of the Nobles and the People, till by Degrees the whole Weight was thrown into the Royal Scale without any Counterpoise. By such Gradations this Custom, originally established for the Security of the Constitution, may have dwindled into a mere pompous Ceremony, and an expensive *Raree-Show*, annually exhibited to a cozen'd People, in Exchange for their Liberties.

Daily Gazetteer, Feb. 25. N° 523.

This Paper is an Answer to the Craftsman's *Observations*, p. 88, 89; *in which the Writer among other Things says:*

THIS cautious Author having been unadvisedly drawn out of his Way to speak with me, was under a Necessity of disguising himself, and of owning Things which nothing but the Exigence of the Argument could have extorted from him. He has now found out other Causes of our national Grievances and Complaints besides a corrupt Ministry, where he had always affected to lay the whole Blame: And here he could not possibly exempt the Patrons of his *Country Interest*; I mean those Gentlemen in the Country who are continually dipping and sinking their Estates, in Hopes (to use his own Expression) of *licking themselves whole again at Court.*

I know it is natural for Men when they are discontented and uneasy, to lay the Blame any where but at Home. And as bad as the Times are, I cannot but think, that the frowning, murmuring People are much worse, and that they might soon mend the Times if they pleased. Whoever takes an impartial Survey of both City and Country, and particularly of the trading Part of the Nation, must needs observe a vast Growth of Extravagancy and Profuseness, within every Man's Memory. Badness of Trade, Want of Money, and the sinking of Credit, can often signify nothing with the Complainants, but bad Oeconomy, Want of Frugality, and exorbitant, needless Expences in private Management; while the Luxury and Excess we are generally got into, demand more than any Trade can bring in: And one may venture to say, that where there is one Family in *England*, undone for Want of the necessary Means of subsisting by honest Labour and Industry, there are many Thousands ruined by Pride, Idleness and Negligence, Profuseness and bad Oeconomy.

Craftsman, Feb. 26. N° 556.

The Character of the late Lord Chancellor Talbot, *who died on the 14th of this Month.*

He was a man, take him for all in all,
I ne'er shall look upon his like again. SHAKES.

THERE is no Duty more incumbent on *publick Writers*, who have any Regard for the Good of

of their Country, than paying a juſt Tribute of Praiſe to the Memory of *great Men*, who have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by eminent Abilities and Integrity, in their reſpective Stations. I have always endeavour'd to avoid any Partiality, of this Kind; and as the late Lord *Henſol* died poſſeſs'd of the higheſt Character, both as a *Lawyer* and a *Patriot*, I ſhould think myſelf inexcuſable to paſs it over, without ſome particular Notice. The *Chancellorſhip of Great Britain* is an Office of ſo much Weight and Power, that it is impoſſible to do Juſtice to the Memory of the *noble Peer* deceaſed, without a little Explanation of the Truſt repoſed in him.

A *Lord High Chancellor of this Kingdom* is to be conſider'd in two Lights; that is, in his *judicial* and *political Capacity*; or as the *dernier Reſort of Juſtice* (excepting the *Houſe of Lords*) and *Keeper of the great Seal.*

In the *firſt Capacity*, when we reflect on the vaſt Extenſion of his Juriſdiction, the Properties of all the People in *England* are, in a great Meaſure, in his Power; and conſidering the Variety of Cauſes, that come before him, with the Artifices employ'd by Perſons concern'd on both Sides, it requires not only the moſt uncorrupted Probity, but conſummate Abilities, Penetration and Diſcernment; eſpecially when it is farther conſider'd that the *Court of Chancery* is the only civil Court in *England*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, which is intruſted with the Determination of Property, without a *Jury*; for as to the *Houſe of Lords*, to which only an Appeal lies from the *Chancellor*, all the Peers having a Vote, they may be properly call'd a *Jury*; and I can never look upon the *Commiſſioners of Exciſe* as a *Court of Juſtice*, tho' they begin to have as much Buſineſs as any, and perhaps will ſoon have more.

The *Lord Chancellor*, as *Keeper of the great Seal*, is not only the *ſecond Perſon* in the Kingdom, next to the *Royal Family*, but hath, or ought to have, a great Influence at the *Council-Table*, upon all important Deliberations; and no *Grant*, *Patent*, or *Treaty* can be made without his Sanction.

In both theſe Reſpects, he is called in Law the *Keeper of the King's Conſcience*; and No-body ever diſcharged that high Truſt with more Capacity and Uprightneſs than the *late excellent Peer*, whoſe Death we now lament. His Determinations, with regard to *private Property*, met with almoſt univerſal Approbation; and I do not remember that he ever put the Seal to any *Grant*, *Patent*, or *Treaty*, which gave a juſt Offence to the Nation.

He roſe, by Merit, to the *Head of his Profeſſion*, and not only ſupported himſelf in it with Dignity, but adorn'd it, and acquired every Day new Praiſe and Eſteem.

His Prudence, Moderation and Patience, in the Execution of his Office, even amidſt the higheſt Provocations, make one ſhining Part of his Character, and are hardly to be parallel'd by any Inſtances of thoſe who have ſate before him upon *that Bench*.

Yet notwithſtanding this amiable Diſpoſition of Mind, he diſcover'd ſuch Courage and Reſolution upon all Occaſions, as could not be ſhaken by the Tricks of the *Wealthy*, the Applications of the *Powerful*, or the Tears of the *Diſtreſs'd*. His only Aim was *Right* and *Equity*, which he rigidly purſued, on whomſoever the Weight of his *Decrees* might happen to fall.

He was a great Enemy to the *Chicanry* of his Profeſſion, and render'd the Courſe of *Juſtice* more eaſy, as well as leſs expenſive, by preventing all unneceſſary Delays; eſpecially when they appear'd to be meerly vexatious, and diſcountenancing the Artifices of thoſe, who endeavour'd

deavour'd to *keep off the evil Day from themſelves*, at the Expence of their *injured Proſecutors*. I could give ſome late notable Inſtances of this, if *particular Circumſtances* were proper in a *general Character*.

In a Word, he poſſeſs'd all the great Talents and Qualifications of his moſt *renown'd Predeceſſors*, without any of their Frailties, and hath left a noble Example to all his *Succeſſors*; ſo that he was not only a Bleſſing to the Age, in which he lived, but may poſſibly derive the ſame Happineſs to his Poſterity, by exciting thoſe, who follow him in *that high Office*, to an Emulation of his Virtues.

The great Increaſe of Buſineſs in the *Court of Chancery*, ſince the *Seal* was put into his Hands, is an evident Proof of that Confidence, which the *Suitors* repoſed in him, and will do immortal Honour to his Memory, tho' it proved fatal to his Life; for the conſtant Fatigue of his Employment was one of the principal Cauſes of his Death; and therefore he may be truly ſaid to have fall'n a *Martyr to the publick Good*.

Whether he met with any other Shocks from the *preſent unhappy Situation of Affairs*, and the View of *future Evils*, which he had not *Authority* enough to prevent, as much as it was in his Inclination, I cannot pretend to ſay; nor, if I could, would it be proper.

But I muſt not forget to mention that he had no ridiculous or wicked Attachment to any *Party*, beſides that of his *Country*, and ſeem'd reſolved to contribute all in his Power towards reſtoring it to a flouriſhing Condition.

Under the Influence of *ſuch a Man*, we had Reaſon to hope for a *compleat Coalition of Parties*; or, at leaſt, for a *Re-union of all ſuch* as wiſh well to *their King* and *their Country*; which neither *weak*, nor *wicked* and *corrupt Men*, will ever have it in their Power to accompliſh.

I ſhall leave the Diſplay of his *private Virtues* to thoſe, who had the Honour of his Acquaintance, and will only obſerve, that no Man ever left a more general good Character, as a *Chriſtian*, a *Father*, a *Maſter* and a *Friend*, than the late *Lord Chancellor*.

He dy'd *full of Glory*; but, to the great Misfortune of his Country, not *full of Years*; and the general Sorrow, which his Death hath occaſion'd, will do his noble Family more Honour than the higheſt Titles, or the moſt ſumptuous Monuments.

He is a ſingle Inſtance that *real Worth* and *Integrity* will not go unrewarded, even in this degenerate Age, as far as the *Affections*, and almoſt the *Veneration of the People*, may be look'd upon as any Reward. *Whig* and *Tory*, *Court* and *Country*, Men of all Parties and Perſuaſions, (except the known Enemies of our Conſtitution, both in *Church* and *State*) unite upon this Occaſion, and vye with each other who ſhall do moſt Juſtice to the Memory of ſo *extraordinary a Perſon*.

To conclude. There are ſo many great and virtuous Qualities requiſite to conſtitute a *good Judge*, of any Kind, and eſpecially a *Lord Chancellor*, that as the utmoſt Care ought to be taken in the *Choice of them*, ſo their Death may be juſtly eſteem'd a *publick Misfortune*. For this Reaſon, the Death of the late Lord *Henſol* is generally look'd upon as one of the greateſt Loſſes, which this Nation hath ſuſtain'd for many Years; and it would be almoſt irreparable, were it not for *one illuſtrious Perſon*; * who hath already fill'd the *higheſt Seat of the Law* with great Sufficiency, and is now call'd up to the *Chancery*, by his Majeſty's Favour, in Concurrence with the general Voice of the Nation.

* *Lord* Hardwicke.

The

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The WISH.

WOU'D *heaven* propitious with my *wish* comply,
Thus wou'd I chuse to live, and thus to die;
Freed from dependence, and the toils of trade,
My seat thou'd rise amid the rural shade;
Where aged oaks at equal distance rise,
Lift high their waving heads, and fan the skies;
Or rustling solemn with the evening breeze,
With sacred sound and awful horror please:
Thro' these green walks, rich in the cooling gale, [vale;
And vernal show'r, thou'd ope the far stretch'd
Whilst the kind *Naiad* from the neighb'ring hill
Pours from her copious urn the limpid rill:
Edg'd by a grove, thou'd roll the gentle flood,
And its clear bosom wave th' inverted wood;
Gay thro' the streams the flow'rs reflected spread,
In milder glory, and in softer shade;
Thence thro' my walks, in vary'd forms thou'd stray,
Glide a canal, or in a fountain play;
Descend the glassy slope with silent fall,
And glitter to the sight a crystal wall;
Or o'er the rock, by nature's chissel made,
Bound, foam, and thunder in a loud cascade;
A deep vast concave drinks the roaring flood,
And streams it gently to the thirsty wood.
There, where the trees form high th' embow'ring shade,
For serious thought and contemplation made,
My favourite dome thou'd raise its tow'ring head,
Grac'd with the labours of the famous dead:
Here from the world, and all its cares retir'd,
By wisdom, and the love of truth inspir'd,
I'd oft retreat: — here *Pope* in tuneful lay
Shou'd sacred truths in softest sounds convey:
Here *Thompson*'s page, to all the *muses* dear,
With just description charm the ravish'd ear;
With him I'd nature's every shape admire,
Glow at her charms, and at her beauty fire.
Nature, still easy to be understood!
Supremely fair! and sovereignly good!
Still smiles the God upon thy lovely face,
With boundless beauty and thro' endless space.
On *Newton*'s wing I'd dare sublimer flight,
From star to star direct my trembling sight;
View worlds round worlds, systems round systems turn,
Orbs that now freeze, and now intensely burn:
Harmonick all! nor shall my wand'ring soul
Forget t' adore the Genius of the whole,
Who can with equal ease these worlds compose,
As blue the violet, or as blush the rose.
Now moral truth in artless splendor bright,
And all enliv'ning opens to my sight;
In *Woolaston* she darts resistless rays,
In social *Balguy* every charm displays;
By piercing *Clarke* unveil'd, her lovely face
Courts with a smile and wears a winning grace:
Shews us the road to happiness and rest,
And but commands us to be truly blest;
Taught by his page, we pitying view the fool,
To please his God, who scorns his darling rule:
Reason thy light divine, and God below'd!
His every action by thy law approv'd:
These shou'd instruct me, and my soul improve,
And lift me nearer to the God I love;
Thou sole Supreme! alike by whose controul
The riv'let murmurs, and the thunders roll,
Teach me thyself! deign to direct my choice,
Teach me to know thy never silent voice;
Safe by thy light, to steer thro' giddy youth,
To life's last verge along the stream of truth;
From reason's rules, O! never let me stray,
Nor for blind fancy leave her rightful sway;
By her approv'd peace fills the human breast,
Amidst the storms of life securely blest;
No furious zeal her social sons inspire,
She burns a steady, bright, and lasting fire.
Yet not by books, or thoughts severe engrost,
Wou'd I to every other joy be lost;
The morn shou'd see me, at her earliest dawn,
Cheer the gay dogs along the dew-spread lawn;
Impel the chace, pursue the flying hare,
And drink deep cooling draughts of lifeful air:
This life redoubles, hence the studious find
Strength to the nerves and vigour to the mind,
Return with keener taste the joys to prove
Of calm philosophy and blissful love;
This bids the blood in brisker currents flow,
Beat strong the heart, and every fibre glow.
But far remov'd be those, who count for joys,
The midnight revel and the brutal noise;
The impious jest, pain to the virtuous ear,
Nor tale obscene, nor senseless pun be here;
My house shou'd worthier entertainment know,
Approv'd by virtue every thought shou'd flow;
Not virtue dress to fright you from her arms,
But all inviting, in gay pleasure's charms,
That nor forbids, unbending to the soul,
The glass to sparkle, or to swell the bowl;
The temperate jest with social freedom crown'd, [sound;
The soothing song, or musick's charming
With just restraint to please each sense allows,
And only bids us what is pain refuse.
To fill my joys and crown the sweets of life,
Grant me, kind heaven, a fair and virtuous wife,
Like dear *Amanda*, who to blooming youth,
And brightest beauty, adds engaging truth;
Witty, good-natur'd, ever prompt to please,
To think with judgment, and converse with ease;
Me she shou'd love, with as sincere desire,
As angels feel and heavenly forms inspire;
So pleas'd to please, and to dissent so loth,
One soul shou'd seem to animate us both;
With her conversing every care wou'd fly,
And life be more than life when she was by.
If heav'n so deign'd, to crown the nuptial joys,
A brace of beauteous girls and lovely boys
Should

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Should smile around, and in each infant face,
More soft, more bright, bloom the parental grace;
Nor than their faces, be their minds less fair,
These to adorn how pleasing is the care!
To teach, how dear, delighting is the task,
When infant innocence and nature ask;
To see the grateful soil not vain impreſt,
And virtue ripen in the youthful breaſt;
What joy to view it open all humane,
Delight to bleſs and melt at others pain,
Benevolent and kind! thus let me live,
And ever grateful thus thy gifts receive,
All bounteous *God!* nor for myſelf alone
Let me thus live, but to the poor well known
Be *my large ſtores*; for them ſhou'd freely bleed
The fatted ox, and ſpring the bearded ſeed;
Their loins ſhou'd bleſs me for the warming fleece,
Their pleaded cauſe, their property and peace.
Thus bleſt, unenvy'd, and to courts unknown,
The vale of life I'd glide ſerenely down;
With grateful thanks reſign my lateſt breath,
Nor flow, nor painful paſs the gulph of death.

Newcaſtle, Jan. 24. NORTHUMBRIUS.

Seeing his Daughter (an Infant) in her Coffin.
By Mr. J. Lockman.

SEE! where ſhe lies, in baleful weeds array'd,
(The tribute heaven requires, ſo early paid)
Who, all a moment back, in flow'ry pride,
Seem'd, in her ribbons gay, an infant bride.
With rapture then I gaz'd upon thy charms,
And claſp'd thee, ſweetly ſmiling, in my arms;
Saw fondeſt joys in diſtant proſpect riſe,
When thou, in years advanc'd, ſhou'd'ſt glad theſe eyes.
How falſe theſe joys! (ſo promiſing the theme)
On airy pinions gliding like a dream:—
For lo! death's icy hand has chill'd her veins,
And ſnatch'd relentleſs, to his dread domains:—
Yet no! the bluſhing graces in her cheek,
Her lips, like roſes red, which all but ſpeak;
The ſmiles that round her op'ning features gleam,
Diſplay the virgin in a pleaſing dream.
Some guardian ſeraph in his ſilent round,
Thee beauteous as his kindred angels found;
In heavenly numbers, ſoft, thine eyelids preſt,
And ſoon he'll wing thee to eternal reſt.

A VALENTINE: *Preſented to Miſs* E——n L—h—rb—r—w *of* Wigan, Feb. 14. 1733. *By a young Lad.*

SWEET valentine, you're doubly mine
By chance and inclination:
For whilſt I wiſh'd alone for you,
By meer good luck your name I drew;
For hope a good foundation!
Therefore let's kiſs, my lovely miſs,
And ratify my claim:
Then in due time, I hope, with ring,
Gloves, or lac'd hat, or ſome fine thing,
You will diſcharge the ſame.
Thus far, my dear, you'll with me bear.—
How ſhall I ſpeak the reſt?
Let what is ſaid ſerve to excuſe
Preſumption, and to introduce
A very bold requeſt.
For you've in ſtore one favour more,
Might hope ſo high aſpire:
Wou'd you conſent to be my bride;
The world, and all its joys beſide,
Cou'd raiſe my bliſs no higher.
You'll ſay perhaps; young jackanapes,
You ought awhile to ſtay:
But if I ſhoot not out of hand,
The bird, which doth ſo tickliſh ſtand,
May chance to fly away.
I've time, 'tis true, to ſtay for you:
But ſhou'd I tardy be;
So ſweet a bloom you now diſcloſe!
Some other hand may pluck the roſe,
And you not ſtay for me.
Well did my wiſe grandſire adviſe:
'Slip not occaſion,' ſaid he,
'Stay not, my boy, for times to come,
'But boldly puſh the matter home;
'*Faint heart ne'er won fair lady.*
'Wou'd'ſt thou enjoy a miſtreſs coy;
'Courage muſt make her thine:
'Away with ſhame, force her conſent;
'That man alone is impudent,
'Who fails in his deſign.
'*But portion ſmall, lands none at all,*
'*Are a diſcouragement:*
'To baſhful men they are indeed;
'For how can they in marriage ſpeed,
'Who never aſk conſent.
'Though ſhe may be too good for thee,
'And take thy love in ſcorn:
'Deſpair not thou, but ply her well;
'For ſure it is, no maid can tell
'To what ill fate ſhe's born.
'Thy grandame was a towring laſs:
'Had not my brazen mien
'And confidence ſupply'd the place
'And lack almoſt of every grace,
'Thy dad had never been.
'Dogs ſhy at game oft ſpring the game,
'And ſcare the fowl away:
'But when the hawk with daring wing
'Purſues, the wild but tim'rous thing
'Drops and becomes his prey.
'A bold addreſs commands ſucceſs:
'In this the fair agree;
'Whether ſhe be coquet or prude,
'She loves the man that's ſomething rude,
'Familiar, blunt and free.'
Then, miſs, in fine you muſt be mine;
Th' experiment I'll try:

For all the town knows very well,
My grandsire is an oracle,
That never yet told lye.

Thro' thick and thin away I'll pin,
With whip and spur ride fast:
Perhaps you'll lead me a wild chace;
But at the end of all the race
You'll be my prize at last.

To Mr. T——s R—ft—n, *at* Stafford.
[With *Gay*'s Fables.]

SIR,

I Perceive, you want to look,
At leisure hours, upon a book;
And such an one wou'd gladly choose,
As may both profit, and amuse:
But chiefly seem inclin'd to spend
(Whom therefore, now, to you I send,)
The close of each short winter's-day,
With sweetly-entertaining *Gay*.
Immortal *Gay*, sure, all must prize;
Who merry makes us, and yet wise.
Upon my word, you're much i'th' right:
I'm, too, of your opinion quite.
And ev'ry hearty foe to vice
Must own, you've made a prudent choice.
For what's more sweet, at vacant times,
Than good, and profitable rhymes?
But, then, I very greatly fear,
The difficulty, Sir, lies here. —
When, by this method, we're inclin'd
T'unbend, and to improve the mind,
Good poets are so wondrous scant,
We seldom meet with what we want.
Few rhyming authors (to be plain,)
Both *edify*, and *entertain*.
But, here, — both wit and wisdom mix;
Here, Sir, with lucky hand, you fix
On one, a'most by all confess'd
To be a'most the very best;
Whose pleasing fables never fail
Our senses sweetly to regale.
The cuts afford no small delight
To the most quick, sagacious sight.
His verse is musick to our ears;
And to our ravish'd eyes appears
Such harmony throughout the whole,
As reaches to our inmost soul.
His solid lines the taste must suit
Of ev'ry thing, except *a brute*.
E'en brutes 'emselves his art can teach
To talk, to argue; — nay, to preach.
Judicious guide of slipp'ry youth!
Ingenious fictions full of truth!
Emblems divine, of human woe! —
Full well the real ills ye shew,
That up and down the world are found;
And in degen'rate *man* abound.
How nat'ral seems the lively sketch!
How odious, Sir, the guilty wretch! —
Who, now, asham'd, will, sure, submit,
Turn o'er new leaves, and learn more wit.
Each vicious fool must, now, recant;
And after *virtue* strongly pant.
What wonders in the mind are wrought!
What grave, instructive lessons taught,
And in the most delightful way,
By thee, O charming, lovely *Gay*!
But why shou'd I, with sour grimace,
And tedious, *Presbyterian-grace*,
You, from the sweet repast, detain;
And 'stead of pleasure, give you pain? —
Why, why, — at this enormous rate,
Your coming joys anticipate?
But, Sir, (I doubt not,) you'll excuse
The ravings of a zealous muse,
And wiser be (I know,) than fret
At what I've said, by way of *whet*.
Come! — you shall, now, no longer, Sir,
The dear, delicious meal defer.
Sit down then, pray, to *Gay*'s good table;
And richly feast upon a fable.
You're kindly welcome, friend! — fall on;
And take 'em to you, ev'ry one.
On his rare morals chew the end:
They're very sweet and very good;
And, tho' they fully satisfy
The nicest taste, yet never cloy.
Peruse, with candour, courteous guest;
And, may you, what you read, digest. [you
In fine, — dear *Tom*! — much good may
The wholesome, toothsome diet do.
One favour, Sir, — and I'll ha' done;
And, straight, about my business run:
Pardon these hasty lines from me,
Your most obedient friend,
R. D.

P. S. * *St. Nic'las*' — day, near nine at night:
(The almsnack will set you right.)
Think me not mad, nor queer, nor quaint,
For mentioning a *Popish-saint*.
But, hark ye! friend — your ear afford,
While I just whisper in't a word.
Let not your *pious master* know it;
Lest he devoutly *damn* the poet.

From the Craftsman.

We bear the following Prologue it to be spoken at the Theatre in Drury-Lane, *upon the Revival of King* John, *alter'd from* Shakespeare; *by the* Reviver *and* Author of the Alterations.

TO you, most learned *youngsters of the law*,
Who long have kept the *Stage*, and *me* in awe,
Lo! on my knees, thus humbly do I bend,
And beg you, gentle sirs, to stand my friend.
For *fame* I write not, as my *odes* have shewn,
And laugh at all the censure of the town;

* *The sixth of* December.

But

But *profit* is, you know, a real good,
Which fires the nobleſt, and ignobleſt blood;
And though great *Cæſar*, to record his praiſe,
Hath crown'd my temples with immortal bays,
What modern bard on *ſack* can always dine;
I, for my part, love *honeſt Jephſon's* wine.
I therefore hereby conſtitute the *pit*,
Where on that dread *tribunal*, now you ſit,
The ſovereign judge and arbiter of wit;
For who ſo proper to direct the ſtage,
As thoſe, who've ruled the land in every age?
Beſides, as antient chronicles report,
What was *Apollo* but a *clerk in court*;
Or as from other authors I could prove,
My predeceſſor, *laureat* to king *Jove*?
And all our modern *muſes*, alias *miſſes*,
Still *ſtrole* about the *temple* fond of kiſſes.
As for thoſe ſtanting dames, and pig-tail'd beaus,
Who in the boxes ſit, to ſhew their cloaths,
Smear'd o'er with powder, and bedawb'd with lace,
Are they fit judges in a poet's caſe?
No, *let* the *law* proceed in its due channel,
So, with one daſh, I ſtrike them off the *pannel*;
And if the *galleries* dare to hiſs, or bawl,
If you'll ſtand by me, *s'blood! we'll ſtand them all!* [*John*,
Then for the ſake of *Shakeſpeare* and king
O! ſave me for this time, or I'm undone.

The Taming of the SHREW.

PRy'thee *Ralph*, (beſpoke a neighbour,)
Let me beg a ſingle favour;
Ay, quo' *Ralph*, e'en two or three,
And right welcome heartily.
Why then, quo' *Simon*, (ſuch he was,
An eaſy even-temper'd A——;)
You know full well my ſtate of life
Yok'd to that galling load —— a *wife*.
A peſt confound the plaguy name,
Her tongue wou'd make a tyger tame;
By all that's good, my truſty friend,
I *really* think it has no end;
For ever jarring, always teaſing,
Not ſtill a moment, never ceaſing,
Perpetual noiſing in my ears
Day after day, weeks, months, and years.
I've try'd to pleaſe her all I can,
Done all that's in the pow'r of man;
And after all, (the greater curſe)
I really think ſhe's rather worſe.
In ſhort, ſhe may the maxim boaſt,
She's of thoſe wives *that rule the roaſt*.
I've often thought, in this my ſtation,
T'expoſe her tongue to law and nation;
To undergo the antient rule
Of *Skimmington*, or *ducking-ſtool*;
And I do ſtill the thought purſue,
If you thou'd think 'twill *tame a ſhrew*.

Why I ſhou'd think, quo' *Ralph*, indeed,
Since both by learned men agreed,
To be the cure of noiſe and ſtriſe;
No doubt but both will cure thy wife.
Try which you will of one and t'other;
And if one won't do, — try the other.
But ſoft, quo' *Sim. give each their merit*;
I've this to add, by way of credit,
Altho' her clapper never ceaſe,
Her fiſt and grinders hold their peace.
Why that, quo' *Ralph*, is to her credit,
And to thine too, that thou haſt ſaid it;
For ſpeaking truth in both your praiſe,
It ſeldom happens now-a-days;
And I've heard ſay; in days of yore,
That one, the * greateſt philoſopher,
A man of parts, and very learned,
Who by his brain all truths diſcerned;
Not only wed a † termagant,
But, both in one, — a combatant.
And what was more than either thoſe,
(Not ſatisfy'd at home with blows)
Abroad ſhe'd pull him by the noſe.
By this, thy wife is not the firſt,
And, thank thy ſtars, ſhe's not the worſt.
Therefore, the ſtool's the fitteſt place;
The ſureſt ſign of her diſgrace:
But then conſider, ſilly elf,
B'expoſing her, y'expoſe your ſelf.
Why ay, quo' *Sim.* there lies the objection,
Muſt her diſgrace cauſe my reflection,
Muſt I endure an equal ſhame,
When only ſhe, my wife's to blame?
Rather ſhe blam'd by me alone,
Than I be blam'd by ev'ry one.
If ſo, quo' *Ralph*, when e'er again,
Thy wife begins her noiſy ſtrain;
Then lay before her, this her caſe,
Shewing the crime, and the diſgrace;
With all the ſhameful ills attending,
In hopes 'twill make ſome ſmall amending.
Alas! quo' *Sim.* you preach in vain,
I've told her o'er and o'er again,
If ſhe'd not ceaſe, the neighbours wou'd
Expoſe her for the publick good,
And ſure as half the hearing paſt her
So ſure her tongue wou'd gallop faſter.
For I've obſerv'd by often trial
Her tongue will ſuffer no denial;
If ſhe inſiſt, that black is white,
My anſwer's always --- you ſay right.
Women's delight *is fixt* in contradiction,
Juſt as *your* poet-men delight in fiction;
Bid 'em ſay ſo *and ſo*, do this or that,
Be ſure they'll do and ſay the oppoſite.
In truth, quo' *Ralph*, thy obſervation
Is good i'th' law, in church, or nation;
Founded on reaſon, and good ſenſe,
On truth, and long experience:
And what concerns thy noiſy dame,
Minds me of ſomething like the ſame.

* *Socrates.* † *Xantippe.*

When I my bargain *Kate* took firſt,
Whether for better or for worſe;
Her tongue than mine wou'd ne'er go faſter,
She was call'd *miſtreſs*, and I --- *maſter*.
A while we kept thus jogging on,
Juſt as we quietly begun,
'Till at the laſt, *Kate* found her tongue.

One ev'ning coming home full late,
Up ſtarts the tongue, with *miſtreſs Kate*,
Pray what d'ye mean, you ill bred dog?
You ſtinking beaſt, you drunken dog?
Muſt I all day be kept at home,
Mop'd by my ſelf here, all alone?
While truly you ſo'ſooth at eaſe
Can go and come juſt when you pleaſe.
D'ye think I'll lead this helliſh life?
Curſe on the ſtars that made me wife!
Hey day! quo' I. *why how now quean?*
Pray what may all this language mean?
Muſt I aſk leave to go and come,
And if not granted, ſtay at home?
'Tis I ſhou'd lead a helliſh life,
A man can't ſtir without his wife.
What! art thou marry'd, ſilly fool,
And knoweſt not the marr'age rule?
That men and dogs have leave to roam,
But wives and cats muſt ſtay at home.
Ceaſe, pr'ythee ceaſe, thy noiſy ſtrain;
Let me ne'er hear the like again.
With that ſhe ſwell'd her wide grimace,
And burſt her venom in my face.

I thought in truth, 'twas then high time
To nip the bud before its prime.
Nor had I yet the rule forgot
To ſtrike the iron while 'tis hot.
I ſtep'd aſide, left madam there,
And pull'd the halter off the mare.
In this right hand ſecur'd her fate,
And in this other, miſtreſs *Kate*:
Come come, quo' I, *my ſturdy jennet,*
We'll try for maſter, who ſhall win it.
At firſt ſhe rode a little ruſty,
But I laid on with laſhes luſty;
And gave her handſomely her hire,
Till at the laſt *Kate* 'gan to tire;
I ſtill laid on as I began,
By means of which, I maſter won;
And by which means, *Kate* loſt her tongue.
And from that very time to this,
Kate, nor her tongue e'er went amiſs.

What think you now? quo' neighbour *Ralph*.
I think, quo' *Sim*, in thy behalf;
And had I heard the like before,
I might like thee had joys in ſtore;
But ſtill there hope remains however,
And hopes are better late, than never;
I'll therefore try thy kind receipt,
Will all its exc'llencies repeat;
And if I find its virtues ſave her,
I'll ever thank thee for the favour.

Welfare being wiſh'd on either ſide,
Our neighbour *Simon* homewards hy'd,
And e'er he ventur'd to the houſe,
Procur'd the balſam for his ſpouſe.

No ſooner come, and ſet him down,
But madam madge let looſe her tongue;
Exclaiming in her uſual note,
With hideous howl, and ſqualling throat:
And for't no other reaſon knowing,
But lik'd to hear her clack agoing.
Pleas'd with the project, ſimp'ring *Sim*
Applauds her muſick with a grin,
And juſt as fuel unto fire
Serv'd to inflame her ſpirits higher;
'Till choak'd with ſpleen and ſpent with rage,
No other way her heat t'aſſwage,
But out it muſt to her diſgrace,
Revil'd him *cuckold* to his face.

Sim thinking then he had withſtood
Sufficient proof of fleſh and blood,
Reſolv'd to follow *Ralph*'s direction,
And purge her crime with due correction;
Now for't, quo' *Sim*, *while time doth laſt*,
Since time's no time when time is paſt.
I've long endur'd thy venom'd tongue,
With calumny and ſlander hung,
And when ſoul words have been my ſhare,
Have hitherto return'd thee fair;
But ſince in vain; a way I'll try,
Its ſoul defects to rectify.

No more he ſaid, but out he drew
His friend's receipt to *tame a ſhrew*;
Prepar'd it as it was preſcrib'd,
And all its hidden charms apply'd;
Made madam's manners ſtand the teſt,
And found the cure — *probatum eſt.*

TRIONYMUS.

Mr. *Addiſon*'s Campaign, continued. (See Vol. V. p. 452.)

ILLE Deo ſimilis, ſeriem ſub corde laborum
Verſabat ſecum, tacitèq; futura revolvens:
Nondum pugnatis cæperunt fervere bellis
Pectora: mox animo ſpeculatur longa viarum,
Danubii & Moſæ diſtantia flumina jungens;
Inter quos amnes alii tot ad æquora currunt,
Tot ſurgunt montes, & tot nemora invia creſcunt:
Hæc penetrare duci labor unus & una voluptas,
Optataq; augent pretium ipſa pericula palmæ.
Europæ fato gravidus, perq; omnia rumpens,
Heros urget iter, medios ruiturus in hoſtes:
Auræ, quas cœlis infecerat igneus æſtus
Scorpios ardenti, circum ſua tempora ſervent:
Extremo demum Mæni ſub margine captat
Spirantes ventos, vacuaſq; cahoribus umbras.
Hic noſtri juvenes, quos ad meliora laceſſit
Libertatis amor, populos dare colla catenis
Innumeros cernunt (queis Omnipotentis imago
Vix manet) admoniti, dum mœſte dieq; laborant,
Reginam ampleſti, patriæq; impendere vitam.
Pulveris Eoas per nubes itur ad oras,
Conſcendunteq; diem, cùm foſſis excipit amnis
Nicerus, relevatq; ſitim fluitantibus undis:
Nunc omnes hilari deponunt pectore curas,
Inſomnes obliti horas, ſoleſque diurnos.
Hinc ſuper everſas urbes atque obruta tecta,
Proſtrataſque domos, quas herbæ & gramina condunt,

Turba

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Turba virûm renovata ruit; simul ira, dolorq;
Accendunt animos, venasque furoribus implent.
Mœnia cum muris, fractas imitantia rupes,
(Bellorum monimenta) oculis procul horrida surgunt:
Per loca luxuriat vitis labefacta, ruinas
Prondibus umbrosis conata involvere Galli.
Fama ducis tandem Angliaci pervenit ad aures
Eugeni, & patriis mirantem allexit ab arvis.
Scilicet heroes paribus concurrere flammis
Sponte suâ properant, alternaq; pignora poscunt:
Amplexu subito coeunt, similesq; per orbem
Effundunt radios, commiscentq; ignibus ignes.
Durati longùm campis, aulisque politi,
Conciliisq; graves, partis clariq; triumphis,
Non ducunt animos nimio de sanguinis æstu,
Inflatisve mero venis: regit omnia virtus
Quæ faciunt, ratioq; ingentes temperat iras.
Pace trahunt humiles obscura per otia vitam;
Marte furente manu cum primis prælia tentant:
Talibus his, meritò quos mutua fœdera jungunt,
Haud dubitat res humanas committere cœlum.
Protinus armati Britones pulchro ordine cingunt
Ductorem; lassas vultuq; & voce catervas
Ille fovet præsens; dum proxima flumina collesq;
Oppositi resonant, multâ plaudente coronâ.
Mox ardent in bella magis, rapidoq; feruntur
Cursu contra hostem: lætos hortatur euntes
Gloria. * * *Sic trepido damæ canis impiger instat,*
* *Nota per infectos scrutans vestigia rores,*
* *Implicitum expediens longo conamine tractum:*
* *Sed simul aura omnis plenos diffundit odores,*
* *Accensus propiore aditu, vehementiùs urget,*
* *Acceleratq; gradum, prædæq; incumbit opimæ, &c.*

To the Revd. Mr. John Stirling, *M. A. upon his useful Endeavours to facilitate to Youth the Knowledge of Grammar, and the Attainment of the learned Languages.*

INVOLV'D in clouds and cover'd with disguise,
Arts hide in mystick shades from infant eyes;
In foreign garbs an hideous form they wear,
And fright the pupil with their sullen air;
Yet help'd by birch the tyrants of the schools
Instil the words, without the sense of rules;
With tedious loss of time, an huge delay,
They teach youth ignorance, the learned way,
Chaos of terms and modes, imbib'd by rote,
Their use unknown; or what's as bad, forgot.
Oh! time, expelling mists from human eyes,
Supreme of treasures to the active wise,
Oh! source of ev'ry good, when us'd aright,
Art, wisdom, virtue, fortune and delight:
In youth how vainly art thou thrown away!
Nothing to learn, the business of the day;
Nothing to teach, the master's barren toil;
As not employ'd to cultivate but spoil.
Yet in this early age the mind receives
What to the rest of life its colour gives,
Folly or reason, indolence or art, [heart;
And all that spoils, or forms, the head and
With the first tincture is the course began;
And, good or bad, the infant moulds the man.
Thee, STIRLING, if like thoughts have wisely sway'd
To lend this heedless state thy gen'rous aid,
Whilst, boldly devious from the vulgar road,
You free the paths of art, and ease its load,
The pupil's pains abridg'd the master's too,
What praises to thy will and works are due!
Led by thy hand youth *treads the classick ground*, [surround;
Which clouds no more obscure, nor thorns
With easy steps thro' flow'ry scenes they move,
Charm'd with the vary'd beauties of the grove;
Thro' vales, where everlasting verdure reigns,
(Poetick regions in immortal strains,)
To hills, that hide their heads amidst the skies,
Pleas'd with the smooth ascent, they gayly rise;
Thro' virtue's temple that of honour trace,
And pant, impatient for the glorious race.
Go on, wise guide, compleat thy great design,
With speed and ease to form our youth be thine;
Correct the tedious length of fruitless toil,
Abridge the loss of life, amend our soil;
Thy pains and purpose are alike sublime:
The greatest gift to man are sense and time.
Cambridge, Jan. 26, 1736. *Fonticola.*

A New EPILOGUE *to the* FAIR PENITENT, *as it was privately acted by some young Gentlemen: Spoken in the Character of* CALISTA.

AS *conjurors* those who in the *circle* fall
Transform to brutes, and play the *devil and all*; [made 'em,
Yet when the circle ends which brutes had
They find themselves again the *sons of Adam*:
So *tragic-writers*, those dread lords of ours,
Reign tyrants in a circle of *three hours*,
Change us to kings or queens, or save or kill,
Make us mere *whirligigs*——ev'n what they will: [curtain,
Yet pass three tedious hours, and drop the
Down fall the crowns and sceptres which we flirt in;
Stage-peacocks then contract their gaudy train,
And are——*your humble servants* once again.
What pranks has this our *poet* play'd to night! [light!
What shocking *characters* are brought to
But—bless him! you must own the fool's ——*polite*.

* I know not who is the Author of the Lines which are distinguished by the Comma's; but I hope the Gentleman will pardon me for the Liberty I have taken in inserting them in this Translation.

He

He made me *trip* —— leave virtue's thorny road;
But this same *tripping*——faith! is alamode.
Women are *veſſels*, and when *pyrates* board 'em,
They muſt ſurrender all they *can* afford 'em;
To fly is—cruel; out o' faſhion too;
Nor can we fly ſo faſt as they purſue.
Yet leſt ſome angry ſaint ſhould ſay *O fye!*
Our poet's juſtice bade *Caliſta* die;
I died contented, dar'd and ſcorn'd the pain;
But—troth! I knew I was to riſe again.

* What rigid blockheads are old men! egad!
I can't help laughing at my poor old dad!
Loſt to all ſenſe of youthful flames, O lud!
He quite forgot we girls were fleſh and blood;
For my firſt failing, nay, the leaſt of crimes,
(And who can help infirmities ſometimes?)
He put my courage to the ſtricteſt teſt,—
Gave me a dagger with *you know the reſt*--
Know it? adzooks! dear ladies, what a jeſt!
Strange doctrine this! to hear our fathers cry, [die.
Stand *buff*, my girls, and live; but *trip*, and
Lard! if this dying once ſhould come in faſhion,
Adieu to half——the *virgins* in the nation!
Here my † *good man* (an aſs no doubt you'll cry)
Broke his poor heart *almoſt* to ſee me die;
Baniſh'd the *Roman* bully from his breaſt,
Turn'd *Stoick*; lop'd his horns, and——was at reſt.
My death alone the ſource of all his woe,
He vow'd he'd follow to the ſhades below;
So, tho' his friend debar'd him *here* the means,
He died at laſt (for joy) behind the *ſcenes!*
But here's a ‡ monſter, ladies! one whoſe life
Knows but one bleſſing in the world, a *wife*.
Poor ſtupid fool! who, whilſt all others roam
Abroad for happineſs, finds his at home.
Supremely bleſt, no more the creature treads
Vaux-Hall's dear mazes, or St. *James*'s ſhades; [mayors,
Senſeleſs! hum drum! like *L—n—n*'s booby
Dies not enraptur'd with *Italian* airs;
Thwarts all politeneſs; leaves the beaten road
And values not of *this*, nor *taſte*--nor *mode*--
Phaugh! *ladies*, from your company diſbond all [*dal!*
This *country put*---this *Hotentot*---this *Van-*
Say, *ladies*, ſince our tragick ſeaſon's paſt,
Shall I beg quarter for our ‖ *man of taſte?*
Poz! you muſt grant me after all, his crimes
Were but the modiſh product of the times:
Falſhood, againſt the *mode* is no tranſgreſſion,
And gallantry's th' ex travagance of faſhion!
Who for ſuch ſlips would have theſe creatures die? [*I.*
'*Fore George!* I pawn my word, nor *you*, nor
Here's ſly § *Lavinia* coaxes with ſuch art,
Who would not think her actions ſpoke her heart?

Who'd think the humbleſt of your wives ſur-paſt her? [and *maſter?*
Who would not think her ſpouſe reign'd *lord*
Yet the *fool*'s fetter'd, nor his chains can ſpy;
Such dear *viragos* are my *Lav.* and I!
We plot, and make a man the rareſt fool;
Rule the *poor dear*, and never ſhew we rule:
And troth! ſhe beſt her huſband over-reaches,
Beneath the petticoat who wears the breeches!

Spoke by the ſame Gentleman, in the Character of Nel, *by Way of Epilogue to the* Devil to Pay, *acted the ſame Night.*

LADIES, I doubt in this our trying
These comic ſcenes, and tragic dying,
Our *comedy* has made you *cry*,
Our *tragedy* with laughter die.
Lud! we have maul'd it --- and our poet
Would maul us too, if he ſhould know it ---
As for our *ſongs* --- he, *good man*, made 'em
For us to *ſing* --- but troth! we *ſaid* 'em.
Whate'er *he* meant to bring to paſs,
I'm ſure *we've* turn'd it all to *farce*;
And, *ladies*, you with truth may ſay,
You've ſeen to night *the devil to pay!*

Crure Jovis Bacchus, Cerebro Jovis edita Pallas.

MINERVA from *Jove*'s fertile brain did ſpring,
Young *Bacchus* from his leg, as poets ſing.
He then his head may break, who learning wins, [ſhine.
And he, who drunken gets, may break his

Ad *Poetas Britannos* ſuper repentina D. TALBOTI morte.

MAgnos ſæpe viros cecinit cùm muſa, repente
Obſtrepuit miſeræ turba maligna lyræ.
Scilicet arguitur carmen, quia diſplicet heros;
Et mala quæ jactat fama, poeta luit.
At vos ſecuri TALBOTUM *dicite, vates;*
In quo nil livor, quod malè rodat, habet.
Jure humana à ſe qui nulla aliena putavit,
Delicium humanæ gentis habendus erat.
Partium in hoc non eſt ſtudio locus; omnibus idem
Ut vixit charus, flebilis interiit.

EPIGRAM.

LONDON *avet*; Sarum *vult promeruiſſe*; *meretur*
Durham; Ciceſter *ſperat*; & Oxon *habet.*

The OLD COQUETTE.

I'VE ſeen the patient chymiſt raiſe,
From aſhes of a roſe,
An image which its form diſplays,
And in reſemblance blows.

* *Pointing to* Sciolto. † *To* Altamont. ‡ Horatio. ‖ Lothario. § *Bringing* Lavinia *to the Front.*

But

But various imperfections ſhew
The blooming mimick vain;
No odours from the phantom flow,
In air it dies again,
Thus *Cloe*, you by art aſpire
To bloſſom in decay;
With borrow'd beauties raiſe deſire,
And diſtant fools betray.
But when impatient to be bleſt,
The lover's hopes you meet;
Your wither'd limbs and flabby breaſt
Too ſoon diſcloſe the cheat.
Fair viſion! by the touch deſtroy'd,
In vain for love diſplay'd;
Loſt in the moment e'er enjoy'd,
A taſteleſs painted ſhade.

By the Author of, To his Miſtreſs on being ſlighted. (See p. 694.)

BOAST not, miſtaken nymph, thy art
To pleaſe my partial eyes;
The charms that have ſubdued my heart
Another may deſpiſe.
Thy face is to my humour made,
Another it may fright!
Perhaps by ſome fond whim betray'd
In oddneſs I delight.
Vain girl, to your confuſion know
'Tis to my love's exceſs
You all your fancy'd beauties owe,
Which fade as that grows leſs.
For your own ſake, if not for mine,
You ſhould preſerve my fire;
Since goddeſs you no more will ſhine,
When I no more admire.
By me indeed you are allow'd
The wonder of your kind;
But be not of my judgment proud,
Whom love has render'd blind.

HEADACH.

PASTORA's *Wiſh.*

A Farmer's ſon, ye gods, *Paſtora* cries,
A farmer's ſon delights my raviſh'd eyes;
My *Colin* clout, whoſe ruddy cheeks do glow,
Is far more lovely than a paleface'd beau.
With joy and pleaſure I could ſpend my life
'Midſt rural ſcenes, were I but *Colin*'s wife:
Nor further I my wiſhes would extend
Than to be *Colin*'s ſpouſe and *Colin*'s friend.
Let others like in town 'mongſt fops to be;
My *Colin* and a country life for me.
Let city nymphs in empty ſhows delight,
And pleaſe with trifles their deluded ſight;
The graſſy meadows, and the fruitful field,
To me will much more pleaſant proſpects yield.
Let courtly ladies more polite and gay
At *Farinelli*'s ſoftneſs die away;
Each feather'd warbler will afford to me
Much ſweeter and much ſweeter notes than he:
While *Montagnana* with *Stentorian* throat
Is ſinging ditties in a deeper note,
Paſtora ſhall be pleas'd as well to th' full
To hear the bellowing of a roaring bull.
'Tis moſt harmonious muſick to my ear
The lowing herd and bleating flocks to hear:
I love to ſee the tender lambkins play,
And ſkipping calves o'er verdant paſtures ſtray;
To have my hens and turkies round me ſtand,
To feed them with a kind and bounteous hand;
To ſee the reapers in a ſummer's morn
With whetted ſickles cut the yellow corn;
To ſee the loaded team come home at night,
(A loaded team is a delightful ſight;)
Oh theſe are pleaſures that are far beyond
The vain diverſions of the gay *beau monde*.
Then gods, to me my deareſt *Colin* give,
And bleſt and happy ſhall *Paſtora* live.

An unanſwerable Apology for the Rich.

ALL bounteous heav'n, 'CaſTalio cries,
'With bended knees, and lifted eyes,
'When ſhall I have the pow'r to bleſs,
'And raiſe up merit in diſtreſs;
How do our hearts *deceive* us here!
He gets ten thouſand pounds a year:
With this the pious youth is able
To build, and plant, and keep a table,
But then the poor he muſt not treat:
Who aſks the wretch that wants, to eat?
Alas! to eaſe their woes he wiſhes,
But cannot live without ten diſhes:
Tho' ſix would ſerve as well, 'tis true;
But, one muſt live, as others do!
He now feels wants, unknown before,
Wants ſtill increaſing with his ſtore.
The good *Caſtalio* muſt provide
Brocade and jewels for his bride.
Her toilet ſhines with plate emboſs'd;
What ſums her lace and linen coſt!
The cloaths that muſt his perſon grace,
Shine with embroidery and lace.
The coſtly pride of *Perſian* looms,
And *Guido*'s paintings grace his rooms.
His wealth *Caſtalio* will not waſte;
But muſt have ev'ry thing in taſte.
He's an œconomiſt confeſt;
But what he buys muſt be the beſt:
For common uſe a ſet of plate;
Old china, when he dines in ſtate;
A coach and ſix to take the air,
Beſides a chariot and a chair.
All theſe important calls ſupply'd,
Calls of neceſſity, not pride,
His income, regularly ſpent;
He ſcarcely ſaves to pay his rent,
No man alive would do more good,
Or give more freely,——if he cou'd:
He grieves whene'er the wretched ſue;
But what can poor *Caſtalio* do?
Wou'd heaven but ſend ten thouſand more,
He'll give——juſt as he did before.

The Paſtoral, Reading *Bards*, *Epiſtle to Miſs* W--t--n--ll *in our next*. *And the* mournful Apology, Sturdy Beggar, *&c. as ſoon as poſſible.*

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

TUESDAY, *Feb.* 1.

HE Lords Commiſſioners appointed to repreſent his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, (who was at this Time indiſpos'd) ordered Sir *Charles Dalton*, Gentleman - Uſher of the Black Rod, to go to the Houſe of Commons, and require their Attendance in the Houſe of Peers. The Commons attended accordingly, and the Lord High Chancellor made the following Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN purſuance of the Authority given us by his Majeſty's Commiſſion under the Great Seal, amongſt other Things, to declare the Cauſes of his holding this Parliament, we are, by his Majeſty's Command, in the firſt Place to obſerve to you, That his Majeſty acquainted you laſt Year, that he had, in Conjunction with the States General, given his Approbation of certain preliminary Articles, concerted and agreed upon between the Emperor and *France* for reſtoring the Peace of *Europe*; and that a further Convention concerning the Execution of them, had been communicated to him by both thoſe Courts; and that Negociations were carrying on by the ſeveral Powers engaged in the late War, in order to ſettle the general Pacification.

We are now commanded by his Majeſty to inform you, that the reſpective Acts of Ceſſion being exchanged, and Orders given for the Evacuation and Poſſeſſion of the ſeveral Countries and Places by the Powers concerned, according to the Allotment and Diſpoſition of the preliminary Articles, the great Work of re-eſtabliſhing the general Tranquillity is far advanced; however, it is his Majeſty's Opinion, that common Prudence calls upon us to be very attentive to, and obſerve the final Concluſion of this new Settlement of ſuch conſiderable Parts of *Europe*: It is to be hoped, that a general and laſting Tranquillity will follow this Reſtitution of Peace, and that the Renewal of Friendſhip and Alliances for the Preſervation of it among the ſeveral Princes and Powers of *Europe*, will remove all Dangers and Apprehenſions of any new Troubles and Diſorders; but his Majeſty apprehends, that an indolent Security, and too great a Diſregard to future Events, may occaſion Miſchiefs, more eaſy to be prevented, than to be remedied; and that it would be very unadviſeable to leave ourſelves in ſo defenceleſs a Condition, as to encourage any Enterprizes, which the Enemies to the publick Peace may have vainly ſuggeſted, and flattered themſelves with the Hopes of.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

His Majeſty has ordered the proper Officers to lay before you the Eſtimates for the Service of the current Year: As ſoon as the Circumſtances of the Times would permit, his Majeſty was pleaſed to make ſuch a Reduction of ſome Part of the publick Expences, for the Eaſe of his People, as was conſiſtent with the Peace and Safety of his Kingdoms, the Security of our Commerce, and the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to direct us to acquaint you, that he hath ſeen with the greateſt Satisfaction the unwearied Application of this Parliament, in framing good Laws for advancing the Proſperity and ſecuring the Welfare of his loving Subjects: And that it hath been one of his Majeſty's principal Cares to enforce them by a due Execution, with the ſtricteſt Regard to the Rights and Properties of his People, no Invaſion whereof, can, with any Colour, be ſuggeſted by the moſt malicious Enemies of the preſent Eſtabliſhment: Whilſt this hath been our Condition, his Majeſty cannot but obſerve, that it muſt be Matter of the utmoſt Surprize and Concern to every true Lover of his Country, to ſee the many Contrivances and Attempts carried on in various Shapes, and in different Parts of the Nation, tumultuouſly to reſiſt and obſtruct the Execution of the Laws, and to violate the Peace of the Kingdom. Theſe Diſturbers of the Publick Repoſe, conſcious, that the Intereſts of his Majeſty and his People are the ſame, and of the good Harmony which happily ſubſiſts between him and his Parliament, have levell'd their Sedition againſt both; and in their late Outrages have either directly oppoſed, or, at leaſt, endeavoured to render ineffectual ſome Acts of the whole Legiſlature. His Majeſty in his great Wiſdom thinks it affords a melancholy Proſpect, to conſider to what Height theſe audacious Practices may riſe, if not timely ſuppreſſed; and that it deſerves no ſmall Attention, that they may go on to affect private Perſons in the quiet Enjoyment of their Property, as well as the general Peace and good Order of the Whole. His Majeſty apprehends it to be unneceſſary to enlarge upon a Subject of this Nature, and therefore hath commanded us barely to mention

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tion it to you, who, by the conſtant Tenor of your Conduct, have ſhewn, that you conſider the Support of his Authority and the Security of his Government, as inſeparable from the Preſervation of the publick Tranquillity, and your own Safety.

WEDNESDAY, 2.

The Addreſs of the Rt. Hon. the Houſe of Lords was this Day preſented to his Majeſty, which is as follows.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal *Subjects*, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in *Parliament* aſſembled, beg Leave to approach your Throne with Hearts full of that *Zeal* and Affection for your Perſon and Government, which become the moſt faithful Subjects to the beſt of Kings.

Our Duty and Gratitude to your Majeſty have, on many Occaſions of this Nature, called upon us to lay at your Royal Feet our thankful Acknowledgments for preſerving to your own Subjects the Bleſſings of Peace; and the additional Motive of our unfeigned Regard to the common Intereſts of *Europe*, in which it is impoſſible for this Nation to be unconcerned, makes us now receive, with great Satisfaction, your gracious Communication, That the Re-eſtabliſhment of the general Tranquillity is far advanced.

How happy and ſecure ſoever your Majeſty's Wiſdom, under the Protection of the Divine *Providence*, may render theſe Kingdoms; it was impoſſible for us to remain wholly unaffected with the Miſeries of War, ſuffered by other Parts of Chriſtendom; and we cannot but rejoice in the pleaſing Hopes, that all Dangers and Apprehenſions of new Troubles may be happily removed.

At the ſame Time, we eſteem it a freſh Inſtance of your Majeſty's never failing Care of the publick Welfare, that you put us in Mind to be attentive to the final Concluſion of this great Work. As your Majeſty hath, on your Part, diſtinguiſhed your paternal Tenderneſs for your People, in not permitting them to be raſhly involved in the Calamities of War; it would be the moſt unbecoming Return for ſo great a Benefit, to ſhew any Signs of an indolent Security: And we beſeech your Majeſty to accept the ſtrongeſt and moſt affectionate Aſſurances, that we can never entertain the leaſt Thought of leaving our ſelves in a defenceleſs Condition; but that we will always chearfully concur in all ſuch Meaſures, as ſhall be neceſſary to maintain the Honour and Safety of your Majeſty and your Government, and the true Intereſt of your Kingdoms.

The gracious Approbation which your Majeſty is pleaſed to give of the Conduct of this Parliament affords us great Comfort and Encouragement; and your vigilant Care to execute the Laws with Juſtice and Impartiality, and to protect the Rights and Properties of all your Subjects, fills our Minds with the moſt laſting Impreſſions of Thankfulneſs. Under this deep Senſe of our Obligations to your Majeſty, we cannot ſufficiently expreſs our Deteſtation of thoſe inſolent Riots and Tumults, which have of late appeared, in different Parts of the Kingdom, in Defiance of the Law, and Violation of the publick Peace. Every Part of the Behaviour of theſe daring Offenders appears to us as weak and unreaſonable, as it is wicked; except that they have conſidered the Intereſts and Views of your Majeſty and your Parliament as being ſo cloſely united, that it was impoſſible to traduce or oppoſe the one, without including the other. Our Duty, as well as our Safety, makes it incumbent upon us to give another Mark of this happy Union, by teſtifying our humble Concurrence in your Majeſty's juſt Opinion, that ſuch audacious Practices ought to be timely ſuppreſſed: And, as we do, with the firmeſt Confidence, rely on your Majeſty's Authority being prudently and vigorouſly exerted for this neceſſary End; ſo we aſſure your Majeſty, with the greateſt Sincerity, that our Endeavours and Aſſiſtance ſhall never be wanting to ſupport that Authority, and to preſerve the Quiet and Security of the Nation.

To which Addreſs his Majeſty return'd the following moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this dutiful and loyal Addreſs. The Affection you ſhew to my Perſon and Government gives me the greateſt Satisfaction.

My principal Care is to ſecure to my People the Bleſſings of Peace, and the full and undiſturbed Enjoyment of all their Civil and Religious Rights; and to preſerve the Tranquillity and good Order of the Kingdom.

The Continuance of the good Harmony between me and my Parliament will enable me to purſue with Effect theſe great and deſirable Ends.

THURSDAY, 3.

The Addreſs of the Hon. Houſe of Commons was preſented to the King, as follows.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects the Commons of *Great Britain*, in Parliament aſſembled, return your Majeſty our moſt humble Thanks for the Speech delivered, by your Majeſty's Command, to both Houſes of Parliament.

We ſee, with great Satisfaction, the happy Proſpect of the final Concluſion of the general Pacification of *Europe*; and when we remember your Majeſty's unwearied Endeavours to prevent this Nation from being involved in the Calamities of a deſtructive War, and your conſtant Application in contributing to the utmoſt of your Power towards the great Work of reſtoring Peace, from the tender Care and Concern, which your Majeſty has

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always shewn for the future Peace and Prosperity of your People, as well as for the common Welfare of Mankind, we make no doubt but that your Majesty will continue to co-operate with your good Allies, that the Conclusion of the Peace may be attended with a general and lasting Tranquillity.

Duty and Gratitude to your Majesty, and a due Regard to our own Interests and Security, will engage us not to neglect any necessary Precautions, which may best conduce to enable your Majesty to disappoint and defeat all groundless Hopes and Expectations, which the deluded Enemies of the publick Peace may have vainly suggested and flattered themselves with.

And we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, That we will chearfully and effectually raise the Supplies necessary for the Service of the current Year, and support your Majesty in all such Measures, as shall be found requisite to preserve the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, the Security of our Commerce, and the Honour and Interests of your Majesty and your Dominions.

Most gracious Sovereign,

Your faithful Commons cannot, without a just Indignation, observe the Spirit of Faction and Sedition, which has lately manifested it self in traducing and misrepresenting the Legislature, in contemning all Authority, and in open Defiance to the Laws of the Land.

It is with the highest Sense of Duty and Gratitude, we acknowledge your Majesty's Goodness, not only in your ready Concurrence to all such wholesome Laws, as have been from Time to Time prepared by your Parliament, but in your constant Care to enforce them by a due Execution, with the strictest Regard to the Rights and Properties of your People, and without the least Colour and Shadow of any Design or Attempt to stretch or violate the known Laws of this Realm.

We cannot sufficiently express our Abhorrence of the many wicked and detestable Practices, which the Disturbers of the Publick Repose have secretly fomented, and openly carried on in tumultuously resisting and obstructing the Execution of the Laws and violating the Peace of the Kingdom.

And we your faithful Commons do assure your Majesty, That being fully persuaded, that the Preservation of the Publick Tranquillity, and our own Safety, are inseparable from the Security of your Government, we will support your Royal Authority in suppressing and subduing all seditious and riotous Attempts, that threaten the very Being of our happy Constitution, and the utter Subversion of those Liberties, which have been made the specious Pretence for committing these outrageous Disorders.

The KING's *Answer.*

HIS Majesty returns this House his Thanks for their most dutiful and loyal Address; and shall always esteem their Zeal and Affection for his Person and Government, as the best and most acceptable Return for his constant Endeavours to render this Nation happy and flourishing, both at Home and Abroad.

His Majesty relies upon the Wisdom of his Parliament, to frame such Laws as shall be necessary to strengthen and support the Authority of his Government, in preserving the Publick Tranquillity, and securing the Rights and Properties of his People; and his faithful Commons may depend upon him for a just and due Execution of them.

THURSDAY, 10.

Robert Nixon, the Nonjuring Parson, who was convicted the Sittings after last *Michaelmas* Term, of Writing, Printing, and Publishing, a vile, scandalous, and audacious Libel, reflecting upon the Legislature of this Kingdom, and blowing up the same, together with five Acts of the last Session of Parl. in *Westminster Hall*, while the Courts were sitting, was brought to the Court of *King's Bench*; and the Court gave Sentence as follows, viz. *That he should pay a Fine of* 200 *Marks, suffer five Years Imprisonment, and until he has paid the said Fine, and to give Security for his good Behaviour for five Years, himself in* 500*l. and two Sureties in* 250*l. each; and that he should be brought up immediately to the several Courts then sitting in* Westminster-Hall, *with a Parchment round his Head, denoting the Nature of his Crime*; which latter Part of his Sentence was performed accordingly.

SATURDAY, 12.

A Cause between *Charles Christopher de Baise* from *Ireland*, Plaintiff, and *George Mackenzie*, Esq; Defendant, was argued before the Court of *Common Pleas*; and the Question being, Whether the Defendant should be held to Special Bail, upon a Sentence pronounced by the Bailiff of *Meaden* in *France* for 20000 Livres, which the Plaintiff had sworn were equal to 1000*l. English* Money? And it appearing to the Court, that there was no real Debt subsisting and owing by the Defendant to the Plaintiff; but that the Sentence of the said Bailiff had been originally pronounced, merely by Way of Penalty, by a Puisney Judge in *France*, whose said Sentence stands reversed by the Parliament of *Paris*; the Court was therefore of Opinion, that there appeared no probable Cause of Action, and therefore discharg'd the Defendant without holding him to Special Bail.

THURSDAY, 17.

This Day his Majesty appeared in the Drawing-Room, being recovered of his late Illness; where there was a numerous Assembly

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bly to congratulate his Majesty on that Occasion.

SATURDAY, 19.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Baily*, when the 5 following Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. William Maw*, a Soldier, for murdering a Watchman; *Jeffrey Moratt*, a Black, for breaking open the Marquess of *Lindsey*'s House; *Mary Shrewsbury*, for murdering her Bastard Child; *Charles Orchard*, for a Robbery on the Highway; *John Watson*, for robbing his Master of Plate.

MONDAY, 21.

This Night a great Disturbance happened at *Drury-Lane* Play House, occasioned by a great Number of Footmen, who assembled themselves there in a riotous Manner, with great Outcries of burning the House and Audience together, unless they were immediately admitted into what they call their Gallery; and in order to strike a Terror, they began to hew down the Door of the Passage which leads to the said Gallery; of which Colonel *De Veil*, (who was in the House) had immediate Notice, and thereupon came out where they were thus assembled, and notwithstanding they threatned to knock his Brains out, he read the Proclamation to them, admonished them to retire and desist from so unlawful an Undertaking; for that he came as a Friend, and not as a Foe, to warn them of their Danger. This Admonition, and seasonably reading the Proclamation, had its desired Effect, for they all went off in a few Minutes after the Proclamation was read.

TUESDAY, 22.

This Day his Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the Malt Tax Bill, and to two Naturalization Bills.

FRIDAY, 25.

At the Sessions of Admiralty which ended this Day at the *Old Baily*, 4 Prisoners receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Nicholas Williams*, the Mate, and *Edward Johnson* for the Murder of *Benjamin Howes*, Master of the *Dove Brigantine*, and *Lawrence Sennett*, for Piratically revolting and running away with the said *Brigantine*; and *Richard Coyle*, for the Murder of *Benjamin Hartley*, Master of the *St. John Pink*.

One *Thomas Mudd*, of *Carnaby* Market, had a Word or two with his Wife, and he offering to sit in his Wife's Lap, she having a Knife by her Side, stabbed him thro' the Back, upon which he drop'd down dead; and she was immediately carried before a Justice, who committed her to *Newgate*. The Coroner's Inquest sate on the Body, and brought in their Verdict, *Wilful Murder*.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

LORD *Percival* to the Lady *Catherine Cecil*, second Sister to the Earl of *Salisbury*.

Mr. *Joshua Russel*, an eminent Brewer in *Ratcliff Highway*, to Miss *Horseman*, Daughter of the late eminent Counsellor of that Name.

Richard Pitcher, of *Dorsetshire*, Esq; to the Daughter of *William Hellyar*, Esq; formerly Knight of the Shire for the County of *Somerset*.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord Justice-Clerk in *Scotland* was safely delivered of a Son.

DEATHS.

MR. Deputy *Riley*, an eminent Linnen Draper in *Cornhill*.

Sir *Charles Peers*, Knt. Alderman of the *Tower* Ward, and Father of the City, one of the Commissioners of the Customs, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the *Tower* Hamlets, one of the Commissioners for finishing St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, and Colonel of the yellow Regiment of City Train-Bands.

Richard Darby, Esq; Secondary to *George Cooke*, Esq; Prothonotary of the Court of *Common Pleas*. This Mr. *Darby* was Father to Mr. *Darby*, killed some Years ago in the *Temple* by *Henry Fysher*.

Rev. Mr. *Thormond*, Fellow of *Clare-Hall*, in *Cambridge*.

Sir *Henry Hankey*, Knt. Alderman of *Langbourn* Ward.

John de Fonvive, Esq; formerly Author of the *Postman*.

Rt. Hon. the Countess of *Drogheda*, in Child-bed.

Rt. Hon. *George Hamilton* Earl of *Orkney*, and Lord *Sletland*, one of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, Governor of *Virginia*; Constable, Governor, and Captain of *Edinburgh* Castle, Knight of the most Antient and Hon. Order of the Thistle, Lord Lieut. of the County of *Clydesdale*, one of the Field Marshals of his Majesty's Forces both Horse and Foot, and Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Foot.

At *Naas* in *Ireland*, as he was going to *Dublin*, the Hon. Col. *Otway*.

At *Edinburgh*, in the 54th Year of his Age, the Right Hon. Sir *Hugh Dalrymple*, of *North Berwick*, Lord President of the Court of Session.

Joseph Paice, Esq; one of the *Bank* Directors, and an Executor of the late *Samuel Wright* of *Newington*, Esq;

In the Rules of the *Fleet*, aged 80, Capt. *William Wallis*, a Favourite of the late King *William*, who was with him in all his Wars in *Flanders*, and in the Chamber with him when he died. Being unfortunately engaged for the Receiver General of the Excise, in the Beginning of the Reign of Q. *Anne*, his Estate was seized upon for the Revenues of Excise; since which he has been supported by the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom.

Sir *Harbottle Luckyn* of *Messing-hall*, Es-

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ſex, Elder Brother of the Lord Viſcount *Grimſton*.

At his Seat in *Huntingdonſhire*, Sir *John Hewitt*, Bart.

William Churchill, Eſq; who formerly repreſented the Town of *Ipſwich* in Parliament, was one of the Commiſſioners for the Sick and Wounded in the late Reign, and Deputy Treaſurer of the Ordnance: He was Bookſeller, Bookbinder, and Stationer to his Majeſty.

Brigadier General *Kane*, Governor of *Minorca*.

Lady *Leigh*, Wife of Sir *John Leigh*, of *Addington*, *Kent*, aged about 20; Sir *John Leigh* being upwards of 70, and married her about three Years ago.

At his Houſe in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, in the 54th Year of his Age, the Right Hon. *Charles* Lord *Talbot*, Baron *Henſol*, Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain*, and one of the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council. His Virtues in *private Life* make his Loſs univerſally regretted; and his Juſtice, Penetration, Wiſdom, Sweetneſs of Temper, and unbiaſſed Integrity, in every Action of his *publick Life*, will cauſe his Death to be long conſidered by all Mankind as a publick Calamity. (See more of his Character, p. 94, 95.) He was eldeſt Son of the late Lord Biſhop of *Durham*. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his eldeſt Son, the Hon. *William Talbot*, Eſq; now Lord *Henſol*.

At his Chambers in the *Temple*, Mr. *Samuel Strutt*, an Attorney, Author of ſeveral Pieces.

Gilbert Thompſon, Eſq; formerly Deputy Commiſſary for *Scotland*.

At *Harrow on the Hill*, the Rev. Mr. *Spooner*.

Mr. *Pepys*, an eminent Sadler in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, and Common-Council-Man for that Ward.

Rev. Mr. *Thomas Rawcliff*, Rector of *Pilleſdon*, *Dorſetſhire*, and of *Hardington*, *Somerſetſhire*.

Hon. Col. *Scot*, of the Third Regiment of Foot-Guards.

At *Boſton* in *New-England*, *Oct.* 6. the Lady of his Excellency Governor *Belcher*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Henry Bradley* preſented to the Vicarage of *Hackſey*, *Lincolnſhire*.

Mr. *Willinm Baſſet* to the Vicarage of *Willerby*, *Yorkſhire*.

Mr. *Naphtali Huſſey* to the Rectory of *Eaſt Morſey*, *Eſſex*.

Mr. *Rawlins* to the Living of *Lidiard Tregoze*, *Wilts*.

The Right Rev. Dr. *John Potter*, Lord Biſhop of *Oxford*, promoted to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Canterbury*, in the Room of Archbp. *Wake*, deceas'd.

Mr. *Conyers Place*, Senior, preſented to the Rectory of *Poxwell*, *Dorſetſhire*; and his Son, Mr. *Conyers Place*, to the Rectory of *Marnhall*, in the ſame County.

Mr. *Samuel Staines* to the Rectory of *Winſrith*, *Dorſetſhire*.

Mr. *Packer* to the Rectory of *Shellingford*, *Berks*.

Mr. *Stillingfleet*, Grandſon to the late learned Biſhop of *Worceſter* of that Name, made a Prebendary of *Worceſter*, in the room of the late Mr. *Davis*.

Mr. *Nathaniel Bridges* preſented to the Rectory of *Hardington*, *Somerſetſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

WILLIAM *Cheſelden*, Eſq; Surgeon to her Majeſty, made Surgeon to *Cheſſea-Hoſpital*, in the room of the late *Alexander Ingliſh*, Eſq;

And Mr. *Paulet* of St. *James's-ſtreet*, ſucceeds the Deceaſed as Surgeon-General to the Army.

John Moyle of *Croſs*, Eſq; appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince, Sheriff of the County of *Cornwall*.

Joſeph Hankey, Eſq; choſen Alderman of *Langbourn* Ward, in the room of his late Father, Sir *Henry*. And *Daniel Lambert*, Eſq; choſen Alderman of *Tower* Ward, in the room of the late Sir *Charles Peers*.

Lord *Delawar* made Governor of *Virginia*, in the room of the late Earl of *Orkney*.

Earl of *Selkirk* made Governor of *Edinburgh-Caſtle*.

Hon. *John Lumley*, Eſq; made Gentleman of the Horſe to the King, in the room of the late Hon. *Henry Berkeley*, Eſq;

Thomas Pelham, Eſq Memb. of Parl. for *Lewes*, *Suſſex*, appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the King of *Sardinia*.

Mr. *Nathaniel Cowderay* made Clerk of the Debentures in the *Exchequer*, in the room of the late Mr. *Chocke*.

Mr. *Parkhurſt* of the Annuity-Office, ſucceeds Mr. *Cowderay* as Clerk of the Regiſters. And Mr. *Farnicroſt* ſucceeds Mr. *Parkhurſt* in the Annuity-Office.

Thomas Robinſon, Eſq; Sollicitor of the Poſt-Office, appointed Secretary of the ſaid Office, in the room of Mr. *William Rous*, who reſigned.

William Pool, Eſq; made Receiver-General of the Stamp-Duties, in the room of the late *Henry Cartwright*, Eſq;

Brigadier General *Hargrave* appointed Governor of *Minorca* in the room of Brigadier-General *Kane*, deceaſed.

Capt. *Patterſon* made Major of the Train of Artillery, in the room of the late Major *Bonfield*; and is ſucceeded as Capt. of the Artillery at *Port-Mahon*, by Lieut. *Simpſon*.

William Blair, Eſq; made a Commiſſioner of the Stamp-Duties, in the room of *Brin-*

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Ley Skinner, Esq; made his Majesty's Resident at *Venice*.

William Brydges, Esq; made Secretary to the Commissioners of Stamp-Duties.

James Hamilton of *Calder*, Esq; made Keeper of the Selfines at *Edinburgh*.

John Emerson, Esq; made Captain in General *Grove*'s Regiment of Foot.

The Rt. Hon. *Philip* Lord *Hardwicke*, L. C. J. of the *King*'s *Bench*, made Lord High Chancellor, in the room of the late Lord *Henfol*.

And Mr. Justice *Lee* made Lord Chief Justice of the *King*'s *Bench*, in his room.

Mr. *Charles* chosen Head Master of St. *Paul*'s-*School*, in the room of the Rev. Mr. *Crump*, deceas'd.

The following Gentlemen are newly elected Members of Parliament, *viz.*

William Bromley, Esq;	for *Oxford University*.
John Boscawen, Esq;	for *Tregony*, Cornwall.
John Strange, Esq;	for *Westloe*, Cornwall.
Gilbert Affleck, Esq;	for *Cambridge Town*.
Admiral *Stewart*,	for *Portsmouth*.
Capt. *Ingram*,	for *Horsham*, *Suffex*.
John Neal, Esq;	for *Coventry*.

PERSONS *declared* BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *Earle*, late of *Shepton Mallett*, *Somerset*, Mercer and Chapman.

Martha Mawle, of *Thames-Street*, *London*, Widow, Dealer in Lime.

Anne Finch, of *Stockton upon Tees*, in the County *Palatine* of *Durham*, Mercer.

Paul Clandon of *Frith Street*, *Middlesex*, Grocer.

Edmund Hay of *Swithin's-Lane*, *London*, Broker and Chapman.

John Moore, of *Leaden-hall-Market*, Poulterer.

Samuel Bull, of the *Minories*, Mercer and Chapman.

Thomas Knight, of St. *James*'s Parish, *Westminster*, Joiner.

James Poulton, junior, of *Darking*, *Surrey*, Taylor.

John Standerwicke, of *Taunton*, *Somersetshire*, Maltster.

Thomas Pyke, of *Clare-market*, Grocer.

John Ward, of *Fore-street*, *London*, Grocer.

Thomas Maslen, of *Week*, *Wilts*, Clothier.

James Martin, of *Minster*, Isle of *Sheppy*, Chapman.

Miles Wrag, of *Great Grimsby*, Distiller.

Timothy Kitchingham, of *Leeds*, Clothworker.

William Atkinson, late of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, Draper.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. *Sea*	101 ¾	*Afric.*	14
—*Bonds*	3 15	*Royal Aff.*	108
—*Annu.*	113	*Lon. ditto*	14 ⅓ a ½
Bank	151 ½ a ⅝	3 *per C. An.*	105 ⅜
—*Circ.*	2l 2s 6d	*Eng. Copper*	
Mil. Bank	120	*Salt Tallies*	2 a 3 ½
India	179 ¼ a ⅝	*Emp. Loan*	113 ⅛
—*Bonds*	6l. 9	*Equiv.*	115 ½ a ¾

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst.	35 2	*Bilboa*	41 ⅛ a ½
D. Sight	35	*Leghorn*	50 a ⅛
Rotter.	35 3 a 4	*Genoa*	53 a ⅛
Hamb.	34	*Venice*	50 ⅜
P. Sight	32 ¼	*Lisb.*	5 5 ¾ a 6a5 ⅞
Bourdx.	31 ¾	*Oport.*	5 5 ¼ a ⅜
Cadiz	42	*Antw.*	35 6
Madrid	42	*Dublin*	10 ⅛ a ½

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	30 35	*Oates*	11 14
Rye	12 16	*Tares*	22 24
Barley	13 18	*Peafe*	20 22
H. Beans	20 22	*H. Peafe*	16 17
P. Malt	19 21	*B. Malt*	17 18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Jna.* 25 to *Feb.* 22.

Chriſtned	Males 701, Females 688	1389	
Buried	Males 926, Females 989	1915	
Died under 2 Years old			689
Between 2 and 5			171
5	10		56
10	20		61
20	30		144
30	40		176
40	50		191
50	60		155
60	70		129
70	80		89
80	90		46
90 and upwards			8
			1915

Hay 42 to 45*s.* a Load.

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FROM *Paris* we have an Account of the following Piece of *Prelatical Compliance* with what are ſuppoſ'd to be the Sentiments of the *Prime Miniſter*. A poor Prebend of a Church near *Doway* died about the Beginning of this Month, N. S. and though they would not allow him to be buried in the Burying-Ground belonging to the Prebends of that Church, becauſe he had lived and died an Appellant from the Conſtitution *Unigenitus*, yet he was buried by his Relations in another Burying-Ground with the uſual Ceremonies of the *Romiſh* Church. But the zealous, or rather courtly Biſhop of *Arras*, not content with the Indignity put upon the Deceaſed, by refuſing to allow him a Place in the Burying-Ground belonging to his Fraternity, inſiſted that he ought not to have had Chriſtian Burial; and, therefore, ordered the Corpſe to be taken up, and put into the Earth again, with the Head downwards, ſo that the Poſteriors and Legs were left forking up above Ground, to the great Scandal of all Spectators. As this gave a moſt reaſonable Offence to his Relations, they immediately made their Complaint to the Parliament of *Paris*, within whoſe Juriſdiction the Place happened to be, and as that Parliament is not quite ſo complaiſant to the Prime Miniſter as ſome of their Neighbours, they were like to have taken the Prelate ſeverely to Taſk, on the 10th, but the firſt Preſident *le Pelletier*, who ſince his Promotion, has become a downright Courtier, adjourn'd them to the 14th, and in the Interim out comes an Arret of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Council, forbidding the Parliament to take any Cognizance of that Affair; whereupon they have reſolved to remonſtrate; but conſidering the numerous ſtanding Army in that Kingdom, it is thought their Remonſtrance will not be much regarded.

As this Nation has often out-done the *French* in Feats of Arms, ſo now they begin to out-do them in Feats of Gallantry, as appears from the following Piece of private Hiſtory. Mademoiſelle *Salle*, famous both at *Paris* and *London* for her fine Dancing, was no leſs famous for her Chaſtity; inſomuch, that ſhe obtain'd the Name of Veſtal, a Character not very common to the Ladies of the Stage, eſpecially when the Charms of their Perſon co-operate with the Charms of their Acting or Dancing in throwing Temptations in their Way. This young Mademoiſelle had for ſeveral Years withſtood the Attacks of all the *Petit Maitres* in *France*, both of high and low Degree. They cut Capers, ſaid ſoft Things, wrote Sonnets, and ſwore they were a dying, but all to no Purpoſe; Mademoiſelle's Heart remained as cool as a Cucumber; ſo that at laſt they began to impute her Chaſtity to the extraordinary Coldneſs of her Nature; for they were too vain to impute it to their own Want of Addreſs; but a young *Engliſh* Gentleman, to whom ſhe has ſurrendered, has convinced them of their Miſtake. This young Gentleman having fallen moſt furiouſly in Love with her, and at the ſame Time being informed of her extraordinary Coldneſs and Indifference towards the Male Sex, bethought himſelf of a Project for which Nature had compleatly formed him; for having a beautiful Perſon, and a Redundancy of Wit and Humour, he dreſſed himſelf in Woman's Apparel, and by Means of an Acquaintance of Mademoiſelle's, was introduced into an Aſſembly where ſhe often uſed to be: After this Introduction, by a ſingular Addreſs, he entirely concealed his Sex, and ſo artfully inſinuated himſelf into her Favour, that ſhe invited the young Lady, as ſhe thought, to take Part of her Bed, where the young Gentleman managed ſo artfully, and judged ſo nicely of the critical Minute, that ſhe diſcovered her Error with Pleaſure and Amaze, and cannot now go to Bed with any Comfort unleſs ſhe has the pretty young *Engliſh* Lady for her Bed-fellow.

The *Spaniards* finiſhed the Embarkation of their Troops at *Legborn* on the 29th of laſt Month, and the ſame Day their Tranſports, being 26 in Number, under Convoy of ſeven Men of War ſet Sail with a favourable Wind for *Spain*. On the 10th of laſt Month, the Commiſſioners for taking Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Bar* in the Name of King *Staniſlaus*, being arrived in that City, the Letters Patent by which the Duke abſolved the Subjects of that Dutchy from all Allegiance to him, were read; and then in preſence of the ſaid Commiſſioners they took a new Oath to K. *Staniſlaus*, with the uſual Ceremonies. About the ſame Time the *French* delivered up Fort *Kehl* and *Philipſbourg* to the *Germans*, having firſt demoliſh'd all the new Works which had been added by the *French* ſince they were in their Poſſeſſion.

On the 20th Inſtant N. S. the Count *de Maurepas*, Secretary of State, went by the King of *France*'s Orders, to the Sieur *Chauvelin*'s, Keeper of the Seals of *France*, and Miniſter and Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, to demand the Seals to be delivered up, and he afterwards carried them to his Majeſty, who gave the Seals to the Sieur *Daguesſeau*, Chancellor of *France*, and appointed the Sieur *Amelot*, Intendant of the Finances, to be Miniſter and Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, and the Sieur *Orry de Fulvy*, to be Intendant of the Finances; but what was the Cauſe of this great Change in the Adminiſtration, or what Alterations it may produce in their Politicks, does not yet appear.

The

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

1. THE Beauties of the *Engliſh* Stage. Printed for Meſſ. *Ward* and *Chandler*, 2 Vols. 12mo, price 5*s*.

2. The Rival Milliners; A Paſtoral. By Mr. *Drury*. Printed for *G. Spawan*, pr. 1*s*.

3. A Poem occaſion'd by the Death of *Charles Talbot*, Lord High-Chancellor of *Great Britain*. Printed for *C. Corbet*, pr. 1*s*.

4. The True Great Man: A Poem to the Memory of the Lord-Chancellor *Talbot*. Printed for Meſſ. *Ward* and *Chandler*, pr. 6*d*.

5. Folly: A Poem. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

6. The King and the Miller of *Manſfield*. By *R. Dodſley*. Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

7. The Diſeaſes of the *Bath*: A Satire. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

8. *Fra. Cipolla*, alias Father *Onion*, a Tale in *Boccace*. Printed for *T. Read*, price 1*s*.

9. *Donna Clara* to her Daughter *Tereſa*: An Epiſtle. By *H. Jacob*, Eſq; Printed for *W. Lewis*, price 6*d*.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

MARCH, 1737.

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

FOR the Benefit of the Publick, as well as thoſe who may be particularly concerned, I deſire the Favour you will publiſh the following Remarks upon the Right a Man may have to any Office, or to continue in it after he has once been preferred to it, by the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and the Rules of common Juſtice.

The general Rule, that all Poſts of Honour and Profit ought to be given gratuitouſly to thoſe who have the moſt Merit, is certainly right; but this Rule has in all Countries, and in all Ages, been found to be impracticable, with reſpect to all thoſe Offices which are in the Diſpoſal of any one Man: It has always been found, that the Artifices of thoſe who are about a Court, and the Favour of great Men, generally gained by ſervile, often by criminal Methods, have triumphed over Virtue, and have left the moſt diſtinguiſhed Merit grovelling in the Duſt.

For remedying this Evil, Recourſe has been had in ſome Countries to popular Elections; and where ſuch Elections are carried on, without Bribery or Corruption, it is certain that the ſucceſsful Candidate muſt either have the moſt diſtinguiſhed Merit, or he muſt at leaſt have the Appearance of it: A Man of no Honour or Capacity, a Man openly profligate and abandoned, may be the Favourite of one Man, and may for that Reaſon be preferred to a Man of real Merit and Virtue; whereas the Favour of the People can never be gained but by the Appearance, at leaſt, of ſomething laudable and honourable; from whence we muſt conclude, that the Method of preferring Men to Poſts or Offices by popular Election, is the moſt certain Method of beſtowing them in that Manner in which every Man acknowledges they ought to be beſtowed; but this Method neceſſarily gives Occaſion to Cabal and Faction, which muſt be allowed to be a great Evil, tho' not ſo great as it is generally repreſented by the Ambitious and Aſpiring.

But in Countries where arbitrary Power is eſtabliſhed, the Prince is always jealous of lodging any Sort of Power in any Aſſembly of the People; and, therefore, inſtead of popular Elections, they ſometimes have recourſe to a publick Sale, and ſometimes to the making of Offices hereditary in certain particular Families: For an Example, we need only go to *France*, where moſt of the Poſts, or Offices in the Civil Government, eſpecially in the Law, are either hereditary, or are ſet up to publick Sale, and given to the beſt Bidder; for *Francis the Firſt* having obſerved, that moſt of theſe Offices were ſold privately by his Favourites, and the Money converted to their own Uſe, and knowing it was impoſſible for him to prevent this underhand Sort of Commerce, he reſolved that the Money ariſing by ſuch Sales, ſhould come to the Uſe of the Publick; for which purpoſe he firſt began to have thoſe Offices ſet up publickly to Sale, which Cuſtom has ever ſince continued, and in that Kingdom makes a conſiderable Branch of the Royal or Publick Revenue.

This Cuſtom may at firſt View ſeem a little ridiculous; but when we conſider ſeriouſly we muſt conclude, that in arbitrary Kingdoms, where there is no Check upon the Diſpoſal of any Office, the Cuſtom is not only reaſonable, but neceſſary, in which Opinion every Man may be confirmed by reading of the famous *Cardinal Richlieu*'s Political Teſtament *; for the Publick has a much better Lay to be well ſerved by a Man of a good Family, who by an hereditary Right ſucceeds to his Office, or by one who buys his Office, than by one who obtains it thro' thoſe Means which uſually prevail at Courts, or at the Levies of Miniſters; and if any ſuch Office be ſold, the King, or the Publick, has a much better Right to the Purchaſe Money than any private Man.

In this happy Kingdom, by the mixt Nature of our Government, we have a great Advantage with reſpect to the Diſpoſal of Offices, as well as we have in almoſt every other Reſpect. Some of the Offices in our Government are hereditary, ſome are at the ſole Diſpoſal of the King or thoſe deputed by him, and ſome are diſpoſed of by Way of popular Election; by which Means we avoid the dangerous Cabals and Factions incident to Governments altogether popular; and the Sale of Offices, as well as the Diſpoſal of them to unworthy Creatures, or mean Favourites, may be prevented by Means of thoſe Officers who are hereditary, or named by popular Election.

For illuſtrating what I have ſaid I muſt obſerve, that a Seat in either Houſe of Parliament is an Office in our Government, and an Office too, which, if faithfully and diligently executed, requires as cloſe an Attendance, and as great an Application, as any Office whatſoever; and conſidering the great Truſt and Confidence repoſed by the King and the People in the Members of each reſpective Houſe of Parliament, no private Excuſe for Non-Attendance, but Sickneſs ſufficiently atteſted ought ever to be admitted: It were indeed to be wiſhed, that ſome high Penalty were by Law inflicted upon every ſuch Neglect; and that a Forfeiture of the Office were made the certain Conſequence of a continued wilful Neglect.

With our Parliament there is a Power lodged of enquiring into the Diſpoſal of all Offices, from the loweſt Exciſeman to the higheſt Miniſters of State; and if any Office ſhould be granted unjuſtly, or to an unworthy Perſon, or from falſe Suggeſtions

* Chap. 4. Sect. 1.

or

or wicked Motives, they may certainly, with the King's Conſent, not only make void the Grant, but may puniſh thoſe Subjects who were the Authors of ſuch a Grant: So likewiſe if any Subject ſhould make a Trade of ſelling Offices, or any Way countenance ſuch a pernicious Commerce, they may enquire into it, and may puniſh the Offender: Therefore, while our Parliaments continue incorrupt and independent, we *may* expect that Merit and Virtue *will* always meet with a due *Regard*; and that even thoſe Offices, which are in the Diſpoſal of one ſingle Perſon, will be generally given to the moſt Worthy; or at leaſt that they will never be diſpoſed of to deſperate Tools, or ſlaviſh Sycophants. Nay, even with reſpect to our hereditary Offices, they will take Care that no Man ſhall make a wicked or corrupt Uſe of that Truſt, which the Publick has repoſed in his Family; and with reſpect to our popular Elections, they will take Care that none of them ſhall be influenced by any Sort of Bribery or Corruption, and then the Choice will always fall, as I have ſaid, upon the Man who has the moſt Merit, or at leaſt upon him who is the moſt generally thought to be the moſt deſerving.

Now, with regard to the Right which a Man may have to any Office or Imployment, it muſt always depend upon his Virtue and his Qualifications; for that Man has certainly the beſt Right who has the moſt Virtue, and is the beſt qualified for the Office for which he ſtands a Candidate. If ſuch a Man be diſappointed he is injured; and if he who had the Diſpoſal of that Office be ſenſible of his ſuperior Merit, he does him a wilful Injury, an Injury for which he ought to be puniſhed, in proportion to the Injury done, and the Motives he had for doing it. In ſuch a Caſe, the Publick is injured as well as the diſappointed Candidate; for the Diſpoſal of publick Places, or Offices, is never given to any Man, in order that he may provide for his Favourites, his Friends, or his Relations, but that he may pick out and provide the moſt proper Servants for the Publick; and if thro' a ſtupid Ignorance of Mankind, he ſhould commit any great and evident Miſtake, he ought to be turned out for want of Capacity; if from ſordid or ſelfiſh Views he ſhould commit a wilful Miſtake, he ought not only to be turned out of his Office, but he ought to be puniſhed for a Breach of Truſt.

As for the Method of judging about the Virtue and Qualifications of each Candidate, it is impoſſible to preſcribe any general Rule; but ſo far I will venture to ſay, that there is always a Preſumption in Favour of thoſe who have been in the ſame Office, or who are then in any inferior Poſts in the ſame Sort of Buſineſs, and of theſe the Perſon next in Rank is always to be preſumed the moſt capable. If a Regiment becomes vacant, the Lieutenant Colonel is certainly to be preſumed the fitteſt Perſon for ſucceeding to the Command of that Regiment: If the Maſter or chief Perſon in any Office happens to die, or to be diſmiſſed, the head Clerk, or the next chief Perſon in the Office, is to be preſumed the fitteſt and beſt qualified for ſucceeding to the Perſon dying or diſmiſſed.

However, tho' this Preſumption generally holds good, and ought to prevail, there are ſeveral Exceptions; for with reſpect to Offices of great Dignity and Power, which ſeldom require any Qualifications but a good Education, good Senſe, and a little Experience, it is dangerous for the State to have any one Perſon continued long in any one of them; and, therefore, with reſpect to ſuch Offices, a Man's being in the Office,

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or having been in the ſame Office but a little before, is ſo far from being an Argument for his being continued in it, or preferred to it again, that it is a ſtrong Argument againſt him; becauſe it is the Buſineſs of every Republican Form of Government to keep up an Equality among its chief Members, as may appear from the Hiſtory of all Republicks, more particularly that of the *Romans*, which received its firſt fatal Blow, by continuing *Marius* too long in the Conſulſhip; and it is very unſafe for a King to allow one Man, or one Family, to ingroſs too much, or continue too long in Power; for by ſo doing he generally transfers the Royalty in Subſtance; and it has been often the Cauſe of transferring the Name as well as the Subſtance, as has but very lately happened in *Perſia*, and happened formerly in *France*, in the Caſe of *Hugh Capet*, the original Founder of their preſent royal Family.

But with regard to all Offices of an inferior Degree, eſpecially ſuch as require great Application and a long Experience, as the next in Rank is generally to be preſumed the beſt qualified, and conſequently to have the beſt Title to ſucceed to his Superior in the ſame Office; therefore this Rule ought never to be broke through, unleſs it be to make Way for rewarding ſome Gentleman of diſtinguiſhed Merit, or one who is publickly known to have done ſome ſignal Piece of Service to his Country; for a Gentleman of ſuch Merit may have a Title preferable to the Perſon next in Rank, therefore the diſappointing him of his Preferment for that Turn, cannot be looked on as an Injury done to him; and the Notoriety of the other's Merit will prevent the Diſappointment's being conſidered as an Affront, or as any Way derogating from the Character of the Perſon ſo diſappointed.

From what I have ſaid every one may obſerve, that when two or more Perſons appear as Candidates for any Office, it is very difficult to determine which of them have the beſt Right, and therefore thoſe who have the Diſpoſal of it, ought to be extremely careful not to allow themſelves to be determined by any private or ſelfiſh Views; for in all Caſes, where a Judgment is to be paſſed, the more nice the Diſcuſſion is, the more apt Men are to be betrayed by private or ſelfiſh Views, which ought never to be allowed the leaſt Weight in any ſuch Determination. I know it is generally ſaid, that where two Candidates are equally qualified, and have equal Merit, we ought to give the Place or Office to our own particular Friend rather than to another; but ſuch an Equality, I believe, never did, nor never can happen; and I am afraid, we are generally in ſuch Caſes partial to the Merit and Qualifications of our Friend, and blind to thoſe of his Rival; by which means we conclude an Equality between the Merit and Qualifications of the two Candidates, when in reality there is no ſuch Thing; for which Reaſon when we can ſay nothing more in Favour of our Friend than that he is equal in Merit with the other Candidate, I believe it would be the ſafeſt Way to determine againſt him.

I come now to conſider the Right a Man has to continue in the Poſſeſſion of any Office he has once been preferred to, and in this Caſe, I think, there can be no ſuch Difficulty; for excepting Offices of high Power and Dignity, and ſuch as are, for political Reaſons, made temporary by the Laws and Conſtitution of the Society, it is certain that every Man has a Right to be continued in the Office he has been once preferred to as long as he lives, and the longer he has been in it, the better Right he acquires to a Continuance, eſpecially if it be an Office which

which requires great Study and Application, in order to make a Man *Master* of the Buſineſs belonging to the Office; for the Pains and Time he has beſtowed in making himſelf Maſter of that Buſineſs, becomes a Sort of Conſideration for his Continuance; and it is inconſiſtent with the publick Good to turn an old Man out of his Office, who may, by that means, become burdenſome to his Country, *in* order to put a young Fellow *in* his room, who might *otherwiſe* have been uſeful to his *Country*, as a Merchant or Tradeſman.

'Tis true there are many Offices which require ſo perfect a Capacity, ſo cloſe an Application, and ſo great *Fidelity*, that it becomes neceſſary, for the Sake of publick Good, to reſerve in the ſupreme Magiſtrate, and even in ſome great Officers under him, a Power of turning a Man out of any ſuch Office, without his being convicted of any Incapacity, Neglect of Duty, or Breach of Truſt, by a formal Proſecution at common *Law*; but this Power ought to be moſt cautiouſly made uſe of; for if upon a Miſrepreſentation, or ill grounded Suſpicion, a good Officer ſhould be diſmiſſed, it is not only an Injury done to the Officer ſo *diſmiſſed*, but a very great Injury is thereby done to the Publick, by being deprived of an expert, diligent, and faithful Servant.

From this Conſideration we muſt conclude, that, tho' a Man may have an unlimited Power of turning out the Officers under him, yet he is never to make uſe of that Power, unleſs the Officer has been actually guilty of ſome Fault or Crime, for which he ought to forfeit his Office; and much leſs is he to turn out any inferior Officer on Account of any private Pique, or perſonal Injury, not any Way contrary to or inconſiſtent with the Duty of the Office; and it is certainly highly criminal to turn out old Officers, only to make room for ſome of his particular Friends or Favourites. Such an inſolent Behaviour, in any ſuperior Officer, ought to be reſented with the higheſt Indignation by the Publick; It ought to be reckoned a Malverſation for which he himſelf ought to be turned out of his Office with Diſgrace, even tho' he had got a Grant of it for Life.

Such a Behaviour is in all Countries moſt unjuſt, but in any free Country it would be moſt dangerous, and is more particularly ſo in this; becauſe of the many Poſts and Offices which are at the Diſpoſal of the King and thoſe deputed by him; for if the Doctrine ſhould prevail, that any Officer who has not a Grant of his Poſt or Office for Life, might be turned out at the arbitrary Will of a Miniſter, and without rendering any Account of the Reaſons for ſuch Diſmiſſion, it would of courſe create a moſt ſlaviſh Dependence in all our Officers both Civil and Military, which would make them fit Tools for the Eſtabliſhment, and proper Inſtruments for the Exerciſe of arbitrary and tyrannical Power: Nay, ſome favourite Miniſter might make uſe of this aſſumed arbitrary Power, in order to fill all the Offices of the Kingdom with his own Creatures and Slaves, by which he might at laſt make himſelf not only the Tyrant of his Country but the Maſter of his Sovereign.

But as we have, at preſent, the Happineſs to have a free and an independent Parliament, meeting every Year for the Sake of granting thoſe Sums that are abſolutely neceſſary for the Support of our Government, and for continuing or paſſing ſuch Laws as are abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Liberties; as we have, I ſay, ſuch a Parliament meeting every Year, and ſtrictly enquiring into every Grievance that can be juſtly complained of, and ſeverely

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verely puniſhing every great Offender that can poſſibly be diſcovered, it is certain that no Man will dare to broach ſuch a Doctrine, much leſs will any Man dare to practiſe it: While we have ſuch a Parliament no Man will dare to turn Officers out who were never ſuſpected of Incapacity, Neglect of Duty, or Breach of Truſt; nor will any Man dare to weed an Office of all thoſe Clerks and other Officers who have long ſerved the Publick faithfully, who are known to be Gentlemen, who are known to be expert and capable of the Buſineſs, and that for the ſake of providing for his own Pimps, his Valets, or his Footmen. I am,

Tiltyard-Coffeehouſe, *SIR,*

February 28, 173⅘. *Your moſt, &c.*

Abſtract of Mr. FOSTER's *Anſwer to Dr.* STEBBING. *(See p.* 1.*)*

DR. *Stebbing* having publiſhed what he calls, *a true State of the Controverſy with Mr.* Foſter *on the Subject of Hereſy*, and having told the World, that he intended it by Way of *Anſwer* to my *ſecond Letter*, I muſt briefly inquire into the Propriety of both theſe Titles.

In my *ſecond Letter* I conſider'd, diſtinctly, *every* Part of the Debate between us, and left nothing, that I thought *material*, unexamined. I begun with giving a Paraphraſe of St. *Paul*'s Words, according to Dr. *Stebbing*'s Principles; by which I thought it would undeniably appear, that the Senſe he hath put upon them is extremely abſurd and injurious to the Apoſtle's Character. Of this he takes no Notice. Afterwards I attempted to ſhew, that the Texts which the Dr. has produced to ſupport *his* Notion of Hereſy, and urg'd *over* and *over*, have no Manner of Relation to the Point he intended to eſtabliſh. Upon this Head likewiſe he has not thought it adviſeable to defend himſelf. And tho' he has been entirely *ſilent* with reſpect to almoſt every Thing which was deſigned to prove *his* Scheme of Hereſy to be repugnant to *Reaſon, Scripture*, and common *Morality*; [*Here Mr.* F. *mentions the particular Objections he had made*] yet he gravely, and without the leaſt ſeeming Diffidence, ſays of what he has lately publiſh'd as *a true State of the Controverſy*, that it is in *Anſwer* to my ſecond Letter.

As to *my own* Account of Hereſy, I have alſo defended that in all its Parts; evading no one Difficulty of any conſiderable Moment, that Dr. *S.* has been pleaſed to urge againſt it. [*Here he alſo mentions Particulars.*] The Reader will ſurely be ſurprized when he is told, that Dr. *S.* has taken *no Notice* of all theſe Things; and it is natural to ask, with what *Propriety*, or Face of *Truth*, he could inſert it in the Title Page of his laſt Performance, that it was *in Anſwer* to my ſecond Letter.

Were not theſe the *original* Points in Controverſy? Did not Dr. *S.* in his firſt Letter, *chuſe* to begin with *theſe Points?* Did not his ſecond Letter proceed in the ſame Train? And have not I in my laſt endeavour'd to confute his Reaſonings, ſtill following *him* cloſely, and arguing in the Method which *he himſelf* preſcribed? Certainly then, *this*, if any Thing is, muſt be the *true State of the Controverſy*; and by declining to debate theſe Heads any longer, the Dr. has plainly *deſerted*, nay, *given up*, the Controverſy; becauſe he has left me in Poſſeſſion of the *main Argument* in every Branch of it. For whereas he ſays, that he 'does not intend to 'diſpute particular Points with me 'over again; and that thoſe who 'read with Judgment will (he hopes) 'ſee no Occaſion for it;' Theſe are Words that flow of courſe from the Pen of every Writer that finds himſelf *diſtreſs'd*. Beſides, what are theſe

theſe *particular Points?* Are they not the Arguments and Objections on both Sides, on which the *Whole* depends? And I take this Opportunity of declaring, that unleſs the Dr. ſhall think fit to *return* to the Argument, and defend what he has advanced, I can employ my Time much better, than by attending him thro' a Courſe of Cavilling and perſonal Reflections. — And he has now my *final* Anſwer.

I ſhall now conſider what Dr. *S.* has *actually* done, and ſubſtituted in the Place of what he *ought* to have done. By *Way* of Introduction, he takes Notice of 'a new Thought of mine, 'ſtarted in my laſt Performance.' His Remarks on this are; That tho' 'it is very commendable, when 'Men can bring themſelves to ac-'knowledge their Miſtakes, whether '*real* or *imaginary*, yet I have no 'Merit to plead, — for nothing *de-'pends* upon it.' And for what Reaſon? Why he tells us, That 'the 'Point with him is, whether *Self-'condemnation* — is neceſſary to con-'ſtitute the Notion of a Heretic;' and that 'this Queſtion will not be 'at all affected by adjuſting the par-'ticular Matter about which Hereſy 'may be converſant.' The Deſign of which Paſſage is to make the Reader believe that the Point here ſpoken of is the *only* Point in Controverſy; otherwiſe, the whole Remark is trifling; and what I have advanced may be very much to the Purpoſe, tho' *this particular Point* be really not affected by it. I muſt therefore appeal to his firſt and ſecond Letters for the *real* true State of the Controverſy, againſt what he only *feigns* to be the true State of it. By looking into his former Writings on this Subject every one will immediately ſee, that there has been *another* very important Queſtion debated by us; *viz.* Whether Hereſy is properly defined to be *an open Departure from the Faith, whether ſincerely or inſincerely, whether with or againſt Conſcience.* If it were proved ever ſo clearly, that *Self-condemnation*, in the ſtrict Senſe of the Word, is not eſſential to the Notion of Hereſy, the Doctor's Account of it may ſtill be *falſe*; becauſe notwithſtanding this, it may be a *Work of the Fleſh* equally with Adultery and Murder, and the Fault of the Heretick may (as I have undeniably ſhewn it *does*) lie in the *Will*, and not in the Underſtanding. Theſe therefore are *diſtinct* Arguments, and have been *diſtinctly* conſider'd. And as the new Obſervation which I have made, and which Dr. *S.* has not diſputed, came in when I was examining *his* Definition of Hereſy, it muſt be allowed to be pertinent, and of great Moment too, as it effectually overturns *his whole Scheme.* For how is it poſſible that Hereſy ſhould be *nothing elſe* but an open Departure from the Faith, if there may be Hereſy where there is *no* Departure from the Faith? But as Dr. *S.* has thought fit to call this Alteration of my former Opinion *a new Notion of Hereſy*, I muſt put the Reader in mind, (1ſt) That this in itſelf is not at all *material*, becauſe the only Point to be conſider'd is, whether the Alteration be *juſt*, or *not*. And (2dly) That I ſtill maintain all the general Branches of my Scheme, which *were*, and *are*, that the Heretic to be admoniſh'd and rejected is *really* a Sinner, and not one *involuntarily*, *ſincerely*, and *conſcientiouſly* erroneous; and that he is deſcribed by St. *Paul* as *ſelf-condemned* in the proper Senſe of the Word, *i. e.* as acting againſt his inward Conviction. The *Whole* of this Dr. *S.* has ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, for which I refer again to his firſt and ſecond Letters; tho' he would now fain have it believed that he has no Concern in the *Points themſelves* that he has all along diſputed, but only in the *Uſe* (which he imagines) I have made of the *laſt* of theſe Points.

The main Difficulty with reſpect

to my Notion of Hereſy, both in the Opinion of Dr. *S.* and the Writer of the *W. Miſcellany*, was this; that Heretics cannot be *known*, nor conſequently *rejected*. I endeavoured therefore to ſhew, that the Train of Reaſoning which they purſued was very far from confirming this *eſſential* Point; and that Dr. *S.* in particular, had, in the Main of the Argument, anſwered *himſelf*. In order to which, I fairly ſtated his Objection in his own Words, who ſays, that *it cannot even be ſuggeſted of uninſpired Men, that they can judge of Men's Hearts; and therefore, if none are to be rejected as Heretics, but thoſe who deny the Faith againſt Conviction, the Conſequence is, that the Right of rejecting Heretics*, ceaſed *with the* miraculous Gifts. And I urged it againſt him, that he had contended in another Place, when a *different* Purpoſe was to be ſerved, that the *inward Subtilty, Deceit*, and *Malice* of the *Heart* of *Elymas* the Sorcerer, and the *Principles* and *Motives* by which he was influenced, might have been *known* without an immediate divine Revelation (and conſequently, in an Age when there were no Gifts of Inſpiration) for this Reaſon, becauſe *every Tree is known by its Fruits*, and *evil Deeds* diſcover an *evil Heart*. I would only now appeal to *common Senſe*, whether this *general* Propoſition, — *Evil Deeds* (even without Inſpiration) diſcover an *evil Heart*; — and this — It cannot be *ſuggeſted* of *uninſpired* Men, that they can judge of Men's Hearts; — are not manifeſtly repugnant to each other. But let us hear the Dr.'s Defence. And here he has thought it proper to be artful, and for a *Blind*, has changed his own *original* Words. What he *really* obſerved in the Caſe of *Elymas* was, that his *evil Deeds* diſcovered his *evil Heart*; what he *now affirms* he ſaid is, that his *bad Works* proved him to be *a bad Man*. But he aſks, 'Will it therefore follow, that every *immoral* Man is 'ſelf-condemned in any *Principle* of 'revealed Religion which he holds?' By no means: Nor did I ever intend to draw ſuch an Inference from it. My *only* Deſign was to ſhew, that if the *Subtilty*, &c. of the *Heart* of *Elymas*, and the *Principles* and *Motives* by which he was influenced, might be judged of by his *Conduct*: ſo might the *corrupt Intention* and *ſiniſter Views* of the Heretic; and conſequently that Dr. *S.* has, *in effect*, allowed, that there is no Force in his *general* Argument againſt the *Poſſibility* of knowing even the *Self-Condemnation* of a Heretic. — I obſerve here, that he would ſtill force me to argue with him on this Principle, that the Heretic maintains Doctrines *contrary* to Chriſtianity, *knowing them to be ſuch*; whereas I have expreſsly told him, that I do not believe the being *erroneous* in Matters of *mere Faith*, nor conſequently the being *conſcious* of Error in Matters of mere Faith, to be an *eſſential* Part of the Heretic's Character.

As to the Proof of Hereſy, the Dr. begins with obſerving, that 'the *Evidence* hath no Relation to the '*Rule*, but to the *Behaviour* of *Men* 'as *agreeing* with the Rule, or *diſ*'*fering* from it.' To which I anſwer, that the *Evidence* has ſo far a Relation to the *Rule*, that the Rule muſt be ſuppoſed to be *clear* and *intelligible*, or otherwiſe there can be *no* Evidence at all. But I have ſhewn, that the Rule Dr. *S.* contends for, *viz.* that Hereſy is an open Departure from the *Faith*, neither *has* nor *can* have any *one, diſtinct*, and conſiſtent Meaning, and conſequently is, properly ſpeaking, no Rule. When we ſpeak of proving *Murder*, we ſpeak of proving a Crime that is *particularly deſcribed* and *explained*. And when we talk of proving *Hereſy* upon my Scheme, we talk of proving a Crime, that is, with

with reſpect to the *Nature* of it, as clearly and fully *explained*. But when we ſpeak of proving *Hereſy* on the Doctor's Scheme, *i. e.* an open Departure from the Faith (which *Faith* has never been diſtinctly ſettled and explained, and which it is next to impoſſible, from the *Looſeneſs* and *Ambiguity* of the Term itſelf, that particular Perſons or Churches ſhould underſtand and interpret alike) we ſpeak in Reality of proving *nothing at all*; of proving *Error* to be Hereſy, or *Truth* to be Hereſy, juſt as it happens; or *any Thing* that we pleaſe to be Hereſy.

The Dr. however, has pitch'd upon a Way of making theſe wide and irreconcileable Caſes exactly *parallel*. For tho' his pretended *Scripture Rule* has not, he tells us the *Church* has, *declared what is* Hereſy; and this, he ſeems to think, is equivalent to the *Law*'s having exactly defined what is Murder in the other Inſtance. So that the *public Declaration* of the Church ſtands for the ſame in the Caſe of Hereſy, as the *Law of England* in the Caſe of Murder; *i. e.* What the Church declares is the *true* and *ultimate Rule* of Judgment; or elſe, the two Caſes are not at all *ſimilar*. Whether this *proteſtant* Divine will have the Courage to avow and maintain this Aſſertion, I know not.

With reſpect to the Evidence, or Proof, of Hereſy, upon *my* State of the Queſtion, the Dr. intimates, in the firſt Place, that the Deſign of the Evidence is *not to ſhew what is Hereſy*. And who ever aſſerted that *it was?* I am ſure I have not; but have only aſſerted, that there may be *ſufficient Proof* of a Man's being a factious, ill-deſigning, ſelf-condemn'd Sectary, according to St. *Paul*'s direct *Deſcription* of a Heretic in his Epiſtle to *Titus*.

I muſt not omit, that the Dr. hath made a Conceſſion, which will yield me all that I need be concerned about. For he allows, that the *Intentions* of Men are ſubject to *human Judicature*, and conſequently may be *known* without the Gifts of Inſpiration: This, I ſay, he allows, when he expreſly declares, that 'the 'Law does inquire into the *Intention* 'in all criminal Caſes, becauſe it is 'the *Intention* that *makes* the Action 'criminal.' What now if it ſhould be ſhewn, that nothing is neceſſary to be proved beſides the evil *Intention* of the Heretic, in order to prove undeniably, that he is in the proper Senſe of the Word *condemned of himſelf?* Will the Dr. then be ſatisfied?

It muſt now be ſubmitted to the Reader's Judgment, whether he will take Dr. *S.*'s Scheme of Diſcipline, with its *certain* Evidence of nothing *certain*, becauſe it is founded on no *certain* Rule; or, in other Words, with its certain Evidence, that *Truth* and *Error* are *equally* Hereſies; or mine, which ſecures the Innocent, and ſubjects none to Cenſure but wicked and evil minded Sectaries, with its *ſtrong Probabilities*.

The Dr. indeed, has declared it as his Opinion, 'That no Man ought 'to be rejected as a Heretic, unleſs 'upon *certain Evidence* he appears 'to be ſuch.' But I ſhall venture to aſſert, that it is *impoſſible* there ſhould be more than probable Evidence upon any Scheme whatſoever, that reſts upon *human Interpretation* of the holy Scriptures. And how, eſpecially, is it poſſible, that Dr. *S.* or the *Church*, ſhould be *certain*, i. e. *infallibly certain* (for the Certainty he ſpeaks of is oppoſed to *mere Probability*) that every one is departed from the Faith who maintains what they think to be *falſe*; unleſs they are all *Popes*, and infallibly certain that they themſelves are in the *Right?*

The Dr. charges me with talking 'of the Uncertainty of the Scriptures, 'exactly in the ſame Strain that the 'Papiſts do, &c. But is it not evi-

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dent to common Senſe, that he *here* takes it for granted, that *his* Notion of Hereſy, and the *Scripture*-Notion of Hereſy are *one* and the *ſame*; and that whoever argues againſt him argues againſt the *Scriptures?* Is it not, likewiſe, evident, that in the Whole of the Reaſoning he objects to, I proceed on this Principle, that the Scriptures are a perfect and ſufficient, and conſequently a *clear* and *determinate*, Rule of Faith and *Diſcipline*; and that I reject his Rule, as *impoſſible* to be the Rule of Scripture, on *this very Account*, becauſe it is abſolutely *ambiguous* and *inexplicable!* And can I be juſtly accuſed, for *this*, of defending the Cauſe of *Popery?* —— What for *this* — for adhering cloſely to the fundamental Principle of *Proteſtants?*

I now proceed to a brief Examination of the *captious* and *litigious* Part of Dr. *S.*'s laſt Performance. This is continued without Interruption (ſo well does it ſuit the Dr's Temper) from the 5th to the 17th Page; where we have *Artifice* and *Perplexity* in abundance. And the Deſign of the Whole (which is about a *third* Part of the Gentleman's Reply) is to ſhew, that it was at firſt my Opinion abſolutely, my clear and ſettled Opinion, that *Heretics could not be known without the miraculous Gift of diſcerning Spirits*; and, of conſequence, that I have contradicted myſelf, and quite altered my *original* Plan. For this Purpoſe, he brings a long Quotation from my Sermon on Hereſy, which, as to the greater Part of it, might have been as pertinently applied to *any other* Point that Dr. *S.* had been pleaſed to fix upon, as *to that* which he profeſſes to have in View. With reſpect to which, I declare once more, as I have often done before, that, as far as I can recollect, it neither *was* my Opinion, nor did I intend to *expreſs* it as my Opinion, that Heretics could *never* be known but by the Exerciſe of a miraculous Diſcernment. But as to thoſe Sentences which the Dr. hath marked with a *Nota bene*, and which, indeed, are the only ones in the whole Quotation that ſeem to ſuit his Purpoſe, I have already ſhewn, [in my 2d. Letter] that they are very far from juſtifying and ſupporting the *Charge*.

I need not enter into a *particular* Examination of the Dr.'s long critical Obſervations on the Paſſage in the *Old Whig*, and my Explanation of it: For what does all he has ſaid amount to? Why to this only; that if it was not at that Time my fixed Sentiment, that Heretics could not be known without the Gift of diſcerning Spirits, I have argued *weakly* and *inconcluſively* in my Attempt to vindicate St. *Paul*'s Character. *Allowing* this, what does it prove? That what I am accuſed of was *really* my Opinion? This *cannot* be; unleſs Dr. *S.* will ſuppoſe, what I am very far from aſſuming to myſelf, that I am not capable, as well as he and all other Writers, of thinking that to be *juſt* Reaſoning, which is not ſo. On other Occaſions, and when a *different* Turn is to be ſerved, he is forward enough to advance even *groundleſs* Charges of abſurd and trifling Arguments, owing to Ignorance, or ſuperficial Enquiry, or a careleſs Temper; with all which he has been pleaſed to compliment *me*. But now when his End is to defame, I muſt be complimented with a Kind of *Infallibility*, and the Goodneſs of my *Underſtanding* is to be magnified, in order to vilify my *moral* Character. I ſhall therefore now, and for the future, paſs by every Thing of this Kind without any farther Notice, as *ſuch* Writers, and *ſuch* Cavils, juſtly deſerve; and eſpecially what is mark'd with a *Nota bene*, and included in Hooks, where the Conſequence *ex Hypotheſi*, or upon the *Suppoſition* there made, cannot be diſputed by this Author himſelf. But he contends that it was not proper or pertinent for Mr. *F.* to

to charge with Inſolence *ex Hypotheſi*. To which Mr. *F.* anſwers, that he ſhall not vouchſafe to enquire, ſince it is quite *needleſs*, whether it was pertinent, or not. But *allowing* it not to be ſo; what follows from thence? Might he not be *miſtaken*? He *might* indeed, but that was not *fit* to be ſuppos'd, becauſe *then* the pretended Proof of Prevarication and Falſhood would entirely *fail*; and, beſides, it was not ſo *ſure* a Way of blackening and traducing his Character, as the making him *a Liar*.

A few Words with the Dr. upon *pecuniary Mulcts, and I have done.* In his firſt Letter he gave me this *odd* Caution, which look'd a little like a Suſpicion of *Guilt*, — *Let me not be charged with being for* Perſecution. Upon this, as he pretended an uncommon Zeal *againſt* Perſecution, and for *the Right of private Judgment*, I thought it *incumbent* upon me, that the World might not be impoſed upon by *a ſpecious Air*, to quote ſome Paſſages out of his *Political Tracts*. *Theſe*, at firſt, he thought it not prudent to *retract*, or *own*. But, at length, he *ſeems* to have declared himſelf, tho' ſomewhat *cautiouſly* as upon a very tender Point, to be *ſtill* in his Judgment for *ſuch* pecuniary Mulcts, *as no* conſcientious *Man would be* unwilling *to pay, and every* prudent *Man, having* no real *Scruples, would chuſe* not *to pay*. In which ſomething is inſinuated, that, I believe, will *ſtartle* almoſt *every conſcientious* Man in *England*, and that is, *that* no *conſcientious Man will be* unwilling to *pay* Six-Pence in the Pound, *or* any other Tax *that the Magiſtrate thinks more Proper*, — *as a* Tribute *for his* religious *Liberty*.

This Doctrine of Dr. *Stebbing* I did indeed *lay hold of*. And he is highly diſpleaſed with me for calling it a *Mahometan Maxim*; and ſays, that I am *ſo fond of making him a mere* Turk, *that I never know when to have done*. To which I ſhall only give this ſhort Reply: — That it is *directly* a *Mahometan* Doctrine, the Dr. cannot *deny*: But I never thought it would follow, from his eſpouſing a *ſingle* Doctrine of *Mahomet*, that Dr. *S.* himſelf was ſo much as a *mere Mahometan*; and much leſs, that he was a *mere Turk*, which every mere *Mahometan* is *not*.

And whereas the Dr. would fain have me offer my *Reaſons* againſt *his*, and *Mahomet's*, *pecuniary Mulcts*; I muſt beg to be excuſed from entering into a long and laboured Argument on theſe two Accounts. (1ſt) That my *End* is anſwer'd, which was, to ſhew this *Man of Zeal* for *Liberty of Conſcience*, and *the Right of private Judgment*, in his true Colours. He ſays, *he has aſſerted* the Rights of Conſcience *in the ſtrongeſt Manner*. But what do they *amount to*, when *ſo ſtrongly aſſerted*? Why to this, — Judge for yourſelves, if you *dare*. However, do not charge me with being an Enemy to your exerciſing *freely* the Right of *private Judgment*: For I aſſure you, it is my Opinion, that you ought not to be *hanged*, or *impriſoned*, but only to be *fined* for it — (2dly) I am againſt *formal Reaſoning* upon the Point, becauſe I think *common Senſe* may decide it. The Dr. may ſay, perhaps, that his Scheme was not intended to hurt the truly *Conſcientious*; I anſwer in his own Stile, 'tis *no Matter for that*: The truly *Conſcientious will be*, and *cannot but be*, hurt in their *Goods*, i. e. *oppreſſed* by it; and upon this Foot, I ſubmit it to every Reader to judge and determine for himſelf, whether it can *poſſibly* eſcape the Charge of being an *unrighteous* and *perſecuting* Scheme.

Abſtract of Dr. Stebbing's *Reply to Mr.* Foster.

IN Mr. *Foſter's* Anſwer to my *True State, &c.* I find, that it gives him

him great Offence, that I have not *re-examined* the ſeveral Points that have been debated between us. And he declares, that *unleſs I ſhall think fit to return to theſe Points, I have now his* final *Anſwer*. I think indeed it is high Time to have done with this Controverſy, and (ſo far do I differ with Mr. *F.* in Judgment) I ſhall certainly ſit down quiet, when nothing is left for me to do but to *repeat* what has been ſaid before. But ſince Mr. *F.* has taken great Liberties with me, in ſetting me forth as *a Man of Art*, as a Dealer in *cavilling and perſonal Reflections*, as endeavouring to *perplex the Controverſy*, *&c.* as one *reſolved at* all Adventures *to impute to him what was never his Opinion*, with an Intention to *defame* and *vilify* his *moral Character*: Since this, I ſay, is the Caſe, I have a Right to be heard for myſelf.

The Deſign of the *True State*, *&c.* was to ſhew that there was no need to go back to former Matters, becauſe Mr. *F.* in his ſecond Letter had given up every Thing in the Controverſy that is worth contending for. His Doctrine is, that none are Heretics to the Purpoſes of Church Diſcipline but thoſe who in the Opinions they maintain, act in Oppoſition to the Light of their own Minds. In conſequence of this, the Purport of his Sermon was to throw all Diſcipline in rejecting Heretics, out of the Church; and it was expreſly maintained in a Letter publiſhed by Mr. *F.* in the *Old Whig*, (at the *very Time* when this Controverſy took its Riſe) that none are fit to decide in Caſes of Hereſy, but thoſe who by being endued with *preternatural Diſcernment* are Judges of Men's Conſciences, and can tell whether they are ſelf-condemned or not. It was for the Sake of this *Uſe* alone that I oppoſed Mr. *F.*'s Notion of Hereſy, as I expreſly told him both in my firſt and ſecond Letter. But Mr. *F.* (in Contradiction to himſelf) ſays in his Second Letter, that Heretics may be known and rejected in all Ages of the Church by Enquiries made upon Conſcience by probable Evidence. Mr. *F.* therefore has given up his Point, and here are *two* Schemes ſet up *diametrically oppoſite* to each other. For the *firſt* excludes *all* Diſcipline in rejecting Heretics, the *ſecond* admits it.

It is with this Obſervation that the *True State*, *&c.* ſets out, where I remark that, *tho' Mr.* F. *holds his* Notion *of Hereſy, yet he quits his* Uſe *of it*; which ſhews evidently that it neither was nor can be to any Purpoſe to *re-examine* the Points that have been debated: For what ſignifies it to diſpute Particulars, when the main Cauſe is given up? This may ſerve as a Reply to the firſt nine or ten Pages of Mr. *F.*'s Anſwer, where he has given a Hiſtory of his own fancied Exploits.

But Mr. *F.* alledged, that he had *never* once *aſſerted that* Heretics *cannot be known, nor conſequently rejected without preternatural Diſcernment*. If this be true, the Diſpute was impertinent from the Beginning, and I am *found a falſe Witneſs* in charging Mr. *F.* with having taught that which he never taught. To juſtify myſelf therefore in this Point, I re-conſidered thoſe Paſſages upon which this Charge was grounded, and I ſupported it by ſuch evident Reaſons, as I thought it *impoſſible* for Mr. *F.* to withſtand. But he ſtill *perſiſts* in it, that he never taught any ſuch Doctrine. To omit what he has ſaid in his *Sermon*, I ſhall confine myſelf to the Paſſages quoted from his Letter in the *Old Whig*, becauſe it is upon theſe *principally*, that Mr. *F.* accuſes me of an Intention to *defame* him, and *vilify* his *moral Character*. I am ſorry Mr. *F.* has laid me under the *Neceſſity* of entering farther into this Enquiry: But ſince the *Slander* muſt fall upon *him* or *myſelf*, I cannot help it.

The

The very *Manner* in which he expreſſes himſelf, carries with it a ſtrong Appearance of Guilt. —— *So far as I can* recollect, *it neither was*, &c. What? Is it ſo long ſince Mr. *F.* wrote that Letter in the *Old Whig*, that he can have forgot what his Opinion was? Again — *Nor did I intend to expreſs it as my Opinion*, &c. Why, *not intend*, but becauſe he ſaw plainly that his Words *import* what he would now have us believe he did *not intend?* This is all I am concerned with. I neither know, nor am bound to know, what Mr. *F. intends*, any farther than his *Writings* ſhew it.——But let the Paſſage ſpeak for me. [*Here he again ſets down the Paſſage in the* Old Whig, *which ſee*, p. 4. B.]

I ſet down this Paſſage juſt as it ſtands in the *True State*, &c. where I ſay, —— *Mr. F. in his Anſwer has ſet down the foregoing Part of the Sentence* only, *and ſuppreſs'd all that follows.*

To this Mr. *F.* replies (in a very careleſs Manner) *I ſhall now, and for the future, paſs by every Thing of this Kind without any farther Notice, as ſuch Writers and ſuch Cavils juſtly deſerve, and eſpecially what is marked with a* Nota Bene, *and included in Hooks.* This is an Evidence of *nothing* but his *great Aſſurance.* If Mr. *F.* had *proved* that the Paſſages *ſuppreſſed* are of *no Significancy*, he might have given himſelf ſuch Airs as theſe; but he has done nothing like it. For hear his Reaſonings.

'I need not enter into a particular 'Examination of the Doctor's long 'critical Obſervations on the Paſſage 'in the *Old Whig*, &c.' [*The Dr. quotes the whole Paſſage, as 'tis ſet down*, p. 122. B. *and which ends thus*] 'But 'now when his End is to *defame*, 'I muſt be complimented with a 'kind of *Infallibility*, and the Good-'neſs of my Underſtanding is to be 'magnified, in order to *vilify my 'moral Character.*'

The Gentleman quite miſtakes the Matter; I never had it in my Heart to magnify his Underſtanding, and if I have ſaid any Thing of this Sort that offends his Modeſty I beg his Pardon. But I ſee nothing like it in this Place; and that Mr. *F.* may be no longer at a Loſs for my true Meaning, I deſire him to attend to his own Defence, and to my Anſwer.

His Defence is, that he did not in this Paſſage deliver it as *his own Opinion*, that none are fit to decide in Caſes of Hereſy, but thoſe who are endued with preternatural Diſcernment, but only argued *ex Hypotheſi*, to vindicate St. *Paul*'s Character. It is to be obſerved, that Mr. *F.* had nothing to do with St. *Paul*'s Character, any otherwiſe than his own Interpretation of St. *Paul*'s Words might bring it in Queſtion. He does not diſpute the *Conſequence*, but is willing to *ſuppoſe* it true that, none are fit to decide in Caſes of Hereſy but thoſe who are endu'd with preternatural Diſcernment; and ſtill ſays, that St. *Paul* may be juſtified. This is what he calls arguing *ex Hypotheſi*; and ſince the Queſtion concerns St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, the *Hypotheſis* muſt be this, that it *might poſſibly* be St. *Paul*'s *Senſe* or *Opinion*, that none are fit to decide in Caſes of Hereſy, but thoſe who are endu'd with preternatural Diſcernment. Upon which I now ask (and the Queſtion contains the Subſtance of what I ſaid before) *Could* Mr. *F.* have admitted that St. *Paul might poſſibly* have been of this Opinion, if he believ'd it to be an *Untruth?* I ſuppoſed that he could not; and where I pray is the Compliment upon Mr. *F*'s Underſtanding, that gives him ſo much Uneaſineſs? All that the Suppoſition implies is, that Mr. *F.* could not believe St. *Paul* to be *in the Wrong*, which (conſidering him as a Chriſtian) is not, I hope, doing him *too much Honour*. If Mr. *F.* thinks it will be a better Vindication of

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of St. *Paul*'s Character to ſay that he might be *miſtaken*, let him ſay it: But if he will not ſay this, he muſt give me leave to ſay, that when Mr. *F.* wrote this Letter, he *could* not be of the Opinion that Heretics may be known and judged by thoſe who are not endu'd with preternatural Diſcernment.

My next Obſervation upon this Paſſage was; that here is a *Charge of Inſolence* in *pretending* to a Power which they are not intitled to, *laid* in conſequence of the *Hypotheſis*, that none are fit to decide in Caſes of Hereſy, but thoſe who are endued with preternatural Diſcernment. Upon this I have asked, *Is it to be imagined that Mr. F. would have founded ſuch a Charge upon an* Hypotheſis *which he never thought to be* true, *but admitted only for Argument Sake? It is* too hard *a Suppoſition.* To which the Gentleman now anſwers, (with a Mixture of great *Magnificence* and *Self-abaſement*) Mr. *F.* ſhall not vouchſafe *to enquire whether it was proper or pertinent to charge with Inſolence* ex Hypotheſi: *But allowing it to be ſo, what follows from thence?* Might he not be *miſtaken?* No, Sir; Mr. *F.* could not be miſtaken in this, that every *Charge* ought to be founded upon ſome *real Truth*; and my Inference from hence, that he would not have laid ſuch a Charge, unleſs it had been his *real Opinion* that none are fit to decide in Caſes of Hereſy but thoſe who have preternatural Diſcernment, pays him this Compliment indeed, that he hath *Common Senſe*, and *Common Honeſty*. And is this a juſt Matter of Complaint with Mr. *Foſter!*

To go on to another Paſſage in the ſame Letter, upon which I ventured to charge Mr. *F.* with delivering it as *his own* Opinion, that St. *Paul*'s Direction to reject Heretics, was confined to *Titus* alone, or ought to be extended only to every one of his Succeſſors, who ſhould be endued with the ſame extraordinary Accompliſhments. But, *this* (ſays Mr. *F.*) *is not true.* 'For is not the ſaying, that *the Words of St.* Paul, *when confined to* Titus, *to whom* alone *they were addreſſed*, or [when] *extended* only *to every one*, &c. (without adding, that to ſuch alone they *any Way* belong) *afford this plain and eaſy Senſe*; is not this vaſtly different from *declaring for* myſelf, *i. e.* laying it down directly as my Opinion, that they cannot be extended or applied, even in *an inferior Senſe*, to *any* who are *not* endued with the *ſame extraordinary Accompliſhments?*'

What does the Gentleman mean when he ſays that the Rule may appertain to *others in an inferior Senſe?* The Rule is to *reject a Heretic*; and thoſe *others may* reject a Heretic, or they may *not*. There is no Room for *Inferiority* or *Superiority* in the Caſe. Will he ſay then that his Words do not confine *the Power* to reject a Heretic to *Titus* alone, or extend it only to thoſe who ſhould be endued with the ſame extraordinary Gifts? Why he *does* ſay ſo; and he thinks it to be ſo plain, that a Man muſt be even *ſtark blind* not to ſee it. Yet it ſeems it is not ſo plain neither, but there is need of a *Gloſs*, and by clapping in the Word [*when*] before [*extended*] and ſaying that he did not add, that *to ſuch* alone *the Words did any Way belong*, he thinks the Buſineſs done effectually. All *Limitations* are *excluſive* of courſe, and therefore there was no *need* to add what Mr. *F.* ſays he has *not* added. Beſides, Mr. *F.* undertakes here to give a Paraphraſe of the Text. The Paraphraſe is certainly *his own*, and it is this; 'A Man 'who knowingly eſpouſes falſe Doc-'trines, [whom thou art capable of 'diſtinguiſhing from others, by 'Means of thy ſupernatural Diſcern-'ment] after the firſt and ſecond 'Admonition, [for an Error that is 'wilful,

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'wilful, and which he has it intirely in his own Power to reform] 'reject.' Which Paraphraſe is right, *upon Suppoſition* that the Power of rejecting Heretics was *limited* to *Titus alone*, or to ſuch gifted Perſons as he was; but quite abſurd upon any other Foot. But ſince Mr. *F.* is ſo *poſitive*, I will give you his own *expreſs Words* in this very Letter [in the *O. Whig*] to ſhew that his *Intention* was to *deny* to the *preſent* Miniſters of the Church *all* Right to *reject* Heretics. They are theſe; 'Allowing that the Prieſthood are 'the *Succeſſors* of *Titus*; to what do 'they ſucceed? It will without doubt 'be anſwered, to the *Inſtruction* and '*Government* of the Church. And 'have they all the *Qualifications* for 'theſe Offices? Have they equal '*Authority* to inſtruct, and the ſame '*Prerogative* of Government, that 'tis ſuppoſed *Titus* and the Apoſtles had? If not, the *latter* might 'be qualified and commiſſioned to 'do many Things, even with reſpect to Church *Order* and *Diſcipline*, in which it would be ridiculous for our *modern Clergy* to attempt to imitate them. And *(N.B.)* 'if every *pert* and *forward Prieſt* 'ſhould take upon him to *decide peremptorily* in Points of *Hereſy*, merely becauſe *Titus* was directed to do 'it, who had a *miraculous Illumination*, and *extraordinary Aſſiſtances*, 'he muſt be a juſt Object of *Pity* 'and *Contempt*.'

I have ventured to diſtinguiſh the *ſignificant* Words by a *Nota Bene*, notwithſtanding Mr. *Foſter*'s reſolute Declaration, that *for the future he will paſs by every Thing of this Kind without Notice*. To ſay the Truth, if he has a Mind *not* to *ſee*, he has nothing left but to *wink hard*, for the Point is as clear as Language and Argument can make it. The Words laſt quoted want no Comment, for nothing can make them plainer; and therefore let Mr. *F.* now apply to his own Conſcience, and conſider *who* it is that hath hurt his *moral Character*, *himſelf* or *I*.

It appears now, I think, beyond all Contradiction, that Mr. *Foſter*'s original Scheme throws all Diſcipline in rejecting Heretics out of the Church. But this is *given up*; let us ſee then how well he has defended his ſecond Scheme, which is, that Heretics are to be rejected in all Ages of the Church, by a Judgment formed upon Conſcience by probable Evidence. In debating this Point with him before, I admitted that many Caſes might happen in which it may be *preſumed*, with *great Probability*, that Men act againſt their own Conviction. But to ſhew that Church Diſcipline could never ſtand upon this Foot, I obſerved that it is contrary to the known Method of all *human* Judgments in the World. *Civil* Courts, in no Caſes, take Cognizance of Mens *inward Convictions*, or the *Principle* upon which they act, as they regard *Conſcience*; this I proved, and this Mr. *F. now* vouchſafes to admit; and yet, according to his Interpretation of the Apoſtle's Rule, and the Method of Diſcipline now contended for, *Eccleſiaſtical* Courts *muſt* concern themſelves with Conſcience.

Evident as this Caſe is, Mr. *F.* has taken great Pains to perplex it, with no other View (as one may reaſonably ſuppoſe) than to put the true Point in Queſtion out of Sight. I had allowed that civil Courts do concern themſelves with Mens *Intentions*; upon which Mr. *F.* asks with an Air of Triumph: *What if it ſhould be ſhewn that nothing is neceſſary to be proved beſides the* evil Intention *of the Heretic?* The *evil Intention* —— to do *what*, Sir? *Intention* always ſuppoſes *ſomething intended*; as if one Man gives another a *Blow* and *kills* him, the Law enquires whether the *Intention* in giving the Blow was *to kill*. This was my Point:

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Point: But how will you apply this to a Judgment upon Hereſy? Can a Man *teach* any Doctrine not *intending to teach* it, as one Man may *kill* another not *intending* to *kill* him? No. But, ſays Mr. *F.* 'When the 'Leaders or Abettors of particular 'Hereſies or Sects pretend a Zeal 'for Religion —— we may have 'probable Evidence in many Caſes, 'that they *intend* only their private 'Advantage.' Right, Sir; ſo you may. But the Queſtion is not what may or may not be *known* by probable Evidence; but what is or is not a *Judgment* upon *Conſcience:* And that this very Caſe put by Mr. *F.* is a *Judgment* upon *Conſcience*, is plain. For to judge whether a Man by any Act or Acts, means *the Honour of God*, or *his own Advantage*, is to judge of his Conſcience. By *Intention* in this Place, Mr. *F.* does not mean the *Purpoſe* to do a Thing (which is what I mean when I ſay that the Law *judges* of the *Intention*) but the *impulſive Cauſe* or *Principle upon which* a Man does an intended Act, which is what the Law *never* meddles with.

I next obſerved upon his new Scheme, that it is not only *wrong*, but *dangerous, and may ſerve as a Handle to very bad Purpoſes.* I urged this upon Mr. *F.* in ſuch a Manner as I thought proper to make him *feel* it; and it ſhould ſeem indeed that he does *feel* it; for all that he has thought fit to give for Anſwer, is, that —— *I am* no competent Judge *in theſe Matters.*

Mr. *F.* then hath done nothing towards vindicating his new Scheme: Inſtead of this, he ſpends much of his own and his Reader's Time in Complaints againſt the *Uncertainty* of the common Method of Diſcipline, from the Uncertainty of the *Rule* upon which it proceeds, which at Bottom are nothing more than an *Abuſe* of the *Scriptures.* If I can gueſs at Mr. *Foſter*'s Meaning, what he calls my Rule [*in his laſt Performance*] in Oppoſition to the *Scripture* Rule, is the *Judgment* of the *Church*, concerning what is or is not neceſſary to the Faith of a Chriſtian. This *Judgment*, framed upon Scripture, I ſay, is and *muſt* be a Rule *to the Church*, in rejecting Heretics: and this Rule Mr. *F.* here rejects, becauſe it is *abſolutely ambiguous* and *inexplicable*; which, in my Opinion, is ſaying, by as plain a Conſequence as can be, that the *Scriptures* are *abſolutely ambiguous and inexplicable.*

If Mr. *F.* had but beſtowed a little Conſideration about what he was doing, when he firſt engaged in this Controverſy, he would have ſeen, without entring into the *Argument*, (which by this Time, perhaps, he may be convinced he had much better have let alone) that in ſetting up his Interpretation of St *Paul*'s Rule, either to the pulling down of *all* Diſcipline, or to the erecting a *Tribunal* over *Conſcience*, he muſt run counter to the Practice of *all* Chriſtian Churches or Societies in the World. Let Mr. *F.* conſult his *Diſſenting Brethren*, and go from *Sect* to *Sect*; *Diſcipline* he will find among them of one Kind or another; but where will he find any *Tribunals* over *Conſcience?* Where any *Enquiries* into Mens *ſecret Convictions?* I never *heard* of any Thing like this among *Diſſenters*, and I dare ſay there is nothing like it. A Diverſity of Sects or Communions will *infer* a Diverſity of Sentiments as to *what Points* are or are not fit *to be made Terms* of Communion: But the *Terms* once fixed, (in which each Sect *can* have no other Rule than the Scriptures, as interpreted *by themſelves*) all Communions agree in this, to *exclude* thoſe who will not come up to thoſe Terms; in which the Enquiry, I preſume, always is, *What* the Man profeſſeth, not *why* he profeſſeth it: And what is this but the very Thing I have been contending for?

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Common-Senſe, Feb. 26. N° 4.

Of DRESS.

DRESS ſhould be properly adapted to the Perſon, as in Writing, the Style muſt be ſuited to the Subject. I am far from objecting to the Magnificence of Apparel, in thoſe whoſe Rank and Fortune juſtify and allow it; on the contrary, it is a *uſeful* Piece of Luxury, by which the Poor and the Induſtrious are enabled to live, at the Expence of the Rich and the Idle. I would no more have a Woman of Quality dreſs'd in Doggrel, than a Farmer's Wife in Heroicks. But I do hereby notify to the profuſe Wives of induſtrious Tradeſmen, and honeſt Yeomen, that all they get by dreſſing above themſelves, is the Envy and Hatred of their Inferiors and Equals, with the Contempt and Ridicule of their Superiors.

To thoſe of the firſt Rank in Birth and Beauty, I recommend a noble Simplicity of Dreſs; the Subject ſupports itſelf, and wants none of the borrow'd Helps of external Ornaments. Beautiful Nature may be diſfigur'd, but cannot be improv'd by Art; and as I look upon a very handſome Woman to be the fineſt Subject in Nature, her Dreſs ought to be Epick, but the true *Virgilian* Epick, modeſt, noble, and entirely free from the modern Tinſel. I therefore prohibit all *Conceits*, and Luxuriances of Fancy, which only depreciate ſo noble a Subject; and I muſt do the handſomeſt Women I know, the Juſtice to ſay, that they keep the cleareſt from theſe Extravagancies. *Delia*'s good Senſe appears even in her Dreſs, which ſhe neither ſtudies nor neglects, but by a decent and modeſt Conformity to the Faſhion, equally ſhuns the triumphal Pageantry of an over-bearing Beauty, or the inſolent Negligence of a conſcious one.

As for thoſe of an inferior Rank of Beauty, ſuch as are only pretty Women, and whoſe Charms reſult rather from a certain Air, and *Je ne ſçay quoy* in their whole Compoſition, than from any Dignity of Figure or Symmetry of Features; I allow them greater Licences in their Ornaments, becauſe the Subject not being of the ſublimeſt Kind, may receive ſome Advantages from the Elegancy of Style, and the Variety of Images. I therefore permit 'em to dreſs up to all the Flights and Fancies of the Sonnet, the Madrigal, and ſuch like minor Compoſitions. *Flavia* may ſerve for a Model of this Kind; her Ornaments are her Amuſement, not her Care; tho' ſhe ſhines in all the gay and glittering Images of Dreſs, the Prettyneſs of the Subject warrants all the Wantonneſs of the Fancy.

There is a third Sort who, with a perfect Neutrality of Face, are neither handſome nor ugly; and who have nothing to recommend 'em, but a certain ſmart and genteel Turn of little Figure, quick and lively. Theſe I cannot indulge in a higher Style than the Epigram, which ſhould be neat, clever, and unadorn'd, the whole to lie in the Sting; and where that lies, is unneceſſary to mention.

Having thus gone thro' the important Article of Dreſs, with relation to the 3 Claſſes of my Country-women, who alone can be permitted to dreſs at all; *viz.* the Handſome, the Pretty, and the Genteel; I muſt add, that this Privilege is limited by Common-Senſe to a certain Number of Years, beyond which no Woman can be any one of the three. I therefore require, that when turn'd of 30 they abate of the Vigour of their Dreſs; and that when turn'd of 40 they lay aſide all Thoughts of it. And as an Inducement to 'em ſo to do, I aſſure them, that they may make themſelves ridiculous, but never deſirable by it. When they are once arrived to the *Latitude* of

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40 the propitious Gales are over; let 'em gain the first Port, and lay aside their Rigging.

I come now to a melancholy Subject, and upon which the Freedom of my Advice, I fear, will not be kindly taken; I mean the Ugly, and (I am sorry to say it) so numerous a Part of my Country-women. I must for their own Sakes treat them with some Rigour, to save them not only from the publick Ridicule, but Indignation. Their Dress must not rise above plain humble Prose, and any Attempts beyond it, amount at best to the Mock-Heroick, and excite Laughter. An ugly Woman should by all Means avoid any Ornaments that may draw Eyes upon her, which she will entertain so ill. But if she endeavours by Dint of Dress to cram her Deformity down Mankind, the Insolence of the Undertaking is resented; and when a *Gorgon* curls her Snakes to charm the Town, she would have no Reason to complain if she lost Head and all, by the Hand of some avenging *Perseus*. Ugly Women, who may more properly be call'd a third Sex, than a Part of the Fair one, should publickly renounce all Thoughts of their Persons, and turn their Minds another Way; they should endeavour to be honest good-humour'd Gentlemen; they may amuse themselves with Field Sports, and a chearful Glass; and if they could get into Parliament, I should, for my own Part, have no Objection to it.

There is another Sort of Ladies whose daily Insults upon Common-Sense call for the strongest Correction; and who may most properly be styl'd *Old Offenders*. These are the Sexagenary Fair Ones, and upwards, who, whether they were handsome or not in the last Century, ought at least in this to reduce themselves to a Decency and Gravity of Dress suited to their Years. I have often observed Septuagenary Great-grandmothers adorn'd, as they thought, with all the Colours of the Rainbow, while in reality they look'd more like the decay'd Worms in the midst of their own Silks. Nay, I have seen 'em proudly display wither'd Necks, shrivel'd and decay'd like their Marriage-Settlements, and which no Hand, but the cold Hand of Time, had visited these 40 Years. The utmost Indulgence I can allow here, is extreme Cleanliness, that they may not offend more Senses than the Sight; but for the Dress, it must be confin'd to the *Elegy* and the *Tristibus*.

What has been said with relation to the Fair-Sex, holds true, with relation to the other, only with still greater Restrictions, as such Irregularities are less pardonable in Men than in Ladies. A reasonable Compliance with the Fashion is no Disparagement to the best Understanding, and an affected Singularity would; but an Excess beyond what Age, Rank, and Character will justify, is one of the worst Signs the Body can hang out, and will never tempt People to call in. I see with Indulgence the Youth of our Nation finely bound, and gilt on the Back, and wish they were letter'd into the Bargain. I forgive them the unnatural Scantiness of their Wigs, and the immoderate Dimensions of their Bags, in Consideration that the Fashion has prevail'd, and that the Opposition of a few to it, would be the greater Affectation of the two. Tho' by the way, I very much doubt whether they are all of them Gainers by shewing their Ears; for 'tis said that *Midas*, after a certain Accident, was the judicious Inventor of long Wigs.

Craftsman, March 5. N° 557.

Remarks on the Gazetteer, *concerning Prince* Richard *and Prince* Henry, *occasion'd by a late Affair.*

I BELIEVE No-body can suppose the *Gazetteer* of *Feb.* 21. to come

come from any of the *common Hands*, which uſually appear in *that Paper*. I have often pointed out the Inconſiſtencies of *theſe Writers*; which never appear'd more glaring, than on the preſent Occaſion; for after having exclaim'd, a thouſand Times over, againſt all *invidious Parallels*, eſpecially where the *Royal Family* is in any Manner concerned, they have drawn *two of the moſt odious ones*, that Malice could invent, and much more than Hiſtory will juſtify, with a manifeſt Deſign of wounding a *moſt illuſtrious Perſon*, whoſe amiable Qualities have juſtly endear'd him to the *People in general*, and whoſe courteous Deportment to *all Perſons* hath never deſerved ſuch Treatment from *any Hand*.

The *Author of this virulent Libel* (for ſo it is) ſets out with inveighing againſt *thoſe Herds of* Sycophants *and* Flatterers, *who continually croud the Courts, and beſiege the Perſons of* Princes. He afterwards beſtows the Names of *Whiſperers, Tale-Bearers, Paraſites, Minions, Miſcreants*, &c. upon them. I do not differ with him in my Opinion of *ſuch Men*, who have always been the Bane of Courts, and too often the Ruin of whole Nations. But is *this Evil* confined to *Princes* alone, as he would inſinuate, *before their Advancement to the Throne?* Sure I am that *Reaſon* is againſt him; for as *this buſy, fawning Crew*, are actuated by the moſt ſordid Motives of Lucre and Intereſt, it is more natural for them to flock about thoſe, who are in immediate Poſſeſſion of the *Loaves and Fiſhes*, than thoſe, whoſe Power to gratify their Expectations is only contingent. He is likewiſe equally wrong in Point of *Fact*; for I will undertake to prove from Hiſtory, that where one *Prince* hath been infeſted with *this Kind of Vermin*, before he aſcended the Throne, above *twenty* have been plagued with them afterwards.

But he tells us, *that* ſuch Miſcreants *have conſtantly miſs'd of their Aim, and inſtead of* thoſe Dignities *and* high Stations, *which they imagined they had been laying up in Store for themſelves, have been baniſh'd from the Preſence of* thoſe very Princes, *from whom they expected their Reward*. Of this he gives us two Inſtances from our own Hiſtory, in the Perſons of *Richard*, ſurnamed *Cœur-de-Lyon*, afterwards K. *Richard* I. and *Henry* of *Monmouth*, afterwards K. *Henry* V.

As to the *firſt*, I ſhall not diſpute the Virtues of *Henry* II. his Father, who was certainly a very *great, wiſe*, and *brave Prince*; tho' I cannot intirely agree to his Character, as drawn by *this Writer*. But his Portrait of Prince *Richard* is the groſſeſt Outrage upon Hiſtory, that was ever committed; for he was ſo far from being *a Prince of an* amiable Diſpoſition, *who had no* ambitious Views, *no* unjuſtifiable Deſires to gratify; *and whoſe Heart was free from any* ſiniſter Deſigns or Purpoſes *in the Uneaſineſs or Oppoſition he gave his* Royal Father; that he was one of the moſt *turbulent, reſtleſs, ambitious Princes*, that ever lived; and not only had ill Deſigns againſt his *Father*, but was engag'd in ſeveral open Attempts to *dethrone* him. In ſhort, he does not ſeem to have had *one good Quality* beſides a *moſt undaunted Courage*; which, according to the *ſame eminent Hiſtorian*, whom *our Author* quotes in his Commendation, * favour'd of a *brutiſh Fierceneſs*; and it is in vain, *ſays he*, to ſeek in him for *ſome other Virtue*, that might afford Matter for Panegyrick. —— He adds, that *Pride, Avarice* and *Luſt* had got ſo much the Aſcendant over him, that they were commonly call'd his *three Daughters*.

* Rapin's *Character of* Richard I. *at the End of his Life.*

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Our Author's Account of the Methods, by which *this Prince* was drawn into the Oppoſition againſt his *Father*, is equally falſe; for he was not miſled by the Artifices of *Whiſperers* and *Tale-Bearers*, or the *little, fluttering, gaudy Inſects, that are always buzzing about the Ears of Princes*, but by the violent Jealouſy and Reſentment of Q. *Eleanor* againſt the *King*, upon Account of *fair Roſamond*; which raged to ſuch a Degree, that nothing but the Death of *her Rival*, and the *Depoſition of her Husband*, could ſatisfy her Revenge. In the *firſt* ſhe ſucceeded; and, in order to compaſs the *ſecond*, ſhe ſpirited up her 3 *eldeſt Sons* to join with her in the Confederacy againſt him. Nor did the *young Princes* themſelves want ſome Reaſons to be uneaſy at their *Father*'s Treatment; tho' nothing can juſtify their ſeeking Satisfaction in ſuch a Manner. He had, indeed, inveſted them with *high Titles*; but neither truſted them with any *Authority*, nor enabled them to ſupport their Characters with *Dignity*. Beſides, they were juſtly offended at his great Partiality for his youngeſt Son, *John*, who proved the moſt worthleſs of them all.

It is true, that when *Richard* came to the Throne, he diſmiſs'd thoſe, who had formerly adhered to him, againſt the *King his Father*, as *our Author* obſerves; tho' he quotes the Paſſage very unfairly from *Rapin*, and therefore does not mention his Name. But it ſufficiently appears, from what hath been ſaid, that the Caſe of Prince *Richard* hath nothing to do with that, to which it is ſo infamouſly apply'd, and where the moſt diſtant Attempts of the *ſame Nature* cannot be ſo much as pretended.

The other Inſtance, is, That of *Henry* of *Monmouth*, afterwards K. *Henry* V. which is as little to the Purpoſe, and as vilely apply'd, as the *former*. Every Body knows, that *this Prince* gave himſelf up, for ſome Time, to a moſt diſſolute Courſe, even ſo far as *Robbing on the Highway*. It is therefore no Wonder, that a *Prince* of his excellent Diſpoſition, being awaken'd to a Senſe of his Errors, ſhould throw himſelf at his *Father*'s Feet, and implore his Pardon. Yet, even in this Caſe, ſome Apology may be made for the *Prince*, which *our Author* omits, tho' it lay under his Noſe, whilſt he was quoting *Rapin*; for *that Hiſtorian*, as well as ſeveral others, imputes all his Irregularities to the Jealouſy of the * *King his Father*, who had always kept him *at a Diſtance from Affairs*. But having diſcover'd a ſtrong Inclination for War in his early Youth, which increaſed with his Years, the *King* thought fit to indulge it; and being apprehenſive of the *Welſh*, he ſent his *Son*, at that Time but 18 *Years of Age*, with an Army againſt them; in which the *young Prince* was ſo ſucceſsful, that he defeated them in two pitch'd Battles. *But his Victories*, ſays the Hiſtorian, *were of infinite Prejudice to him. The* King his Father, *exceſſively jealous of his Authority, conſider'd his* Son's *Reputation as likely one Day to become deſtructive of his Quiet. The Thoughts of this making him uneaſy, he removed him from all* warlike, *as he had done from all* civil Employments. *Reduced to a State of* Idleneſs, *the* Prince, *naturally active, ſought how to employ himſelf. Unluckily for him, by the Inſtigation of* ſome *about him, and perhaps by the* Direction of the King his Father, *he ran into diſhonourable Courſes, and abandon'd himſelf to Exceſſes, very unbecoming his Birth, and injurious to his Reputation.*

The *King* dy'd ſoon after; and

* Rapin, *at the Beginning of the Reign of* Henry V.

one

one of the firſt Things his *Son* did, upon his Acceſſion, was diſmiſſing his *old Companions*, (whom *our Author* calls his *Miniſters* and *Adviſers*) and having exhorted them to leave off their former ill Courſe of Life, he made them *handſome Preſents*, (of which *our Author* takes no Notice) and at the ſame Time ſtrictly charg'd them not to come to Court.

This is the true State of the Fact, according *to* Hiſtory; and ſufficiently diſplays the Proſtitution of a *Writer*, who hath the Inſolence to apply it to a *modern Caſe*, as different as Light is from Darkneſs, and to put ſome of the greateſt, wiſeſt and worthieſt Men in the Kingdom upon the ſame Foot with ſuch profligate Wretches as *Falſtaff*, *Bardolph* and *Poins*.

Upon the Whole, I muſt obſerve that he ſeems to make no Diſtinction between *right* and *wrong Meaſures*, or between *juſt* and *unreaſonable Complaints*; but lays it down as a general Rule for *Princes*, that they ought to begin their Reigns with diſgracing *all ſuch Perſons* as ſerved them *before their Advancement to the Throne*, and with heaping all their Favours upon *thoſe*, who oppoſed them, tho' in Points of the *neareſt* and *tendereſt Concern*. This is an excellent Leſſon of Gratitude for *Princes*; and we have ſeveral Inſtances of its being put in Practice, of a much freſher Date than the Reigns of *Richard* I. and *Henry* V.

I ſhould think it would be of more Uſe, to inculcate the Example of *Henry* VIII. who, inſtead of diſcarding his *old, faithful Servants*, upon his Acceſſion, inflicted exemplary Puniſhment upon thoſe, who had fleeced the People in his *Father's* Reign.

But, for God's Sake, why are we to be entertain'd only with the Hiſtory of thoſe Princes, who have had the Misfortune, either by their *own Fault* or that of *others*, to live in a State of Diſcord with their *Royal Fathers*? Why ſhould not we look a little on the bright Side of the Queſtion, and take a View of the happy Effects, which naturally reſult from a mutual Intercourſe of *Duty* and *Affection* between the *Father* and the *Son*? The Reign of *Edward* III. would have furniſhed *our Author* with a glorious Inſtance of this Kind; and he might have drawn a much juſter Parallel between his Son, the *black Prince*, and *another Perſon*, of the ſame high Rank, than he hath done in the *Libel* now before me. Prince *Edward* was really poſſeſs'd of an *amiable Diſpoſition* and *excellent Endowments*. He was modeſt, affable, valiant and generous. No body was more ſenſible of his Virtues than the *King his Father*, who was ſo far from being jealous of his *Popularity*, that he took all Opportunities of ſhewing him in the moſt advantageous Light. At *ſix Years of Age*, he created him *Duke of Cornwal*; being the firſt Prince, who bore that Title. When he was 13, he created him *Prince of Wales* in Parliament, and inveſted him with *that Principality*. At the Age of 16, he carry'd him into *France*, where he went to oppoſe the Progreſs of the Duke of *Normandy*. As ſoon as he landed on the *French* Shore, he *knighted* the *Prince*; and having put him at the Head of his Army, in the famous Battle of *Creſſy*, where the *Prince* perform'd Wonders, he gave him the *whole Honour of that glorious Day*, refuſing to come up to his Aid, when he was oppreſs'd with Numbers, for fear of robbing him of any Part of it. Some Years afterwards, he was truſted with the ſole Command of his *Father's* Army in *France*, and gain'd the ever-memorable Victory of *Poictiers*, with an Handful of Men, where he took the King of *France* himſelf Priſoner, beſides an immenſe Booty. As ſoon

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as *Peace* gave him an Opportunity of marrying, the *King his Father* erected the Dutchy of *Guienne* into a Principality, under the Name of *Aquitaine*, and gave it in Sovereignty to the *Prince*, on Condition of paying only an *Ounce of Gold* yearly to the *Crown of England*, in lieu of all Service; ſo that he was at the ſame Time *Prince of Wales*, and of *Aquitaine*, *Duke of Cornwal*, and *Earl of Cheſter* and *Kent*; (the *laſt* in Right of his *Wife*) all which brought in a very great Revenue, in thoſe Times.

To conclude. *Family Diſputes* are certainly a very great Misfortune, and ought always to be avoided as much as poſſible. But is every little Difference, of this Kind, to be call'd *immedicabile Vulnus*; or is there no other Remedy for it but *Enſe reſcindendum?* I cannot without Horrour reflect upon ſuch Expreſſions; which can ſerve only to ſharpen the Wounds, and alarm the Nation with Apprehenſions of dreadful Conſequences.

But whenever *ſuch Diſputes* ariſe, Mankind will naturally enquire into the true Cauſes of them; whether they proceed from ill-grounded Jealouſies, on *one Side*, or from any undutiful Behaviour on the *other*; and whether *Miniſters* may not ſometimes find it their Intereſt to keep down the growing Power of thoſe, whoſe Reſentments they have Reaſon to dread.

Common-Senſe, March 5. N° 5.

Queen Elizabeth's *Generoſity.*

AFTER *ſeveral Reflections upon* Avarice *in general, this Author concludes thus:* Some People have argued, that exceſſive Avarice in a Prince or a Miniſter cannot endanger the Liberties of a free People; and the Reaſon they give for it is, that ſo much Hatred and Contempt always follows this Vice, that the People will hardly be deceiv'd or ſeduced by Perſons of that Character. But in Anſwer to this we may ſay, there are various Methods of encroaching upon the Subject, and it may be done againſt their Grain, by People never ſo much hated and deſpiſed; beſides, as nothing can give ſuch Means of accumulating of Wealth as Power, an avaritious Prince will be tempted to try all Methods to become arbitrary, becauſe he may thereby become Maſter of the Purſes of the People, and may gratify his own Avarice.

Queen *Elizabeth* was frugal and generous at the ſame Time; ſhe was frugal of her People's Money, but generous where her own particular Intereſt was concern'd. She well knew that not only the Support of the State, but her own Subſiſtence, came out of the Pockets of the People; and if ſhe was ſparing of her Expences, it was not to hoard up Money like a ſordid Miſer, but to keep it in the Coffers of her Subjects; for ſhe thought ſhe could not be poor while they were rich. We ſee her returning one Year half the Subſidies which had been granted the Year before, telling the People ſhe had made the half do, and that ſhe returned the reſt to them to whom of Right it belong'd. Where is the Wonder then that the Memory of this great Queen ſhould be ſo much revered as it is, and that her Miniſters ſhould be ſo much extolled and admired ever ſince? But ſo it will be, when Men of true Wiſdom preſide in the Councils of Kings. Had *Burleigh* or *Walſingham* been vers'd in nothing but the ſhuffling Practices of Stock-Jobbers or Brokers, this Money would moſt certainly have been all ſunk; nay, it is ten to one that inſtead of being return'd to the People a Deficiency would have been brought in, and it would have been a good miniſterial Job; for when Men of ſuch infamous Characters are placed in Power, the little mean Tricks of a common Sharper become the Politicks of the State.

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Daily Gazetteer, March 9. N° 533.

Extract from the Hiſtory of the Popes, *printed at the* Hague, *by* H. Schaurleer.

THE *Romiſh* Church was not only degenerated, but entirely corrupted before the Beginning of the Ninth Century; and her Human Ceremonies, full of Superſtition, were introduced into almoſt all Churches, together with the Pope's Supremacy. The Biſhops were permitted to refuſe Obedience to their Metropolitans, and to appeal from them to the Pope. The Popes, for their Part, found Means to free themſelves from the Yoke of the Eaſtern Emperors, their lawful Sovereigns; which was effected partly by Fraud, and partly by Force. To this End, the Protection of the Kings of *France*, whom they knew how to manage with great Dexterity, was of no little Service to them. The whole Buſineſs of Religion conſiſted in Submiſſion to the Papal Authority, Adoration of Images, Conſecration of Churches, Church Ornaments, Invocation of Saints, the *Gregorian* Hymn, Organs, the Solemnity of the Maſs, the Celibacy of the Prieſts, Vows and Pilgrimages. The Clergy were exceſſive ignorant. In the Choice of Biſhops, no Scrutiny was made either into their Doctrine or Manners. They had all the neceſſary Qualifications, if they could but ſay the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and ſing Maſs and the Hymns appointed to be ſung in the Church.

This ſuperſtitious Worſhip, it is true, did not prevail every where. The Eaſtern Church would ſuffer no Images, but break them. The *Gallican* Church continued long of Opinion, that they ought neither to be worſhip'd nor broken. The *Infallibility* of the Pope was not yet ſo generally received by that Church, but that two pious Princes, *Charles the Great* and St. *Lewis*, together with ſome of the moſt Learned of the *French* Clergy, were of Opinion, that the Pope had bewray'd his Fallibility in the Caſe of Image-worſhip. They were not of Opinion, that the Decrees of a Council, that the Pope called a general one, and had aſſiſted at by his Legate, were to be received on Pain of eternal Damnation.

Weekly Miſcellany, March 11. N° 220.

This Paper contains a long Letter in Defence of the Clergy; *in which, after ſeveral Arguments againſt the late* Quakers Bill, *the Writer proceeds thus:*

IMMEDIATELY upon ſaving our *Tithes* from the *Quakers*, we are threatened with *A Curates' Act*. A great Outcry is made againſt the whole Body of the Clergy, for their *ill Uſage* of, and *ſmall Allowance* to their *Curates*. The inferior Clergy are cajoll'd by falſe Friends, to hurt their Brethren, and themſelves in the Concluſion. Pamphlets, News-Papers, Converſation are all filled with this Topick: And the *Curates* are call'd upon to *apply to Parliament*, and appear with their *Petitions*.

The Report of the ill Uſage of Curates, however true it may be in ſome particular Inſtances, yet *in the general* is *falſe*; raiſed by thoſe who are Enemies to the eſtabliſh'd Church, and would bring *That* into Diſgrace, by throwing this Odium on its *Miniſters*.

In ſo large a Body as the Clergy of *England*, there is no anſwering for the Temper and Diſcretion of every Individual. The *Rector* may be blame-worthy; or the *Curate* may purſue wrong Methods, and act indiſcreetly, and thereby give a juſt Occaſion to the Rector, for differing with him. But, where *one* Curate is ill uſed, many Inſtances may be named, where they are treated with the

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the utmoſt Kindneſs, Humanity and Encouragement.

Bad Curates will take hold of any Thing for Complaint, to hide their own ill Conduct; and it is obſervable, that thoſe who have been moſt forward to complain of the Hardſhips of the inferior Clergy, have been Men, who have leaſt merited Regard. But the Generality of them are worthy Men; and, as they know they have no *real* Occaſion to complain of *their* Uſage, ſo they will diſdain to join with the *others*, or to uſe ſuch Methods, as ſhall throw an unjuſt Reflection on the whole Body of their Brethren; but are eaſy in their Station, 'till a good Providence, Friends, or their own Merit raiſe them higher: I mention *Merit* laſt, becauſe it is the laſt Qualification regarded in *theſe Times*, except it be *Political* Merit.

I am informed, that moſt Curates (unleſs it be *Readers* in *London*) are allowed 40*l.* or 50*l.* *per Ann.* or their Income is made worth ſo much in Perquiſites, and other Advantages allowed by the Rector. Let us ſuppoſe then, that the Income of the Rectors or Vicars who keep Curates, at a *Medium*, is 250*l.* *per Ann.* out of this muſt be deducted for *Tenths*, *Taxes*, *Rates*, *Penſions*, *Procurations*, &c. a very conſiderable Sum, together, with the large Expences, and neceſſary Charges, which attend *Country-Livings*; where the Tithes muſt either be taken in Kind, or the Rector muſt loſe a conſiderable Part of his Income. Now after theſe large Deductions are made, I would aſk which is the beſt Income, the *Remainder* of theſe 250*l.* *per Ann.* (out of which is to be a *farther Deduction* of 40*l.* or 50*l.* *per Ann.* for the Curate's Salary) for the Subſiſtence of the Rector and his Family; or 50*l.* nay 40*l.* *per Ann.* for the Curate, who has generally no one but *himſelf* to take care of?

Whatever the Legiſlature may do when the Matter comes before them, I hope the Curates will have their Eyes a little open in this Affair, with reſpect to thoſe, who are ſo ſtrenuous in encouraging them to make their Application.

If it be made more expenſive than the Income of the Living, or Vicarage can well bear, there will be no Curates kept at all, but where there is an abſolute Neceſſity; the Number at leaſt will be greatly diminiſhed; and then will theſe charitable Gentlemen even bid them, *God Speed!*

Craftſman, March. 12. N° 558.

The Arts of Miniſters, with a Speech of Lord Lucas *in Parliament, in the Reign of K.* Charles II.

Dear CALEB,

WHENEVER the *Miniſter of a King*, aſpiring to abſolute Monarchy, had a Deſign of extending the *royal Prerogative*, one of the common Artifices made uſe of, was alarming the Nation with ſome Attempt from abroad, in order to drain the *Subjects* of their Money, and make them unable to reſiſt any Incroachment on their *Liberties*. But, I believe, if we conſult our Hiſtory, it will be found that the laviſh Bounties of the *People* granted to the *Crown*, under Pretence of purchaſing or preſerving a *preſent Peace*, were more injurious to the Strength and Glory of *England*, than an *hearty*, tho' *laſting War*; and I preſume it will be allow'd, even by the *Sycophants of a Court*, that very little Deference will be paid to a *Nation*, which ſuffers daily, repeated Inſults from *foreign Powers*, without revenging them, or taking any Notice of it farther than entering into *tedious Negotiations*, and appointing *Commiſſioners* to enquire into the Damages, without redreſſing the Grievance.

But leſt a *mercenary Set of Scribblers*

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Sters ſhould put a bad Conſtruction on what I have ſaid, I would not be underſtood to endeavour to make People murmur at granting the *Supplies* really neceſſary for executing any Deſigns, tending to the Honour of his Majeſty, and the Welfare of the Kingdom. Neither do I think that we ought implicitly to believe all the *Aſſertions* of a *Miniſter*, but examine ourſelves a little into Affairs, and not pay a blind Obedience to his *Ipſe dixit*.

In the Reign of *Charles* II. when the Pretence before-mentioned was frequently employ'd to ſerve the *Court*, Lord *Lucas* made an excellent Speech in the following Manner.

He firſt of all complain'd, "That whereas it was the Hopes of all good Men, that the *King* would procure Eaſe to his *Subjects*, their Burthens were more heavy than ever, whilſt their Strength was diminiſh'd, and ſo they were leſs able to ſupport them.—That if the vaſt Sums given had all been employ'd for the *King* and *Kingdom*, it would not have ſo much troubled him and others; but that the Nation could not, without infinite Regret of Heart, ſee ſo great a Part of the Money pounded up in the *Purſes* of a few private Men, who in the Time of his Majeſty's moſt happy Reſtoration, were worth little or nothing, but were now purchaſing Lands, and kept their Coaches and ſix Horſes, their Pages and their Lacqueys; while in the mean Time thoſe, who had faithfully ſerved the *King*, were expoſed to Penury and Want, and had ſcarce ſufficient left to buy them Bread. But ſuppoſing all the Money given had been employed for the Uſe of his Majeſty, and that he was not cozened, as without Doubt he was; yet ought there to be no Bounds, no Moderation in giving? Can it be ſaid that his Majeſty will not be able to maintain the *Triple-Alliance*, without a plentiful Supply; and that the Nation will run the Hazard of being conquer'd? This may be a Reaſon for giving ſomething, but it is ſo far from being an Argument for giving ſo much, that it may be clearly made out that it is the direct and ready Way to be conquer'd by a *Foreigner*; and it may be the Policy of the *French King*, by his frequent Alarms of Armies and Fleets, to induce us to conſume our Treaſure in vain Preparations againſt him; and when he hath, by theſe Means, made us poor and weak enough, he may then come and deſtroy us. It is not the giving a great deal, but the well-managing the Money given, that muſt keep us ſafe from our Enemies. Beſides, what is this but *ne moriare mori*; and for Fear of being conquer'd by a *Foreigner*, to put ourſelves in a Condition almoſt as bad; nay, in ſome Reſpects, a great deal worſe? For when we are under the Power of the *Victor*, we know we can fall no lower, and the Certainty of our Miſeries is in ſome Sort a Diminution of them. But in this wild Way we have no Certainty at all; for if you give thus much to Day, you may give as much more to Morrow, and never leave off giving, till we have given all that ever we have away.

It is therefore neceſſary to make ſome Eſtimate of ourſelves. Would his Majeſty be pleaſed to have a *Quarter of our Eſtates?* For my Part, he ſhall have it. Would he be pleaſed to have *Half?* For my Part, upon good Occaſions, he ſhall have it. But then let us have ſome Aſſurances of the quiet Enjoyment of the *Remainder*, and know what we have to truſt to. The *Commons* have here ſent up a *Bill*, for giving his Majeſty the *twentieth Part of our Eſtates*, and I hear there are *other Bills* alſo preparing, which together will amount to little leſs than *three Millions of Money*, a prodigious Sum!

and ſuch, that if your *Lordſhips* afford no Relief, we muſt ſink under the Weight of it. I hope therefore your *Lordſhips* will ſet ſome Bounds to the over-liberal Humour of the *Commons*. If you cannot deny, or moderate a *Bill for Money*, all your great Eſtates are wholly at their Diſpoſal, and you have nothing that you can properly call your own.

Upon the whole Matter, I muſt humbly propoſe that you would pleaſe to reduce the *twelve Pence in the Pound to eight Pence*."

I ſhall make no particular Application of *this Speech*, but only deliver my Opinion, that the Generality of the People of *England* would, at any Time, freely contribute a great Part of their Eſtates, to ſupport the Grandeur and Intereſt of their Country, if they could be aſſured that it would be employ'd in chaſtiſing the Inſolence of ſome *neighbouring Nations*, who may endeavour to treat us like a *petty Province*, thinking themſelves ſecure from any Repriſals, becauſe a *War* may be incompatible with our Circumſtances, and the Intereſt of ſome *particular Perſon*, who regards *his own Good* more than that of his *Country*.

I am, SIR, &c.

Common-Senſe, March 12. N° 6.

To the premier Projector of Great-Britain, *and the other eminent and buſy Members of the numerous Society of* Britiſh *Projectors, firſt eſtabliſhed by the famous* Empſon *and* Dudley, *in the Reign of our parſimonious K.* Henry VII. *and greatly increaſed and improved by the late happy Union between the two Kingdoms:*

The humble Remonſtrance of the ancient and uſeful Society of Jack-Catches.

Right Worthy, &c. &c.

BY the Laws of this, as well as every other Country, Killing in Self-Defence is allowed to be practiſed by every Man: Whoever is *aſſaulted* by a Perſon *armed* with any *mortal Weapon*, may kill him who aſſaults him, if he cannot otherwiſe *avoid the Danger*. But to kill a Man or Woman who neither *aſſaults* you, nor is *armed* with any *dangerous Weapon* for that Purpoſe, is a *Privilege* which has never been granted, till of late, to any but thoſe of our Society; tho' we never thereby gain the Character of *Heroes*, or *Killing Captains*, nor acquire any *Honour*; but, on the contrary, are always looked on as *Poltrons*, and held in the *greateſt Contempt*: However, as our Imployment is attended with *Profit*, and often brings us *a good Dinner* without *Labour* or *Danger*, we imitate greater Scoundrels, by *indulging* ourſelves in *Luxury*, and *deſpiſing* the *Opinion of Mankind*.

For this Reaſon we are fond of our *Privilege*, and would gladly enjoy it *without a Rival*. But, to our great Sorrow, the Gentlemen called *Soldiers*, have ſome Time ſince aſſumed *a Privilege* of *executing one another*; and in order, as we ſuppoſe, to avoid being called *Jack-Catchers*, have invented a new Method of exerciſing this Privilege, which they call *Shooting*; but as we can find no Difference between *pointing a Muſket* to a defenceleſs Man's *Breaſt*, and putting a *Nooſe* about his *Neck*, and as the Performers on ſuch Occaſions are never in any more *Danger* than we, notwithſtanding their *boaſted Courage* and *Honour*, we muſt look upon them as our *Brethren*.

Though this be certainly an Incroachment upon our Privilege, yet we ſhould not have complained, if the Gentlemen had contented themſelves with *ſhooting one another only*; but they are, we hear, for aſſuming a Power over *all other Perſons* in the Kingdom; and as the *Prieſts* of old, by a certain Form of *conjuring Words*, *delivered* Men over to the *Devil*,

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Devil, ſo we have now *a modern Sort of Prieſts*, who, tho' they are certainly no *Conjurers* in any other Reſpect, have a Power, by a *certain Form of Words*, to *deliver* at once a *Multitude* of Men, Women, and Children over to the *Soldiers* to be *ſhot*; by which *Livery* thoſe Gentlemen become ſeized of a legal Power to execute, without Judge or Jury, as many of them as they pleaſe.

What others may think of this modern Sort of Excommunication, we do not know; but there is not one of our Society, who would not chuſe to be *delivered* into the Power of the *Devil*, rather than into the Power of the *Soldiers*, eſpecially if they ſhould be rendered a *little Teſty* by a Child's throwing ſome *Kennel Dirt* into one of their Faces; for tho' the *Devil* ſeldom or never made uſe of the Power which was given him by the ancient *Prieſts*, yet the *Soldiers* will hardly fail to make uſe of the Power given them by this *modern Sort of Prieſts*.

In this Caſe too the *Soldiers* cannot properly be ſaid to be in *any Danger*, therefore the Executions they perform on ſuch Occaſions, ſeem to be Incroachments upon our *Trade*, and the Performers ſeem to be our Brethren, if not our Rivals; however, we have generally looked on this Method of putting Men, Women, and Children to Death, as a Sort of *Conjuring*, and conſequently not within our Province; for none of us have ever been ſuſpected of being *Conjurers*, or of dealing with the *Devil*, and but *very few even* of thoſe whoſe Orders we obey; yet it muſt be allowed that *many* of them are *old Women*.

But we are informed that *ſome Projectors* have formed *a Scheme* (which we hope is not true) for taking away the *conjuring* Part of this Method of Execution, and for *delivering* the whole People, Man, Wife, Widow, Maiden, and Child, into the Power of the *Soldiers*, to be *ſhot* whenever they have a Mind, without any formal *Livery* from any Sort of *Prieſt* whatſoever; which looks ſomething like the *Pope*'s Method of excommunicating this Nation by the Lump; and if this Project ſhould take Effect, it is plain there can be no further Uſe for our Employment; becauſe that *ancient civil Method* of *Execution*, called *Tucking up*, will, we ſuppoſe, be converted into the *modern military Method*, called *Shooting*. Upon this Occaſion, we hope, even the *Soldiers* themſelves will conſider that this *military Method* has, in all Countries, been the Fore runner of arbitrary Power; and may probably end in this, as it has done in all others, *in breaking upon the Wheel*, and other Sorts of lingering and tormenting Deaths; for it is ridiculous to imagine, that a *Government* founded upon Fear only, can be ſupported by any Sort of Puniſhment, which puts an *immediate End* to the Life of *a State Criminal*; and *ſuch a Criminal* a *Soldier* may happen to be, as well as another Man.

Right Worthy, &c. &c.

We have no Occaſion to explain to you the *Uſefulneſs* of our *Society*, nor are you ignorant of the many *eminent Services* we have rendered to our *Country*. We have always been the *chief Guardians* of the *Conſtitution*, and of the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the People; for tho' *tyrannical* and *knaviſh Miniſters* have ſometimes got us into their Power, and generally, while they could keep us, made great Uſe of us; yet we have always *turned the Tables* upon them as ſoon as we could, and have ſeldom failed beſtowing the ſame Favour on them, they had before obliged us to beſtow upon others.

For this Reaſon we hope you will ſtand by us, and not allow that Society to be ruined, upon which your

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own *Liberties* and *Properties* ſo evidently depend. But if this cannot be granted, if the *Soldiers* muſt be the only *Jack-Catches* in the Kingdom, our next humble Requeſt ſhall be, that, ſince they are to rob us of that diſhonourable Gain by which we live, and are to *ingroſs* the *whole* to themſelves, you would oblige them all to *incorporate* themſelves into our *Society*, and become *Contributors* to our *Charity-Box*, which will coſt them but *Six Pence a Month*. By this Means we may hope to be maintained by the *Charity* of our *new adopted Brethren*; and we cannot contrive any other Way of Living, unleſs ſome Method could be fallen on, to make all thoſe who ſhall hereafter reſolve to hang themſelves, apply to us, and pay us our *uſual Fee* for doing the Office for them. This, indeed, would in all Probability be a very ſufficient Relief to us; for as our Countrymen are pretty apt to hang themſelves upon *a Change of Fortune*, from *Bad* to *Good*, as well as from *Good* to *Bad*; upon ſuch *a general Change* of Affairs, we might expect to make as much by *hanging*, as the Clerks of the Peace made ſome Years ſince by *ſwearing*.

Theſe Things we humbly ſubmit to your *great Wiſdom* and *Penetration*, hoping you will in our Caſe judge as *impartially* and as *diſintereſtedly* as you do in all others.

And then we ſhall for ever pray, &c.

Daily Gazetteer, March 12. N° 536.

An ANSWER *to the* Craftſman *of* March 5. (*See* p. 130. G.)

THE *Craftſmen* have two Purpoſes to anſwer in keeping a Matter in Debate, which makes every good *Engliſhman* uneaſy, now the Deciſion of it is over in the Place, where only it was fit to be debated. The one is to foment a Spirit of Diviſion among Perſons, whoſe Affection and Intereſts are inſeperable from thoſe of the Publick. The other is to draw the Writers of this Paper into ſome unguarded Expreſſion, in the Heat of Argument, which they may make a Handle of to aſperſe them for Want of Duty, Reſpect, and Love, where it can never be wanted without the greateſt Folly, Injuſtice, and Ingratitude.

One may reaſonably conjecture, that the *Craftſman* of *March* 5, was written by a Gentleman, and not by *Caleb D'Anvers*. As I take the Writer to be of the Rank of Men of Honour, I cannot make uſe of the Language which beſt explains the Matter and Intent of *D'Anvers*'s Writings. I ſhall only take Notice of a few Miſtakes in the above-mentioned Journal, which, perhaps, may be, in ſome Meaſure, owing to the Light the Matters were put into in *Rapin*'s Hiſtory, who, tho' he wrote with great Regard to Truth and Accuracy, yet for want of more Acquaintance with the Characters of Perſons, has left many Things imperfect.

The Gentleman who aſſiſted *Caleb* on this Occaſion, tells us, *The Character of Prince* Richard *in the* Gazetteer, *is the groſſeſt Outrage upon Hiſtory: That* Richard *had not one good Quality beſides Courage*, which alſo was nothing but a *brutiſh Fierceneſs*, as he takes it from Mr. *Rapin*. But I do not conceive that *Rapin*'s ſaying it, juſtifies an *Engliſh* Writer in repeating it; becauſe he has many Opportunities of a more thorough Information.

Holinſhed, the honeſteſt and moſt circumſtantiating of all our Hiſtorians, having ſpoken of K. *Richard*'s good Qualities, as his *Courteouſneſs*, *Liberality*, *Eloquence*, *Wiſdom* and *Intrepidity*; he adds, *Theſe were his virtuous Qualities, but his Vices (if his Virtues, his Age, and the Wars, were thoroughly weighed) were either none at all, or elſe few in Number, and not very notorious.* Old *Holinſhed*

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fted ſpeaks alſo of his 3 *Daughters*, *Pride*, *Avarice* and *Luſt*, rather as a ſcandalous, malicious Reflection of a *French* Prieſt, his Enemy, than as an undoubted Truth. The Story is pleaſant enough, and I give it in his own Words.

'While K. *Richard* ſojourned in 'France about his War which he 'held againſt K. *Philip*, there came 'to him a *French* Prieſt, whoſe 'Name was *Fulco*, a Preacher of 'ſome Reputation among the com- 'mon People. This Preacher re- 'quired the King in any wiſe to 'put from him his 3 *abominable* 'Daughters which he had, and to 'commit them to Marriage, leſt God 'puniſhed him for them. *Thou li-* 'eſt, *Hypocrite*, ſaid the King, *to* 'thy very Face; *for all the World* 'knoweth I have not one Daughter. 'The Prieſt replied, I lye not, for 'thou haſt 3 Daughters, one of 'them is call'd *Pride*, and another 'Covetouſneſs, and the third, *Luſt*. 'With that the King called unto 'him his Lords and Barons, and 'ſaid unto them, *This Hypocrite here* 'required me to marry forth my 3 'Daughters, *which*, *as he ſaith*, *I* 'cheriſh and maintain, that is to ſay, 'Pride, Covetouſneſs, *and* Luſt; 'and now that I have found out apt 'Husbands for them, I will do it 'with Effect, and ſeek no more De- 'lays: *I therefore bequeath my* Pride 'to the High-minded Templars *and* 'Hoſpitallers, *which are as proud* 'as Lucifer *himſelf*. *My* Covetouſ- 'neſs *I give to the* White-Friers, *o-* 'therwiſe called the Ciſteaux *Order*, 'for they covet the Devil and All. 'My Luſt *I commit to the Prelates of* 'the Church, who have moſt Pleaſure 'and Felicity therein.' As fine a Piece of old-faſhion'd Raillery, as is any where to be met with! and methinks an *Engliſh* Gentleman ſhould, for the Pleaſantry of it, have avoided giving it ſo ſerious a Turn, and to ſay that, in *Earneſt*, which a *French* Prieſt ſaid in *Malice* of a King of *England*, who was at the ſame Time carrying on a War in *France*.

As to the Charge againſt the *Gazetteer* for quoting *Rapin* unfairly as to Prince, afterwards K. *Richard*'s diſmiſſing thoſe that had adhered to him againſt his Father, there's no Need of having Recourſe to the *French* Hiſtory again; it will be better ſet a-right by quoting *Holinſhed*. *Thoſe that had forſaken his Father, and taken Part with him againſt his Father, he ſtemed now ſo much to miſlike, that he removed them utterly from his Preſence, and contrarywiſe, preferred ſuch as had continued faithful to his Father.*

That this Gentleman's Knowledge of Hiſtory is only Skin-deep, appears by his falling into the vulgar Errors; as where he tells us that Prince *Henry*, afterwards King *Henry* V. went ſo far in *Diſſoluteneſs of Life*, *as to rob on the Highway*, which he is pleaſed to call the *true State of Fact*. Whereas this *robbing on the Highway*, was only a Frolick of Youth play'd upon his own Servants, his Receivers and Rent-Gatherers; from whom he took only what was his own. The Chronicler *Stow*, tells this Story very naturally and credibly. 'He lived ſomewhat in- 'ſolently, inſomuch, that whilſt his 'Father was living, being accompa- 'nied with ſome of his young Lords 'and Gentlemen, he would wait in 'diſguiſed Array for his own Recei- 'vers, and diſtreſs them of their 'Money; and ſometimes at ſuch 'Enterpriſes, he and his Company 'were ſorely beaten; and when his 'Receivers made to him their Com- 'plaints, how they were robbed in 'their coming to him, he would 'give them a Diſcharge of ſo much 'as they had loſt; and beſides that, 'they ſhould not depart from him 'without great Rewards for their 'Trouble and Vexation, eſpecially 'they

'they ſhould be rewarded, that had 'beſt reſiſted him and his Company, 'and of whom he had received the 'greateſt and moſt Strokes.'

I was ſorry to ſee the Gentleman's Quotation out of a modern Hiſtory, which I perceive he implicitly confides in, it containing an Inſinuation, that Prince *Henry*'s Father, *Henry* IV. *directed ſome about* his Son, to lead him into diſhonourable Courſes, on Purpoſe to render him unfit for, and out of Love with, State Affairs; becauſe there is not the leaſt Foundation for ſuch a wild, indecent Reflection, in any of our *Engliſh* Hiſtories.

Another vulgar Error, which this Gentleman gives into, is the miſtaking Sir *John Falſtaff*, one of the gallanteſt Men of that Age, for a *Poltron*, or, as he ſays, a *profligate Wretch*, perhaps, becauſe *Shakeſpear*, on no better Account than the Mirth he conceived to be in the Name *Falſe-Staff*, repreſents him as a *Scoundrel*, contrary to the real Truth and poetical Juſtice, which *Shakeſpear* did not much regulate himſelf by in the Conduct of his Comedies, and therefore did and ſaid every Thing he thought would pleaſe the Audience.

In the general Obſervations at the Cloſe of the *Craftſman*, the *Affirmative* is changed to the deciſive Tone, and the Writer is ſo frank, as to apply what was ſaid of *Faction* in general, to a particular Inſtance which never entered into any one's Head. However, to throw the Minds of the giddy Multitude into Confuſion, he terrifies them with this aſtoniſhing Alarm. *I cannot, ſays he, without Horror, reflect upon it.* (a Verſe of *Ovid*'s) *It will alarm the whole Nation with Apprehenſions of dreadful Conſequences*; whereas no mortal Man has had the leaſt Apprehenſion of that Kind; but on the contrary, every one does verily believe, that an *incorrigible Faction* is *immedicabile vulnus*, in *a moral* and *political* Senſe.

Abſtract of Mr. Foster's *Anſwer to* Dr. Stebbing's *Reply*, *which ſee* p. 123. G. *Publiſh'd in the* Old Whig *of* March 17.

To the OLD WHIG.

SIR,

THE Controverſy between Dr. *Stebbing* and me being now reduc'd within a very narrow Compaſs, and ſo changed, and ſhifted, and mixed with indecent Reflections in his two laſt Performances, that it can be of no Service to the Publick; I think I do the Dr. too much Honour by taking any farther Notice of him, even in a common News-Paper. But it may not be improper, for the Sake of haſty Readers, to ſay ſomething in my own Vindication, againſt what, in itſelf, is *below* Cenſure; in order to prevent the Boaſts of a *diſappointed* and *retreating* Adverſary, who, having nothing elſe to depend upon, may probably ſupport himſelf with this Thought, that to have *the laſt Word* is, in ſome Sort, to get *the Victory*.

I hope I ſhall be thought to have ſpoke modeſtly, when I only call Dr. *S.* a *diſappointed* and *retreating* Adverſary; ſince in my Anſwer to his *True State*, I have ſhewn, by a diſtinct Enumeration of Particulars, that he has quite deſerted almoſt every Point in Controverſy between us from the Beginning. Let this be decided by his own Words: The *main* Queſtion between us (ſays the Dr) is this, [not whether Heretics *are at all* ſubject to Church Diſcipline, (which he would now fain perſuade the World is the *only Point* he was ever concern'd about) but *who are the Heretics* who are ſubject to Church Diſcipline] *N. B.* 'Who are Here-'tics in ſuch a Senſe, as will juſtify 'the Church in excluding them 'from viſible Communion?' Again, 'the Queſtion is, *N. B.* What is 'Hereſy?

' Hereſy?—The Queſtion then is, ' Whether theſe Paſſages import that ' *all Oppugners of the Chriſtian Doc-* ' *trine were to be rejected without Di-* ' *ſtinction?* I ſay they were; you ' deny it.' *—If theſe are *the Que-* A *ſtions*, the *main Queſtions* between us, how comes it to paſs, that it is inſinuated in the *True State*, that theſe are not the *main Queſtions*; but that ſomething quite different from them is the Whole of the Controverſy *that is worth the contending* B *for?* Such Arts, inſtead of *hiding* a Defeat, ſerve to make the *Shame* of it more *notorious*. However, mean as the Evaſion is, I ſhall add two Remarks upon it; one of which will, I ſuppoſe, convince every Reader, C that 'tis nothing but an *After-Game*, contrived to amuſe and blind; and the other, that it is an Excuſe, in itſelf, compleatly impertinent and ridiculous.

1. I deſire it may be obſerved, that I inform'd Dr. *S.* in my *firſt* Letter, that I would not be thought D *to intimate*, that the Gift of *diſcerning Spirits* was the only Way of knowing, or conſequently, abſolutely neceſſary to the *admoniſhing* and *rejecting* Heretics. I told him farther, that I thought ' there were ' Caſes ſuppoſeable, in which I E ' might conclude that an Offender ' was *ſelf-condemn'd* with much grea- ' ter Probability, than he could de- ' termine, without being *infallible*, ' that he *err'd from the Faith:*' And that ' ſome Caſes of Hereſy might ' be equally *notorious*' with any o- F thers that could be mentioned. So that I really gave up what he calls the *Uſe* of my Scheme (though that Uſe was never intended by me) and allow'd that there might be Church Diſcipline with reſpect to Heretics *as much* in this Letter, as I have G done it in my *ſecond*. But notwithſtanding this, he went on to debate with me the *particular Texts*, by which the whole Controverſy muſt be decided, in the Manner in which he had begun: He had not *as yet* (it ſeems) thought of his Excuſe, which was as proper to be urged *now* as afterwards; or elſe, imagining he could hold his Ground *a little longer*, he did not judge it convenient to make uſe of it.

2. The Excuſe itſelf is altogether ridiculous. For Dr. *S.* ought to have been determin'd by what was, *in his own Judgment*, the unavoidable Conſequence of my Notion of Hereſy. Now he has plainly declar'd it, to be his Opinion, that if my Notion be admitted, it is impoſſible *there ſhould be any regular Church Diſcipline* with reſpect to Heretics. And as he ſays, that he ' oppos'd my Interpretation, only ' for the Sake of the ill Uſe I had ' made of it;' he muſt ſurely think himſelf equally oblig'd to have *oppos'd me*, if this ill Uſe was the *direct* and *neceſſary Conſequence* of my Opinion, whether I had inſiſted upon it, or not.

As his *Anſwers* are, juſt ſuch are his *Replies*. The Truth is, the Gentleman is bleſſed with great *Preſence of Mind*, and this enables him to ſtand to it, that he has ſufficiently *anſwered* my ſecond Letter, though he has not conſidered a *third* Part of it; and ſcarce *any at all* of the moſt material Points. And now he comes out with a *Reply*, in which he has done rather *leſs* than before, tho' my Anſwer to his *True State* was a *direct* Examination of it almoſt Page by Page. To ſupport what I have aſſerted, I ſhall give a *Specimen* of his Manner of *Replying*. [*Here he recapitulates ſeveral Points he had inſiſted upon, in his Anſwer to Dr.* Stebbing's True State; *and concludes thus:*] On all theſe Things Dr. *S.* has not vouchſafed to make *one* Re-

* *Dr.* Stebbing's *ſecond Letter*, p. 4, 30, 40.

mark:

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mark: And yet this is the Gentleman that undertakes to write *Anſwers* and *Replies!*

What then, has he done? Why, as, in his *True State*, he cavill'd in a moſt *Un-Gentleman like* and *Unchriſtian* Manner for near 18 Pages out of 36, he now continues to do the ſame for almoſt 13 Pages out of 21. In anſwer to all which, a few very brief Remarks will ſuffice. 1. As I have declared over and over, that to the beſt of my Knowledge, it never was my *direct Opinion*, that Heretics could not be *known* without the Gift of *diſcerning Spirits*, I muſt treat that Writer's *incorrigible* Rudeneſs with Contempt, who pretends to know what was my real Sentiment better than *I myſelf* do. I ſcarce met with any one, even amongſt the moſt ſcurrilous controverſial Writers, but what would allow his Antagoniſt to *explain his own Words*. But Dr. *S.* is *Extraordinary* in all Things; and his Character is left upon Record, to *immortalize* his Name, by ſome of the moſt eminent Writers of this Age, and drawn in ſuch *ſtrong Lines*, as I even forbear to *tranſcribe*. 2. Whether my preſent and former Opinions are *different*, or the ſame, is ſo abſolutely *foreign* from the main Queſtion, *Who are the Heretics condemn'd in the New Teſtament?* that, I think, no plauſible Reaſon can be aſſigned for the Dr's inſiſting on the former of theſe Points ſo inflexibly, unleſs it be, that he might divert the Reader's Attention from the latter, by throwing in *Perplexity* and *Scandal*. 3. Tho' Dr. *S.* in his *True State*, had a long Quotation from my *Sermon*, to prove his *defamatory* Charge againſt me; he now thinks it proper to *omit what I have ſaid in my Sermon*; which you muſt interpret thus, that *he is not able to defend it*. To ſpare his Modeſty the Shame of an open Confeſſion, I refer to p. 41, 42, of my *Anſwer* to the *True State*, in which theſe Remarks are ſhewn to be either malicious, or groſly nonſenſical. 4. For a compleat Reply to the Dr's Obſervations on the Paſſages out of the *Old Whig*; I refer likewiſe to p. 43, 44, of the aforeſaid *Anſwer*. There is only one Thing new which he has added to invalidate my general Reaſoning. The Dr. had contended, that it was not *pertinent* to charge with Inſolence *ex Hypotheſi*. To which I (not being willing to indulge his endleſs Itch at cavilling) only anſwered, that *I ſhould not vouchſafe to enquire, whether it was pertinent, or not. But* allowing *it not to be ſo; what follows from thence? Might I not be* miſtaken? *No* (ſays he) *Mr.* F. *could not be miſtaken in this, that every Charge ought to be founded upon ſome* real Truth. I allow, indeed, that if the Charge be not *ex Hypotheſi*, it muſt be founded on ſome *real Truth*; but if it be, as I that ſhould know beſt affirm that it is, the Dr's Aſſertion is downright *Nonſenſe*. For to ſay that a Charge built entirely upon *a Conceſſion made for Argument's ſake*, is *neceſſarily* founded on ſome real Truth, is a Contradiction in Terms. 5. I ſhall venture to aſſert, in Oppoſition to Dr. *S.* that thoſe have the greateſt *Right* to *reject* Heretics, who have the greateſt *Certainty* that they are ſo; unleſs this Gentleman, amongſt his other Paradoxes, will affirm, that the *Right*, or *Reaſon*, is equal, where the *Proof*, or *Evidence*, is not equal. Again, may I not juſtly affirm, that the Words of St. *Paul* to *Titus*, when confined *to him*, and *others extraordinarily qualified like him*, have a *particular* plain and conſiſtent Senſe; without denying that they might have, when applied to *others*, *another* plain and conſiſtent Senſe, founded on a *different State* of Things? And may it not be properly ſaid, that every little *pert* and *forward Prieſt* would be a juſt Object of *Pity* and *Contempt*, if he ſhould take upon him to *decide*

peremptorily in Caſes of Hereſy, *merely* becauſe *Titus*, a Man endued with *miraculous* Illumination, was directed to do it; without ſuppoſing that Chriſtian Churches have *no Right at all* to reject Heretics for *any other* Reaſons? In the laſt Place, Dr. *S.* finds fault with me for expreſſing myſelf *cautiouſly*, and ſaying, *So far as I can recollect*, &c.—Surely the Gentleman is not diſguſted at the very *Appearance* of Modeſty!—This might be preſumed, and therefore he has thought fit to guard againſt this *natural* Suſpicion, by aſſerting that this *common* Form of Expreſſion carries with it *a ſtrong Appearance of Guilt*. But why?—Do you ask why?—*Is it ſo long ſince Mr. F. publiſh'd his Letter in the* Old Whig, *that he can have forgot what his Opinion was?*—He might chuſe to expreſs himſelf *modeſtly* however, at which no Man *ought* to be offended. And beſides, Mr. *F.* very well remembers, that in his firſt Letter to Dr. *S.* publiſh'd about *five Weeks* after his Letter in the *Old Whig*, he directly declar'd againſt that very Opinion, which this polite and well-bred Gentleman would fain impoſe upon him. This he lays before the World as a ſtrong Probability, that *it never was his Opinion*. Upon which he may now juſtly ask in his Turn, Could the Dr. *have forgot this?* Or if not, could he omit taking Notice of it, if he had any Ingenuity remaining in him, or *Senſe of Shame?* What he adds juſt after is ſtill more remote from *Candour* and *Reaſon:* For it only amounts to this, that an Author can never ſay, *Nor did I* intend, *&c. but becauſe he ſees plainly, that his Words import what he would have believed he did not intend.*—To ſuch wretched and deſpicable Subterfuges is the Rev. Dr. *S.* reduced!

Beſides this, the Dr. has conſider'd nothing more, in the Way of *Argument*, than 2 or 3 Paſſages in my whole laſt *Anſwer*. Before I proceed to which I muſt premiſe, that he ſeems reſolv'd, at all Adventures, to go on charging me with what *he knows I do not hold*. For I have told him in my Second Letter, that I do not now believe, *that departing from the Faith is at all eſſential to the Character and Guilt of an Heretic*. And in my Anſwer to his *True State* I expoſtulated with him more than once, for endeavouring to force me to argue with him on this Principle, that *the Heretic maintains Doctrines contrary to Chriſtianity, knowing them to be ſuch*; which Principle I have in *direct Terms* diſclaim'd. But notwithſtanding all this he ſtill ſays, *Who is a Heretic, according to Mr. F's Interpretation? Why (as you have often heard) he*, and *he only, who maintains ſome wrong Opinion againſt his Conſcience, or* knowing *it to be wrong*—This can be nothing elſe but a deſign'd and wilful Miſrepreſentation againſt all Juſtice and Morality.

The Reader may remember, that the Dr's chief Objection againſt my Notion of Hereſy is, that if it be ſuppoſed, Heretics cannot be *known*, nor conſequently *rejected*, according to the Apoſtolical Rule. I had therefore nothing to do but to prove, that the *Self-condemnation* of Heretics was a Point that might be *known:* And thus I ſtated the Argument—'That when the Leaders, or Abettors of particular Hereſies, or Sects, 'pretend a Zeal for Religion, and 'for the Advancement and Honour 'of Chriſtianity, we may have probable Evidence, in many Inſtances, 'that they *intend* only their private 'Advantage, or the gratifying their 'Vanity or ſome other inordinate 'Paſſion.'—And (*N.B.* all this the Dr. hath ſuppreſs'd) 'if while they 'pretend a Zeal for Religion, they 'mean not *Religion*, but *Intereſt*, it 'neceſſarily follows, that in pretending Religion they muſt act againſt

'*Knowledge*, and the inward *Convic-*
'*tion* of their Minds, and, of Con-
'ſequence, be in the ſtrict Senſe of
'the Word '*Αυτοκαταχριτοι*, or
'*Self Condemn'd.*' The *Intention*, Dr. *S.* grants, *the Law enquires into in all criminal Caſes.* That the *evil Intention*, in the Inſtances I have now mention'd, may be prov'd by *probable Evidence*, he alſo admits. He allows, moreover, that *probable* Evidence is *ſufficient* in *Civil* Courts; and therefore it may be ſo in *Eccleſiaſtical.* And that the *Self-Condemnation*, in the Caſes I have put, neceſſarily follows from the Proof of the *evil Intention*, is plain and undeniable. And what has the Dr. offer'd to invalidate this Reaſoning? Why, as I had ſpoken of an *evil Intention*; he asks, — *to do what, Sir!* and tho' I not only ſuppoſed that *certain Things* were intended, but diſtinctly ſpecified *what were* intended, he adds, very gravely, '*Intention* 'always ſuppoſes *ſomething* intended.' — Has not this now very much the Air of a ſolemn *Farce?*

Hitherto then it appears, that the more the Dr. *ſhifts* and *ſtruggles*, the more he is entangled. And as he proceeds, the Caſe grows worſe and worſe. The Dr. ſays, that he *gueſſes that what I call his Rule in Oppoſition to the Scripture Rule, is the Judgment of the Church, concerning what is or is not neceſſary to the Faith of a Chriſtian.* — No, Sir, I had a better Opinion of you, and would have hoped you were not ſo *far* gone, as to make the *Judgment of the Church* your Rule. I therefore underſtood by your Rule, what you have declared to be the *general Scripture Rule, viz.* that all thoſe are Heretics who *openly depart from the Faith*; which *Faith*, from the *general* and *indefinite* Nature of the Term itſelf, it is next to impoſſible that particular Perſons, or Churches, ſhould underſtand and interpret *alike*, I never ſaid, as Dr. *S.* would inſinuate, that the Judgment of the Church, when it is *really* framed upon Scripture, muſt *neceſſarily* be *ambiguous*; but that *the Rule*, on which he contends it *ought* to be formed, is abſolutely *ambiguous.* And I have a greater *Reverence* for the ſacred Oracles, than to believe they can contain *any* ſuch Rules as theſe; which is my *only Fault.*

In the 20th Page the Dr. is ſomewhat upon the artful Strain, and tries to cajole my *Diſſenting Brethren*, and perſuade them to be out of Humour with me, as an Enemy to *Church-Diſcipline.* But tho' the Diſſenters know how, as good Chriſtians, *to forgive Injuries*; they muſt have too much *Diſcretion* to be impoſed upon by the ſmooth Speeches of *one*, who would ſtir up the Magiſtrate to levy Fines upon them — *becauſe they go to a Conventicle.* As to which *pecuniary Mulcts*, if Dr. *S.* had behaved with becoming Humility, or ſhewn any Marks of Penitence, for endeavouring to introduce one of the worſt Parts of *Mahometan* Eſtabliſhments into a *Chriſtian* Country, I ſhould not have inſiſted upon them any more. But as he has publiſh'd very lately, that he aſſerted the *Rights of Conſcience* in the *ſtrongeſt* Manner in that ſame Treatiſe, in which he was for laying *Fines that might be felt, Fines of* 6*d.* *in the Pound, or any other Sum* that might be judg'd more effectual, on all who *diſſent* from the Publick Forms of Religion; he ſeems to deſerve but little Tenderneſs. And I hope I ſhall be look'd upon as doing Service to Religion, and to my Country, when I expoſe a Friend to *Perſecution*; and the *more* ſo, when he is likely to delude the Ignorant by ſpecious Pretences of *Moderation*, and Zeal for *Liberty of Conſcience.*

JAMES FOSTER.

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Daily Gazetteer, March 17. N° 540.

SUCH ſmall Dablers in Hiſtory as 'Squire *D'Anvers*, cannot uſe without abuſing it, either by mangling or miſtaking it. The Lord *Lucas*'s Speech, which he has laid his Hands upon, (ſee p. 137.) is in the *State Tracts* and in *Echard*, alſo in a News Paper printed in the Time of *B——ke*'s Miniſtry, to expoſe the Follies and Oppreſſions of thoſe evil Counſellors, by a Compariſon with *Lauderdale*, and others, in *Charles* IId's Reign, who burnt his Lordſhip's Speech by the Hands of the common Hangman; not that it then deſerved it, for it was ſpoken to prevent a bad Parliament's throwing away 4 or 5 Millions on a profuſe Prince, who had no War, nor Fear of War, with any Potentate or State upon Earth; for he lay, as it were, in the Boſom of the *French* King; and the *Dutch*, the only Nation that was afraid of him, dreaded nothing more than a Rupture. But as this Speech is ſo far diſgraced as to have a Place in the *Craftſman*, it *juſtly* deſerves now the Fate, it then *unjuſtly* met with, it being reprinted with a Deſign to throw Obſtacles in the Way of Supplies, under the ſhameleſs and ſeditious Pretence, that they are demanded for the ſame vile Purpoſes, as when the Lord *Lucas* ſpoke ſo reaſonably and forcibly againſt the Parliament's furniſhing King *Charles* with the Means to enſlave them, which was ſo much in his Will, and in his Intention.

Grubſtreet Journal, March 17. N° 377.

This Paper tells the following Story.

A CERTAIN young Inn-keeper near *Old Brentford* made Love to a famous Lady called *Fine Bones*, reported to be a Fortune. The Youth followed his Suit with ſuch Succeſs, that in leſs than a Fortnight Madam partly yielded to his Requeſt. To ſave Expences, ſhe took up her Abode at his Houſe; nay, was ſo condeſcending, as to aſſiſt in the Office of Bar-keeping; and to crown all, after he had ſighed the uſual Time, ſhe actually married him. The Prize he thought he had won was ſo great, that for the firſt 4 Days after Marriage, nothing was heard and ſeen at the Houſe but Singing and Dancing. But alas, the 5th Day he was awakened from his golden Dream, by a Creature's laying hold of him called a *Catch-pole*.

Madam, on this Occaſion, promiſed what mighty Matters ſhe would do, if he would follow her Advice, which was to confeſs a Judgment to her Friend, whom ſhe repreſented to be a Gentleman of Fortune at *Guilford*, and one who would protect their Effects for their mutual Benefit. The Inn-keeper followed the Advice of his EVE, which ended in all the Goods being taken in Execution; and in leſs than 3 Weeks after Marriage, he found himſelf turned into the Street without a Shilling in his Pocket; and what was yet more grating, the *Guilford* Friend inſiſted upon ſelling the Goods, and keeping the Money, under a Pretence, that there was a Debt due to him from the Wife before Marriage.

The Inn-keeper juſtly enraged at ſo falſe an Act, laid before one of his real Creditors the Injuſtice he had met with. Application was made to the proper Court to ſet the Execution aſide; and the laſt Day of *Hilary* Term the Court was pleaſed ſo to do, and to order Reſtitution of the Goods with Coſts.

This Account is given as a Caution to young Perſons, how they truſt pretended Friends; as likewiſe to wicked People, how they take ſham Judgments, leſt they be expoſed, and order'd to pay Coſts, as this worthy Gentleman was.

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A PROPOSAL *towards Lowering the* Intereſt *of all the redeemable* National Debts *to* 3 per Cent. per Ann. *And thereby to enable the* PARLIAMENT *to give immediate Eaſe to his Majeſty's Subjects, by taking off ſome of the Taxes which are moſt burthenſome to the* Poor, *and eſpecially to the* Manufacturers. *As likewiſe to give Eaſe to the People, by Leſſening the* annual Taxes *for the current Service of the Year,* viz.

THAT an Offer be made to the Proprietors of the *South Sea* Annuities, as well Old as New, at ſuch Times as the reſpective Transfer Books ſhall be ſhut, in the following Manner: *Viz.*

That all Perſons be at Liberty to make their Option for the Whole, or any Part of their Capital, of one or more of the Particulars undermentioned; for which Purpoſe, Books to be laid open at the *S. S.* Houſe, *viz.*

All who deſire to be paid their Money, to enter their Names and Sums in one Book.

Thoſe who ſhall chooſe to have Annuities for certain Terms of Years, and the Capital to be annihilated, may ſubſcribe in particular Books for that Purpoſe, at the following Rates:

For 47 Years, at 4 *p. Cent. p. Ann.*
31 Years, at 5
23½ Years, at 6
19 Years, at 7
16 Years, at 8
13¼ Years, at 9
12 Years, at 10

That the Proprietors of ſo much of the Capital as ſhall not be claim'd in Money, nor ſubſcribed into ſome of the Annuities for Terms of Years, ſhall, for the future, be intitled to an Annuity of 3 *per Cent. per Ann.* only.

And, for the Encouragement of the Annuitants to accept of 3 *per Cent. per Ann.* it is propoſed, That they be not ſubject to Redemption or Diminution of their Annuities for the Term of 14 Years.

And that all the Annuities for Terms of Years be transferable at the *S. S.* Houſe, without any Charge; as well as the Annuities, which ſhall be continued at 3 *per Cent. per Ann.*

And that all the Annuities for Terms of Years commence from the Determination of the Annuities of 4 *per Cent.* without any Loſs of Time.

'Tis apprehended, that this Offer will be more beneficial to the Proprietors, than the remaining in their preſent Situation, and receiving a Million at a Time, to be divided alternately between the Old and New Annuitants, which muſt affect them in a very high Manner, as it tends greatly to reduce their Capital, by continual laying out the Money paid off in New Annuities at advanced Prices.

If the Parliament ſhould be willing to indulge any Perſons, not being Foreigners, who may be advanced in Years, with Annuities for Term of Life: The following Rates are ſubmitted to the Conſideration of Gentlemen who have turned their Thoughts to this Subject; *viz.* Perſons

44 Years old or upw. 7 *p. C.* for Life.
53 —— —— —— 8
59 —— —— —— 9
63 —— —— —— 10

If theſe Rates for Lives, or any other Rates, ſhould be thought convenient to be offered,

It is then propoſed, That the Old and New Annuitants be permitted to ſubſcribe any Part of their Capital, they being within the Limitation of Years above expreſſed.

And that none of the Propoſals foregoing be made for ready Money; becauſe it is reaſonable, that the preſent Creditors ſhould have the Preference

rence in any advantageous Offer made by the Parliament, as this is apprehended to be, since Money may be raised at 3 *per Cent. per Ann.* with a Liberty of redeeming the same at Pleasure.

Weekly Miscellany, March 18. N° 221.

AFTER *several Thoughts upon the Love of one's Country and publick Spirit, the Writer proceeds thus:* That publick Spirit, which animated the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, flow'd from the Veneration of the *Religious* and *Civil Establishment* of their Country, which was kept inviolate from Insult or Contempt. If perchance a single *Diagoras* appeared to loosen these Principles, he was *proscribed*, and a Price was set upon his Head. The *Music*, *Wit*, *Poetry*, and *Conversation* of the *Ancients* were apply'd to aggrandize *Religion*, and make it appear in the utmost Splendor. *Their* Point of Ambition was the Glory of making Acquisitions to the Publick, and they despised the Distinction of *Table* and *Equipage*, as much as we admire them: Hence a noble Simplicity of Manners reign'd among all Orders, and excluded Luxury with its Attendants, Fraud and Rapine. Great in the Council and in the Field, Men grew illustrious, not rich, and, contented to *think* and *act* above the Vulgar, they lived and died like them. *Disinterested Ambition* was catching among a People thus devoted to their Country, and the Trophy of one Hero wou'd not let another sleep, till he had rais'd a Second: While *modern Policy* meanly barters and stock-jobs for Safety, and the Treasure of a Country is exhausted to bribe her Members not to do her a Mischief. It was the Judgment of Antiquity, that *National Security* cannot subsist without *National Virtue*, and that general Looseness and Prophaneness were the Seeds of Ruin to a State. In consequence of this Judgment, the Opinions and Lives of the Populace were a principal Concern, and they were not suffer'd to be corrupted in jest or in earnest. A vicious Sentiment in a Theatrical Performance at *Athens* would have cost the Poet his Liberty or Life. When *Euripides* made one of his Actors say —— *Riches are the Supreme Good, and with Reason excite the Admiration of Gods and Men*—— The whole Theatre rose upon them, and he had been banish'd immediately, if he had not desir'd Patience 'till the End of the Piece, where the Speaker of this Sentence perishes miserably. But Impiety and Looseness are allow'd with Impunity to tread our Stage, and encouraged by Acclamations to debauch the People. Our Taste for what is fine is gone, together with our Relish for what is good. You gave an Account in your Paper the other Day, that the *Footmen*, shut out of their Gallery for Misbehaviour, in a riotous Manner broke into it and insulted their Masters underneath them. *(See the Occurrences)* I am a little singular in my Judgment on this Affair, and think the *whole House*, under the present Management, instead of *one Gallery*, belongs to those boisterous Gallants, who would have deserved Commendation, if they had taken Possession of the *Pit* and *Boxes*, in Exclusion of those, who cou'd hear with Patience an infamous *Pasquinade* on the most sacred Article of their *Religion*, and afterward receive with Approbation another dull Performance of the same Author. If our *Gentry* will countenance Diversions of this dangerous Tendency, if the Conversations of their *Tables* and the Entertainments of their *Theatres* shall conspire to infuse into their Domesticks (who will always be Transcripts of their Superiors and pretty Gentlemen at second Hand,) a Spirit of Irreligion, Licence and Misrule;

Misrule; I shall not wonder, if in Time they change Stations with their particolour'd Attendants, and 3 or 4 Fellows from behind the Coach cut the Owner's Throat, and step into it themselves. I am sure, I was in Pain for the future Safety of a Gentleman, whose Servant I follow'd in the Street, when I heard him say to his Comrade with an Air of Joy, *—D—n you, Jack, what do you think, my Master says, there is no Hell! O pure!*——We have serious Wretches, who make a Merit of propagating this Looseness of Thinking and Acting, and some out of Wantonness and without Design promote it. I know not how it is, but we have got a wrong Turn, and every Thing seems to conspire to remove the Horror from Evil and throw Ridicule on what is for the Good of Society: Our very *Fashions* are criminal, and our *Amusements* injurious to Virtue. I was surprized to hear in Town some Time past, a Lady of Quality had run her Cook thro' with a Spit, and that a considerable Man had hang'd himself: In a few Days the Falsity of the Facts appear'd and led me to apply to a Friend, better acquainted with the Secret of Affairs than myself, who smiling at my serious Air told me, *these were nothing but Huffscaps, purely to divert.* When *Solon* saw a Representation of *Thespis*, who first introduced a Speaker in Tragedy, whose Office was to repeat some fictitious Story between the Chorus's, he struck his Cane against the Ground, and said, he wish'd this might not bring in a Neglect of *Truth* in the common Transactions of Life. But what wou'd he have said, if inform'd that it was the Entertainment of Persons of Figure and Genius, to throw a Parcel of written Lies into a Cap, and then draw out one, which was to be current for the Week, and be spread with great Industry to every Quarter of a populous City? I wou'd not be too severe, but allow this to be *Wit*, since Persons of *Taste* are said to be concern'd in it, and wou'd willingly hope it may be done with Design to expose the malicious Credulity of the Town, and by frequent Impositions of this Kind cure it of the infamous Practice of greedily telling and receiving injurious Falsehoods. But I cannot dissemble my Apprehensions that possibly *hæ nugæ seria ducant in mala*, and what is Play to some, may be Death to others.

In such Circumstances and Times as these, to look for *publick Spirit* is to look for an Effect without a Cause. Shall we expect to find it among the lower Classes of Men, when those above them have discarded it? Will the little illicit Trader think on the Injury done the Community, when those of the first Rank will buy his Goods and with Emulation wear them? When People in high Life run into the silly Contention of vieing with each other in Luxury, Show and Extravagance, will those in lower Stations be sober, industrious and frugal? The contrary is to be expected, is to be seen every Day. The Corruption of a whole People is not a trivial Concern, it is big with the most dismal Consequences. And to recover a Nation thus debauch'd, will require great Attention and universal Application.

Craftsman, March 19. N° 559.

A Reply *to the* Gazetteer *of* March 12, *&c.*

NOTHING can be more mean and scandalous than drawing invidious Parallels, for a particular Occasion, and denying the Intention of them, when the Purpose is serv'd. It is evident that the *Gazetteer* of *Feb.* 21. (containing the Characters of Prince *Richard*, afterwards King *Richard* I. and Prince *Henry* afterwards K. *Henry* V.) was design'd for a Parallel; being publish'd the day before

very

ry great Point was brought into the House of Commons; and yet when that Point was effectually dispatch'd, we have had 2 or 3 more Papers, in order to deny, or disguise the Intention of the first.

The great Complaint in all these A Papers is, that I built my Argument upon the Authority of *Rapin*, without taking any Notice that the Writer, whom I was answering, laid his whole Foundation on the same Authority; and surely in Disputes of all Kinds, it was sufficient to shew B that the Authority, which an Adversary quotes, is against him.

But we are told, by one of the Defenders of this insolent Paper, that old *Holinshed* gives a different Account of Prince *Richard* from what *Rapin* hath done; and what C then? For, without entering into a Comparison between the Characters and Abilities of the two Writers, why was *Rapin* quoted, upon this Occasion; or what had I to do but to shew that he was quoted falsely?

His Account of Prince *Henry*, D and the intended Application of it, is vindicated in just the same Manner; for tho' he took it intirely from *Rapin*, he will not allow me to quote the same Author against him; but refers us to the old Chronicler *Stowe*, who tells us that the *Prince*'s dissolute E Course of Life, and particularly his robbing on the Highway, was only a *Frolick of Youth, play'd upon his own Servants, his Receivers and Rent-Gatherers, from whom he took only what was his own*; whereas *Rapin* says, with great Gravity, *That one of the* F Prince's *favourite Companions having been arraign'd for Felony before the Chief Justice, he resolved to be present at the Trial, with Design to over-awe the Judge. But his Presence not having prevented the Criminal from being condemn'd, he was so transported with Passion, that he struck the Judge over the Face.* G

This Circumstance is mentioned by all Historians, as well as *Rapin*, and shews that the *Prince* kept very bad Company; tho' he was afterwards sensible of his Offence, and suffer'd himself to be led to Prison for it, without Resistance, like a private Person.

As to *Falstaff*, *Bardolph* and *Poins*, especially the first, I know as well as this Writer that *Shakespear* hath been justly blamed for drawing them in so contemptible and scandalous a Manner; but since it is so, and almost every Body hath seen those Plays with Admiration, it leaves the same Impression on their Minds as if he had confined himself to the strictest, historical Truth.

I do not pretend that a Writer is obliged to delineate the Portraitures of Princes, at full Length, in such Essays as these; nor to quote whole Histories; but it is certainly the Duty of an Author to quote fairly whatever he thinks proper to quote at all, and not endeavour to impose Falshoods upon the World. This is a little, mean Artifice, which I never made use of against any of my Adversaries, tho' it hath been frequently practised against myself. If I quote a Passage from *Rapin*, he is a Writer of no Authority; but Nobody is better against me; nay, if I turn their own Cannon against them, he is immediately call'd a *French* Historian, naturally prejudiced against this Nation, and I am sent for Information to *Holinshed*, *Stowe*, and *Tyrrel*.

But why is no Notice taken, in any of these Papers, concerning the *Black Prince*, whom I mention'd to them as a much better Subject for a Parallel than either *Richard* I. or *Henry* V. and whom a *certain great Person* hath professedly made the Pattern of his own Conduct? —— Let me have a fair Answer to this Question, and perhaps the *Gazetteer* may hear farther from me.

Fog's

Fog's *Journal*, March 19. N° 436.

Of EXECUTIONS.

AFTER blaming the Indifference and Levity of the Engliſh *in their Manner of beholding Executions, he ſays:* If, inſtead of applauding the ſilly Speeches, and other Impertinencies, of Villains ſo hardened as to mock at their ſhameful Chaſtiſement; the Spectators of thoſe Executions did but expreſs a due Contempt of ſuch abandoned Wretches; and if that ſeeming Inſenſibility they ſhew at Death's Approach did only redouble People's juſt Indignation againſt thoſe Rogues, all who might be diſpoſed to quit Life in ſo vile and brutal a Manner would be careful of giving any Indications of ſuch a Diſpoſition; and the Apprehenſion of Infamy would, doubtleſs, make on their Minds a ſtronger Effort than the Dread of a Death which now leaves not behind it any Kind of Stain or Blemiſh. I am at a Loſs to ſay, which of the two is moſt out of his Senſes, he who beſtows Commendations on the Follies of a harden'd Scoundrel; or the Raſcal himſelf who believes he can blot out his Villainies by expreſſing neither Remorſe nor Regret for having perpetrated them.

How ſhould Crimes be prevented amongſt us, when even Hanging is but a Matter of Diverſion and Ridicule? Our Method of extenuating the Infamy deſerved by Villains who ſuffer Juſtice by a Hangman's Hands, is very ſhocking, and very pernicious to Society. All poſſible Means ſhould be invented to deter Villains, and more eſpecially ſuch as ſeem not afraid of Death. The Duke of *Vendoſme* during the laſt Wars in *Italy*, had put to Death a Multitude of Banditti and Aſſaſſines, without being able to exterminate them; and there came daily Tidings of freſh Murders. At length, that General, bethought himſelf of taking the *Italians* on their weak Side, *viz.* Superſtition. He therefore gave Orders, that all thoſe who were apprehended for Aſſaſſinations, ſhould be truſſed up inſtantly, without the leaſt Talk with their Prieſts, or furniſhing themſelves with the neceſſary Paſs-ports for their Voyage into the other World. This Puniſhment made more Impreſſion on thoſe murdering Villains, than did the Dread of even Death itſelf: They would willingly have ventured hanging; but they would not run the Riſque of being hang'd without Confeſſion.

At *Paris*, I was told of a Soldier condemned to die by knocking on the Head. He long, and obſtinately refus'd conforming to the Catholick Ceremonies uſed on thoſe Occaſions. In vain the Prieſts repreſented to him, that he ſhould be a Prey for Demons, and muſt undergo everlaſting Torments: None of theſe Diſcourſes wrought any Effect on his Mind. But in his Way to Execution, he had the Curioſity to inquire, where he was to be buried after his Death? He was told, That his Body was to be thrown out upon a Dunghill. —— *What!* (cried he) *am I not to be laid in Holy Ground? No,* (anſwer'd the Frier) *ſince you will not die like a* Chriſtian, *you muſt not, when dead, be laid among* Chriſtians. The ſole Regret this Soldier had at his not being to be interred in a Church-yard or conſecrated Ground, wrought abundantly more Effect upon him, than the Dread of eternal Damnation.

To theſe we may ſubjoin what occurred many Ages ago. The Women, old and young, of a certain Iſland in the *Archipelago*, had for a long Series of Years, got a vile Trick of killing themſelves on every little Diſguſt. All Means were tried to break them of it; but nothing would avail, till the Magiſtracy wiſely decreed, that all who

ſo

to destroyed themselves should be exposed stark naked: Which cured this Evil effectually. These Instances sufficiently evidence the forcible Effects of Shame and Ignominy.

Whitehall Evening Post, March 24.

A WRITER in this Paper first shews that by the Scheme for reducing the Interest of the national Debts to 3 *per Cent.* (see p. 148.) the Purchasers of the propos'd Annuities must be considerable Losers, they being calculated at Compound Interest, which is a fallacious Way.

And then he observes, that the Method proposed will not enable the Parliament to give immediate Ease to his Majesty's Subjects, by taking off some of the Taxes which are most burthensome to the Poor, and especially to the Manufacturers:

For, by the first Proposal, the same annual Interest which is now paid, *viz.* 4 *per Cent.* is to be continued for 47 Years; and consequently the Taxes by which that Interest is raised must be continued for that Term, which will give but small Relief to the present Generation.

And in all the other Cases the annual Interest must be augmented, instead of being reduced: For if the Proprietors of 20,000,000*l.* of the Publick Debts could be supposed to accept any of these Annuities upon the Terms proposed, the annual Interest must then be increased in the following Manner, *viz.*

For 31 Years	200,000*l. per Ann.*
23½ Years	400,000
19 Years	600,000
16 Years	800,000
13¼ Years	1,000,000
12 Years	1,200,000

He observes further, That the other Part of the Scheme, which relates to Annuities upon Lives, is liable to the same Objection; for if the proposed Annuities are taken at a Medium of 8½ *per Cent.* and the Lives are supposed at a Medium to continue 18 Years (which very nearly coincides with the Rules laid down for finding the Number of Years due to any given Life) then it will be evident, that a further Interest of 4½ *per Cent.* must be raised to pay such Annuities, which will more than double the present annual Interest.

Craftsman, March 26. N° 560.

A short History of EXCISES.

THE mischievous Consequences of *Excises* and *Excise Laws* were so fully explain'd some Years ago, that I hoped there would be no Occasion to resume the Subject. But they are such favourite Points with *designing Ministers*, that 'tis always necessary to keep a watchful Eye on their Motions; and there being a Report at present that a *certain great Projector* is dressing up his *old Scheme* in a new Shape, I think it my Duty once more to give my Countrymen Warning of it.

The first Mention in History of an *Excise* in this Kingdom is a * *Proposition*, made to that most anointed Prince, *James* I. *for bridling the Impertinency of Parliaments*, as it is call'd, with a little Army of 3000 Men, and a small Corps of *Tax-gatherers*. The Whole is a very curious Piece, which some of our *modern Writers*, as well as their *Superiors*, seem to have copy'd after, in several Instances.

His first Reason for *bridling the Impertinency of Parliaments*, with *Armies* and *Taxes*, is this, *That in Policy, it is a greater Eye of the People by Force and Necessity, than merely by Love and Affection; for by the one, the Government resteth always secure; but by the other, no longer than the People are contented.* 2. *It forceth obstinate Subjects to be no more presumptuous, than it pleaseth your Majesty to permit them.* 3. *That your Majesty's Government is the more secure by the People's more Subjection; and by their Subjection your Parliament must be forced to alter their Stile, and to be conformable to your Will; for their Words and Oppositions import nothing, where the Power is in your Majesty's own Hands to do with them what you please.*

The next Instance of an *Excise* was in the Reign of K. *Charles* I. who, being as little desirous as his Father to be troubled with *Parliaments*, (they being formerly composed of a strange Set of perverse Men, who were for from entering into all the Measures of the *Court*) he granted a Commission for establishing an *Excise* here, and sent for 1000 *German Horse* to raise it.

From these two Instances we may judge how small a Number of Men, with an *Excise*, was then thought sufficient to destroy our Liberties. The repeated Attempts of *that Prince* upon them took away all Confidence of the People in him, and occasion'd that melancholy Struggle, which ensued. Necessity and Self-Preservation then introduced an *Excise*; and an unbounded Desire of giving to his *Son* more than was reasonable, or even desired, succeeded at the *Restoration*; an Evil, which hath fatally continued ever since. So intoxicated were the People with Joy, on that Occasion, that they demanded no Security for their Liberties, and only bought off one Badge of Slavery, the *Court of Wards*, at the Expence of another, which they had so much dreaded; I mean an *Excise*; the Revenue of which was by good Management

* *See* Rushworth's *Coll. Vol.* I. *Appen. p.* 12.

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advanced immenſely higher than it was valued at, when firſt purchaſed; and, at the latter Part of the ſame Reign, the *King* was able to ſubſiſt an *Army*, without a *Parliament*.

Theſe vaſt Revenues being once eſtabliſhed, they were ſeized upon by the *ſucceeding Prince*, without the Conſent of *Parliament*, and were more than ſufficient to keep up *that Army*, which would have compleated the long-projected Scheme of our Slavery, if King *James* had not meddled with *Religion* and the *Church*, or been ſo precipitate in the Execution of his Deſigns.

But the *Revolution* ſaved us, and once more gave us an Opportunity of ſecuring our *Liberties*. Many Things were wiſely and juſtly ſettled; ſome eſcaped, as not thought of Conſequence enough; and ſome have ariſen ſince from the Nature of the Alteration made at that Time. Whether it happen'd from Want of Foreſight, or any other Cauſe, the not providing againſt ſome of them afterwards produced an Uneaſineſs between the *People* and their *Deliverer*. The Alteration made in the Method and Diſpoſition of the *Revenue* greatly increaſed the Number of *Officers*; who, together with thoſe of the *Army* and *Navy*, were ſoon found to have ſo ſtrong an Influence, that many were convinced how wanting they were to themſelves, in not having revived the antient Law of *Triennial Parliaments*. This occaſion'd many Struggles for it, and for a *Place-Bill* to preſerve the *Independency of Parliaments*. The firſt they afterwards obtain'd; and they thought they had got the laſt in the *Act of Settlement*; ſince which, the one hath been glorioufly deliver'd up, and the other explain'd away.

The Conſequences of the *Revolution*, and the Preſervation of our *Liberties*, engaged us in an *expenſive War*, which could not be ſupported without many *Taxes*; ſome of which were raiſed by *additional Exciſes*, and being laid on Things, that were before *exciſeable*, ſubjected no *new Perſons* to their Juriſdiction. But theſe not being ſufficient, the *Miniſters* turn'd their Thoughts to *other Exciſes*; and, in 1694, a Book was publiſh'd, entitled *an Eſſay upon Ways and Means of ſupplying the War*. The Deſign of it was to ſhew how much better it might be done by *Exciſes* than by any *other Method of Taxation*; but ſeems to be particularly calculated for the *Malt-Tax*, which ſucceeded ſoon after.

This was ſubjecting a Multitude of new People to the *Exciſe-Laws*, and on that Account was warmly oppoſed by Mr. *Hampden* and others; who juſtly thought that the Manner in which *thoſe Taxes* were to be raiſed, for the Preſervation of their *Liberties*, ought not to be ſuch as might ſome Time or other occaſion the Loſs of them again. The very *Eſſay-Writer* himſelf, who reaſons entirely on the *preſent Neceſſity of carrying on the War*, abounds with many Arguments, not only againſt eſtabliſhing *new Taxes*, in Times of *Peace*, but even againſt the Continuance of them. He carries it ſo far as to ſay, *That when the People once grow ſo degenerate as to ſurrender the Rights of the Nation, there is no Ward againſt ſuch Corruption; and a Parliament, that would conſent to continue Exciſes, beyond the Neceſſities of the War, would give up* Magna Charta, *or ſettle the preſent Land-Taxes in Perpetuity upon the Crown.* And, in another Place, having argued, as well as Mr. *Locke*, *That all Taxes whatſoever are, in their laſt Reſort, a Charge upon Land*; He adds, *That there ſeems little Reaſon to fear the Gentlemen in Parliament can ever be prevail'd upon to make Exciſes a ſtanding Revenue.*

How far the Poſture of our Affairs is ſince alter'd, from the Doctrine of the *Dependency of Parliaments* lately advanced, and the Deſign of turning *Funds*, already granted in Perpetuity for the Payment of the *national Debt*, into an *Exciſe* to maintain an *Army*, muſt be left to every Man's Judgment.

In Q. *Anne*'s Reign, the Neceſſity of carrying on the *War* with Vigour, when we were already loaden with a *vaſt Debt*, had drain'd us of every other Source but *Exciſes*. This obliged us to erect ſeveral Funds of *that Nature*; but it ought to be conſider'd in what Cauſe we were then engaged, the *Liberty of Europe*; nor did *thoſe Exciſes*, or any former ones, extend to haraſſing any Perſons but thoſe, who *manufactured or imported* ſuch Commodities as were *exciſeable*.

This was our State, tho' not a very good one, till in his late Majeſty's Reign the Alteration was made in *Coffee*, *Tea*, *Chocolate*, and *Brandy*, by turning the *Cuſtoms* into *Exciſes*; which follow'd the *Retailer* thro' every Corner of the Kingdom, and put vaſt Numbers under the immediate Power of *theſe Officers*; nay, even the *Conſumer*, in many Caſes, is not free from their Vexation.

Some Years afterwards, an ever-memorable Attempt was made to extend the *ſame Powers* over all Dealers in *Wine* and *Tobacco*; but that was happily defeated by the almoſt univerſal Clamour of the *People without Doors*, and the vigorous Oppoſition of their *Repreſentatives within*. (See Vol. II. p. 211, 602.)

I ſhall conclude with putting the Reader in Mind of a Menace, ſoon after the late *Exciſe-Bill* was dropt, *That it ſhould be revived, when Party-Spleen and Self-intereſted Views are better reconciled to the publick Good, and perhaps for the Bills themſelves to be more ſucceſsfully adopted to the Buſineſs of the State, and the Humour of the Nation.*

This ſeems to be the Deſign of the preſent *ſweetening Scheme*; and if I find it goes on, the Publick may expect to hear farther from me, on the *ſame Subject*.

To

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To Miss W—t—n—ll, *of* Namptwich.

[*With* Cornaro's *sure Way of attaining a long and healthful Life.*]

MADAM,

PURSUANT to your late command,
Cornaro comes to kiss your smooth,
white hand. [o'er,
May you, well-pleas'd, his ev'ry leaf turn
Each treasur'd rule, your soft, sweet eyes explore;
And clearly see, in ev'ry charming page,
A youthful, vig'rous, sprightly, firm old-age.
Nobly the wife *Venetian* makes appear
The blessed, brave effects of *mod'rate cheer.*
How plainly we discern each nervous line,
With youthful bloom, and sparkling lustre shine!
The wondrous work both profits and delights,
And manifests the truth of what he writes.
A certain force, and energy appears,
Unknown to sickness,—seldom seen in years.
With ease, the ravish'd reader may descry,
Throughout the whole, a perfect harmony.
How just a temp'rament the treatise shews!
With what a gen'rous warmth, each sentence glows! [riod flows!
How grateful to the ear, each tuneful pe-
Hereby, the pleas'd peruser well may guess,
How much the noble author did possess,—
What far exceeds the pomp and pride of wealth,—
That fine surpassing flow'r of perfect *health!*
Which when a long experience had found out,
And steady resolution brought about,
Fain he the glorious secret wou'd impart,
And free the world from *sickness*, and from *smart.*
His great humanity, and friendly zeal,
Poor, forfeited mankind wou'd help to heal;—
With gen'rous ardour, and judicious aim,
A wild, voracious world, wou'd gladly tame:—
To reason's dictates cause 'em to submit,
And sensual superfluity to quit;
Since *nature* needs but, now and then, a *bit.*
These great endeavours with success to crown,
What ease, what easy methods he lays down,
Securely to become, each chearful day,
Merry, yet wise; and, with discretion, gay!
How justly are those *means* intitled *sure*,
Which do (almost infallibly) secure
That wish'd for, glorious *end*, desir'd by all;— [great, and small!
The brave, the base,——rich, poor,—— and
And, O! most *lovely*, most *discerning fair!*
May *you* a large and comfortable share
Of that transcendent blessing, *health*, obtain,
From pining sickness free, and tort'ring pain!
May *you*, henceforth, from each disorder freed, [read:—
Experience well the truth of what you
Still reap the wholesome fruits of good advice; [entice:—
See, how those err, whom banquetings
And, whence most corp'ral ills have their unhappy rise.
But, why shou'd *you* sweet *temp'rance*, *(Ma'm!)* be taught? [fraught,
You!—who, with *every grace*, and *virtue*,
And, with true wisdom eminently bless'd,
Perfection's pattern, plainly stand confess'd.
May *riches*, *honour*, *health*, and *length of days*, [praise.
(This *life's* great promises,) proclaim your
Long may you *live!*—and late,—(O! very late!)
And calmly yield to unrelenting fate.
May you all temp'ral happiness enjoy:
And, when—(for, O!—ev'n *you your self* must *die!*) [cence,
When so much worth, and virtuous inno-
For heav'n mature, must be translated hence,
Fly then, O rapture'd soul! to joys unknown; [moan:
And make, fair saint! no misbecoming
Feel thou no painful pang, nor fetch reluctant groan.

As for poor mortals of the middling sort,
(Of your bright standard infinitely short!)
Whose virtues are but of the vulgar size;
Cornaro's counsel let 'em duly prize.
Let 'em his sage instructions well observe,
Nor, from his wholesome precepts, dare to swerve,
Who makes it, to a demonstration plain,
From whence flow *sickness*, *peevishness*, and *pain.*
How lively does the noble sketch appear!
Come, all, that value *life* and *health!*—draw near.
See, see the brave result of sober rules:
Behold, what frenzy reigns o'er gormondizing fools!
Joyous advance, each cautious invalid:
Cornaro take, and with attention read. [fears:
Come, raise your hopes; and lay aside your
And learn to live,—at least, *an hundred years.*
Learn, learn to *live*, in very *deed* and *truth*;
Learn to enjoy sound *health*, and lasting youth!
Life's but a ling'ring, specious kind of *death*,
If *mountebanks* must help to spend our breath:
A poor, precarious *tenure* 'tis, when we
By vile *prescription*, and by simple *fee*,
A paltry, mean, impov'rish'd *living* hold,
Thus *man* grows *poor*, and *weak*;—but, seldom, *old.*
Oh! the may seem, thro' *med'cine's* magic force; [source!
Med'cine!—of num'rous ills, the fertil
If war with *nature*, *art* resolve to wage,
Soon we descry th' infirmities of *age.*
Full soon, alas! the martyr'd wretch appears
In *constitution old*;—tho' *young* in *years.*
Nor let the sensual, brutish *Epicure*,
One jot more wise, be thought, or more secure.

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The full, ſtuff'd idiot, a voracious maw,
Into the ſame ſad ſnare, is ſure to draw;
Who, ſtill, to *boggiſh appetite*, a ſlave,
With all devouring *tuſk*, ſoon *digs* his *grave*.
Come then draw near, and ſtrict attention give,
All, that *in earneſt* do deſire to *live*; — [*days*:
Who *long* wou'd *live*, and wiſh to ſee good
Mind what the ſound, ſerene *Cornaro* ſays.
Without delay, the *temp'rate courſe* begin:
And life's protracted thread more firmly ſpin.
In its firſt riſe, each hank'ring thought ſuppreſs;
Fly the *full bowl*, and ſhun the *hearty meſs*,
Of the *repeated*, dang'rous doſe beware:
Of fatal *tamp'rings* take eſpecial care.
Exceſs, in *food* and *phyſic* both, avoid;
Be *nature's* real *needs* your conſtant guide.
Let *reaſon's* dictates bear deſpotic ſway;
No more with *aſps* and *cockatrices* play;
But throw all dirty *dabs*, and poiſ'nous *ſleps* away.
Hippocrates, avaunt! fly, *Galen*, hence!
No longer, now, your nauſeous *drugs* diſpenſe.
Pack up your dev'liſh *awls*, and hence depart,
Ye murd'ring, mercenary *ſons of art*,
With minds on *money*, and on *miſchief* bent,
On taking *fees*, and urging *ſuits*, intent.
For *fleſh* and *blood* can't ſatisfaction make:
Our *lives* and *fortunes* both are brought to ſtake.
You *pick* our *pockets*, and our *bodies flea*,
Rapacious *harpies!* horrid *birds of prey!*
Who, *vulture* like, to *carcaſes* repair;
And, of your worthleſs *ſelves* alone, take care.
Ye barb'rous, butch'ring *elves!* ye *men of blood!* [good.
Your beſt *preſcriptions* do more harm, than
Ye're bungling *tinkers*, all! — (by *Jove*, 'tis true;)
For *five* holes ſtopt, ye *fifteen* make anew:
Nay, (heav'n defend us!) *more*; — and plaguy *large ones* too.
Hold, hold your tongues! — nor *gibb'riſh* cant by rote,
Y' officious fools of great, and leſſer note.
Mix not, with ſure, *dead hand*, a *poiſ'nous draught*,
With dreadful, conſequential ills full-fraught.
Nor, with *licentious pen*, award our doom;
But, by your kindly flight, for pleaſing hopes make room. [renow'd!
But, here, — miſtake me not, ye much
Ye *learn'd!* — *judicious!* — and of *ſkill* profound! [debaſe,
Whoſe wondrous worth, I would not here
Nor throw, upon *the faculty*, diſgrace.
For, tho' the great *Hippocrates* I nam'd,
And noble *Galen*; yet, the *juſtly-fam'd*,
From me, ſhall never ſuffer vile abuſe; [duce,
Nor ſhall my tongue their mighty names tra-
But treat with all due deference and reſpect;—
On ſuch as theſe, I mean not to reflect:
Whom envy cannot hurt; who need no foil;
Nor, on poor patients, *heaps of phyſic* pile,
A *Wilkes!* — a *Freind!* — a *Radcliff!* — or a *Mead!* —
Theſe ſhou'd be honour'd; ſuch as *theſe*, obey'd.
As for your *Salmons*, — *T-yl-rs*, — and the reſt;
(*Quacks*, of conſummate impudence, confeſs'd!)
Who make falſe claims, — who *baſtards* are, not *ſons*, — [there runs
Nay, thro' whoſe veins, with much ado,
A ſluggiſh ſort of blood, on *both ſides* baſe; —
Theſe let *all* fly, that have or *wit* or *grace*:
All, in their *ſenſes*, ſhun the vile, deteſted race.
And now, — *fair, virtuous, lovely maid!* excuſe
This odd behaviour of an ill-bred *muſe*; [tend,
Whoſe lines to *wholeſome doctrine* wou'd pre-
Yet thwart thoſe rules, they'd ſeem to recommend.
How ill accord my *ſubject*, and my *ſong!*
The *commons* are too *large*, the *grace* too *long*.
A *ſpoonful* who preſcribes, yet gives a *quart*;
Sure, acts a ſtrangely inconſiſtent part.
Who quite unmindful of their *text* are found,
Who thus with *ſuperfluity* abound,
A *temp'rate life*, ſeem moſt unfit to teach:
But, ah! — too few ſtill *practiſe*, what they *preach*.
Judicious fair! — O truly welcome *gueſt!*
How happy ſhou'd I be, how greatly bleſs'd,
Cou'd I provide, ſo well as I cou'd wiſh,
A neat, an elegant, yet *frugal diſh*:
And ſuit my *fare* to ſo *refin'd* a *taſte*;
Nor thus, my time, impertinently waſte.
But, O! I fear, I've run on quite too faſt,
Who now obtrude an *homely, huge repaſt*; —
Who pall a *palate*, exquiſitely *nice*,
With *monſtrous meſs*, — (inſtead of ſlender ſlice,) [*ſalt*, or *ſpice*.
An *hodge-podge* ſad and vile, without or
In fine, — dear *miſs!* — with patience be endu'd;
While I an *inference draw, and ſo conclude*.
Since then *Cornaro*, — ſage, of high renown! —
So rare, ſo bleſt a *regimen* lays down; [rid, —
Ho! all, that of *complaints* wou'd fain get
Carefully *do*, what he — both *ſaid*, and *did*,
Be *ſober*, *temp'rate*, *chooſe*; nor *live* too *faſt*,
Who *long* an *happy life* deſire to laſt; —
Or, to poſſeſs, are any ways inclin'd,
An *healthful body*, and a *chearful mind*.
'Tis *heav'n on earth*, that may be thus obtain'd: [*regain'd!*
Or ſure, methinks, at leaſt, — 'tis *paradiſe*

R. D.

A PASTORAL. *Occaſioned by the Death of Sir* Harbottle Luckin, *late of* Meſſing *in* Eſſex, *Bart. By* M. D.

Damon.

WHY, *Strephon*, why beneath this gloomy ſhade
Diſſolv'd in tears and ſilent ſorrow laid?

Reveal

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Reveal the cauſe, that I may help ſuſtain;
For grief conceal'd is made a double pain.
Strephon.
O *Damon*, my ſtupendous ſorrows ſwell
Beyond what you can think, or I can tell:
When told, you'll wiſh it never had been ſaid;
But, O my *Damon* —— good *Amintor*'s dead.
Damon.
O Gods! that word made all the mountains groan,
And *Echo* told it in a mournful tone:
Not with a greater grief the nymph reply'd,
When with a groan her lov'd *Narciſſus* dy'd.
Strephon.
He pious ſhepherd, beſt of rural ſwains,
In vain was lord of all theſe groves and plains;
In vain with gaudy affluence was he bleſt,
In vain of ev'ry ſhepherd's love poſſeſt:
Thoſe groves and plains, that wealth, nor ſhepherds love [remove,
Could buy his life, and death's cold ſtroke
Damon.
Thoſe mourning groves are now bedew'd with tears,
Diſrob'd of luſtre ev'ry plain appears;
The ſhepherds mourn, their pipes aſide are laid,
And nature weeps for kind *Amintor* dead.
Strephon.
My boding ſoul, methought ſome ill muſt prove, [grove;
When hollow murmurs groan'd around the
When croaking ravens cover'd yonder tree,
I thought them omens of ill luck to me.
Damon.
Sure all things griev'd, and nature ſeem'd to groan,
And good *Amintor*'s coming fate bemoan:
And now the ſoul to glorious regions fled,
Has left on ſorrowing earth *Amintor* dead.
Strephon.
Once I cou'd merry ſing a ſprightly air,
To praiſe ſome nymph, or celebrate ſome fair;
But now *Amintor*'s dead I'll ſing no more,
Except to tell his worth, or fate deplore.
Damon.
I almoſt fear my feeble voice to raiſe
To mourn *Amintor*'s loſs, or ſing his praiſe;
Leſt I in ſtriving either to expreſs,
Should ſhade the one, or make the other leſs.
But yet deſert commands, and I muſt try.
Strephon.
Begin, and mournful *Strephon* ſhall reply.
Damon.
Not yon bright ſun, that does his glories ſhroud, [cloud,
And faintly glimmers through th' obſcuring
When he ſhines glorious in his greateſt light,
Is more than his great ſoul ſublimely bright.
Strephon.
Nor this unbounded air ſerene and free,
More eaſy, ſoft, more generous than he;
As it ſpreads round, and but by heaven's confin'd;
So flow'd the boundleſs greatneſs of his mind.
Damon.
The pleaſing beauties of the brighteſt day,
When all is quiet, calm, ſerene and gay,
When gentle *Zephyrs* blow a balmy breeze,
Juſt repreſent his temper, form'd to pleaſe.
Strephon.
When on thoſe banks, where fragrant vi'lets grew,
But now diſrob'd of all their flow'ry hue,
Th' inſpiring god of wit my boſom warm'd,
Methought like him his converſation charm'd.
Damon.
Mourn all ye ſhepherds, weep ye rural ſwains,
And water with your tears the fading plains:
Theſe, theſe he cheriſh'd much as falling dew,
And O how generous, how good to you!
Strephon.
O *Damon*, we as ſoon may number all
The ſcatter'd leaves that do in autumn fall,
Or the ſmall blades that grow around, as well
As all his noble, gen'rous actions tell.
Damon.
O how *Matrona* weeps, *Paſtora* mourns!
And how with grief the good *Fraterno* burns!
The firſt bewails her child before her fled,
And theſe the deareſt, tend'reſt brother dead.
Strephon.
Matrona weeps, *Paſtora* mourns in vain,
And good *Fraterno* fruitleſs does complain:
For tho' by that their tender love's deſcried,
Had love avail'd *Amintor* had not died.
Damon.
Now mourn ye fields, deſerted mourn ye groves,
No more in you the lov'd *Amintor* roves;
But ſmile ye heav'ns, for now above he reigns, [ful plains.
And 'ſtead of earth's, treads heav'n's delight-
Strephon.
That pleaſing thought affords me ſome relief,
And half allays the pow'r of riſing grief:
Methinks I ſee him tread the fields of light,
Clad with cœleſtial robes ſerene and bright.
Damon.
But ſee, yon ſun, like good *Amintor*, flies,
To ſhine to other worlds, in other ſkies:
Black night will ſoon her ebon mantle ſpread,
And put on mourning for *Amintor* dead.
Let us our flocks to yonder folds convey,
And try to drive our gloomy cares away.

KISS *for* KISS. *A* TALE. *Imitated from* La Fontaine, *by Mr.* Lockman.

AS *Colin* ſaunter'd with his bride,
A rural 'ſquire the couple ſpy'd;
When tripping to 'em, *Col*, ſays he,
This beauty thine? It ne'er can be.——
Troth, but ſhe is, cries lubber lout;——
Then, quoth his worſhip, turn about,
And let me kiſs her damaſk lip;
I muſt; I will;—but juſt a ſip.

When

When I am marry'd, here's my hand,
A kiſs ſhall be at thy command.
Nay an 'tis ſo, cries honeſt *Col*,
You're welcome, ſure, to buſs our *Doll*.
The 'ſquire his eager lips applies;
Quick to her cheek the colour flies: —
Thank ye, ſweet Sir; — away ſhe hies.
But now his worſhip, folks declare,
Is wedded to a beauteous fair.
Briſk *Colin* haſts; he ſees the 'ſquire;
The lady comes; his heart's on fire. —
Quoth *Col*, and grins: — Good Zir, I wot,
You have not yet your word forgot: —
No, no: — why then I'll kiſs the dame. —
He ſmuggles till ſhe cries: — for ſhame!
The clown retires with aukward bow: —
A worthy gentleman I trow;
But when our *Dolly*'s lips he preſt,
I wiſh he'd carry'd on the jeſt:
For had they ſlipt between the ſheets,
O! I had taſted honey ſweets!

[*See another Imitation of the ſame Tale*, Vol. IV. p. 386.]

From the Whitehall Evening Poſt.

HORACE, Lib. IV. Ode I.

To VENUS.

AGAIN new tumults in my breaſt?
O ſpare me, *Venus*; let me, let me reſt!
I am not now alas the man,
As in the glorious reign of good queen *Anne*:
Ah ſound no more the ſoft alarms,
Nor circle ſober fifty with thy charms.
Mother, too fierce of dear deſires, [fires:
Turn, turn to willing hearts your wanton
To number *five* direct your doves, [loves;
There ſpread round *Mur*—y all your blooming
Noble and young, who wins the heart,
With every ſprightly, ev'ry decent part;
Equal the injur'd to defend,
To charm the miſtreſs, or to fix the friend;
He with an hundred arts refin'd
Shall ſpread thy conqueſts over half the kind;
To him each rival ſhall ſubmit,
Make but his riches equal to his wit:
Then ſhall thy form the marble grace,
(Thy *Grecian* form) and *Cloe* lend the face:
His houſe embroſom'd in the grove,
Sacred to ſocial life and ſocial love,
(His houſe thy fane) ſhall deck the pendant green,
Where *Thames* reflects the viſionary ſcene.
Thither the ſilver-ſounding lyres
Shall call the ſmiling loves and young deſires:
There ev'ry grace and muſe ſhall throng,
Exalt the dance, and animate the ſong;
There youths and virgins ever gay
Shall bleſs thy name at leaſt ſome twice a day.
With me, alas! thoſe joys are o'er,
For me the vernal garlands bloom no more.
Adieu fond hope of mutual fire,
The ſtill believing ſtill renew'd deſire;
Adieu the heart-expanding bowl,
And all the kind deceivers of the ſoul.
But why, ah *Patty*, ſtill too dear,
Steals down my cheek th' involuntary tear?
Why words ſo flowing, thoughts ſo free,
Stop, or turn nonſenſe, at one glance from thee?
Thee, dreſt in fancy's airy beams,
Abſent I follow thro' extended dreams.
Now, now I ſeize, I claſp thy charms,
And now you burſt, ah cruel! from my arms;
And ſwiftly ſhoot along the *Mall*,
Or ſoftly glide by the canal;
Now ſhewn by *Cynthia*'s ſilver ray,
And now by rolling waters waſh'd away.

An ODE *on her Majeſty's Birth-Day. By* RICHARD SAVAGE, *Eſq;*

I.

YE guardian pow'rs! that *Ether* rove,
That breathe the vernal ſoul of love,
Bid health deſcend in balmy dews,
And life in ev'ry gale diffuſe:
That give the flow'rs to ſhine, the birds to ſing;
O glad this natal day, the prime of ſpring!

II.

The virgin *ſnow-drop* firſt appears,
Her golden head the *crocus* rears;
The flow'ry tribe, profuſe and gay,
Spread to the ſoft, inviting ray.
So arts ſhall bloom by *Carolina*'s ſmile,
So ſhall her fame waft fragrance o'er the iſle.

III.

The warblers various, ſweet and clear,
From bloomy ſprays, ſalute the year.
O muſe, awake! aſcend and ſing!
Hail the fair rival of the ſpring!
To woodland honours, woodland hymns belong;
To *her*, the pride of arts! the muſe's ſong.

IV.

Kind, as of late her clement ſway,
The ſeaſon ſheds a tepid ray.
The ſtorms of winter are no more;
The ſtorms of faction ceaſe to roar.
At vernal ſuns as wintry tempeſts ceaſe,
She, lovely pow'r! ſmiles faction into peace.

To Democritus Etonenſis, *upon his blundering Charge againſt the* Reading *Bards.* (*See p.* 48.)

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promiſſor hiatu?
Parturiunt montes naſcetur ridiculus mus.

IN *Urban*'s defence, ſee *Democritus* come!
And vow that they'll mob him unleſs he make room:
All *Eton* is join'd in the dreadful attack,
A noble ſupport to *Sylvanus*'s *back!*
But ſhou'd you, good *Urban*, this youngſter believe,
His boaſting, alas! will your wiſhes deceive.

Who

Who leans all his weight on a ſhattered ſtaff,
Cannot fail by his fall of creating a laugh.
'Tis plain this poor youth is kept quite in the dark,
His ſhafts are let fly ſo far wide of the mark.
For thinking he comes in full view of his game, [aim,
Firſt at *Archi* he takes his prepoſterous
And furious lets *fly*, but miſtakes in his man.
The public may judge of his ſightleſs condition;
Since *Archi* ne'er wrote the polite *apparition*.
But when he complains of his private abuſes,
Bids *Urban* produce his original *muſes*.
'Gainſt the ſecond, believe me, this ignorant youth [truth.
In his charge has juſt hit the reverſe of the
If the ſcene were once drawn, and the fact but diſplay'd, [trade.
We ſhou'd *Urban* behold at the cobbling
But little he thought, give the rhymer his due, [you.
When he aim'd at the *cobler* he ſtruck full at
But take his advice, if you'll ſtill be a *ſutor*,
Nor beyond your own *laſt* go ſo far for the future.
The third, who becomes the full *butt* of his fury, [*Canterbury*.
His tale might ſend down from the fam'd
To me he's unknown, ſo without further pother, [fodder;
Eatoneſis may take him to *eat* up his
He has *thiſtles* enough for himſelf and his *brother*.
The fourth's uſher'd in with a palpable blunder, [wonder.
But, ſo dull are his opticks, that this is no
Philautus, he tells you, appears once again.
If before he appear'd, *dear Droll*, tell us when?
You fancy the infant had fatherly care,
Will the publick believe one ſo ſubject to err?
Of ſuppoſing miſtakes you had better be ſparing,
The complaint's not at all about *making* but *marring*. [daddy
You're out once again, for that ſame ſoſter-
What ſpoke like a man, made to liſp like a baby. [miſs the white;
But, ſo dim are your eyes, you muſt needs
O *Tyl r!* reſtore the blind youth to his ſight;
And when your hand's in give a caſt of your ſkill,
To clear up the opticks of poor maſter *Syl.*

PHILAUTUS.

A FIT *of the* SPLEEN. *By a Clergyman well known and eſteem'd by the Men of Genius of his Time. In Imitation of* Shakeſpear.

A conſtant vapour o'er the palace flies;
Strange phantoms riſing as the miſts ariſe:
Dreadful, as hermit's dreams in haunted ſhades,
Rape of the Lock.

FAREWEL, vain world, and thou its vaineſt part,

O lovely woman! fram'd for man's deſtruction!
Beauty, like nightſhade to the teeming wife,
If ſeen gives wiſhes reſtleſs, endleſs longings;
If taſted, death:---too hard decree of fate,
That life muſt be a burthen, or muſt end!
Farewel, vain world, dwelling of ills, and fears, [tence;
Full of fond hopes, falſe joys, and ſad repen-
For tho' ſometimes warm fancy lights a fire,
That mounting upwards darts its pointed head
Up, thro' the unoppoſing air, to heav'n,
Yet then comes thought, conſideration cold,
Lame afterthought with endleſs ſcruples big,
Benumb'd with fears, to damp the goodly blaze.
Farewel, vain world;---yet e'er I die,
I'll find [rows
Contentment's ſeat, unknown to guilt, or ſor-
Haſte then, for nimble death purſues me cloſe,
Methinks I hear his ſteps, tho' trod in air;
My fluttering ſoul ſeems like a bird entrap'd,
That beats his wings againſt the priſon walls,
And fain wou'd be at liberty again:
And oft the death-watch with ill boding beats
Hath warn'd me that my time wou'd ſoon expire; [more,
And that life's thread, ne'er to be wound up
Wou'd by the ſpring of fate be quickly drawn
To its full ſtretch.--Haſte then and let me find
A ſhelter, that may ſhut out noiſe and light,
Save one dim taper, whoſe negiected ſnuff,
Grown higher than the flame, ſhall with its bulk
Almoſt extinguiſh it;---no noiſe be there,
But that of water, ever friend to thought.
Hail, gloomy ſhade, th' abode of modeſty,
Void of deceit;---no glittering objects here
Dazzle the eyes: and thou, delightful ſilence,
Silence, the great Divinity's diſcourſe,
The angel's language, and the hermit's pride,
The help of waking wiſdom, and its food;
In thee philoſophers have juſtly plac'd [vows,
The ſov'reign good, free from the broken
The calumnies, reproaches, and the lies,
Of which the noiſy, bubbling world complains.

Said to be added by Mr. POPE.

What are the falling rills, the pendant ſhades,
The morning bowr's, the evening collonades,
But ſoft receſſes for th' uneaſy mind
To ſigh unſeen into the paſſing wind?
So the ſtruck doe, in ſome ſequeſter'd part,
Lies down to die, the arrow in her heart;
There hid in ſhades, and waſting day by day,
Inly ſhe bleeds, and pants her ſoul away.

ECLOGUE.

STREPHON, DAPHNIS.

WHEN genial ſuns with vernal airs arrive, [live
And future flow'rs in earth's warm boſom
When

When birds and beasts soft-melting passions move,
And ev'ry breath of nature whispers love:
'Twas then, where a tall oak its foliage spread,
(Its spreading foliage form'd a grateful shade)
Strephon to *Daphnis* made his ardour known,
And wak'd his passion whilst he told his own:
No vulgar swains, who knew the gifts to use
Of rural pleasures and a rural muse.
Thus *Strephon: Venus*, queen of soft desire,
O aid my raptures as you rais'd my fire.
Tho' on the plain ten thousand virgins shine,
Mine *Sylvia* is, and is for ever mine.
What tho' she's brown, and *Amaryllis* fair;
Vi'lets we find a dusky colour wear;
Yet what so fit as that superior flow'r,
Or weaves the garland, or adorns the bow'r?
Young linnets sing where flow'ry *furzes* rise,
And tender swallows skim to summer skies:
Bees seek the thyme, and grashoppers the dew;
So draws my *Sylvia*, and so I pursue.
Witness the pines, the mountain's tow'ring pride,
Witness the floods that roll the silver tide;
Witness my love that shall no changes know,
While stand your mountains, or your waters flow.
Sooner shall heroes shun the clash of arms,
Than I the bleft approach of *Sylvia*'s charms;
Sooner I cease to tune my rural lays,
Than cease to tune 'em to my *Sylvia*'s praise.
When *Sylvia*'s near, new verdure crowns the woods,
And other sun-beams dance along the floods.
When *Sylvia*'s near, all dullness is no more,
Fled swift as billows from the rocky shore.
So bright the sun in flaming pow'r appears,
When blackning clouds infest the loaded spheres; [fly,
So quick the blackning clouds his presence
When the bright sun darts flame around the sky. [surmise,
—Sure, *Love*, whate'er men feign, or maids
That power's from heav'n which gives such heav'nly joys:
If blind thou art, that blindness is the best;
If lost in error we're in error bleft. [gan:
Here *Strephon* ceas'd, and *Daphnis* here be-
O youth, O first of the inspired train,
So soft, so sweet to me thy lays appear,
As murmuring fountains to the love-sick ear;
So grateful they, as to the tender maid,
Or winter fire-hearth, or the summer shade.
But *Love*, if aught from what we feel we know, [woe;
Of human pain's the source, and human
In *Lybia* sure he pass'd his infant years
By savage tygers bred, or nurs'd by bears:
In *Chloris*' form he racks my tortur'd breast,
And last my tortures while her beauties last.
——— Curse! that I long'd the neighb'ring nymphs to see;
Curse! that I saw so fair a nymph as she.
For, oh! I saw—I lov'd, I rag'd, I press'd
My ardent passion with a lover's taste:
She heard my passion—from my arms she flew,
Swift as a deer, when op'ning hounds pursue.
Love-wing'd I chace, and to the charmer run,
And clasp as ivy to the *Parian* stone:
Like ivy I the trembling maid enfold;
Like marble she, as lovely and as cold.
Fir'd with resentment she forsakes the plain,
Mocks my mad passion and derides my pain;
And scarce I've since the dear tormenter seen,
Though twice the forests have renew'd their green. [that face,
———Whence, *Chloris*, love you to conceal
And fly those pleasures you was form'd to grace?
If not the world, why shun you only me,
And die to him alone who lives for thee?
Ah! why art thou of all *Cythera*'s care,
Less yielding kind, because more heav'nly fair?
In words like these I mourn to all around
And words like these from hills and dales rebound.
In rhymes I oft' and pensive verse complain,
The verse avails not, and the rhymes are vain:
And oft to heav'n my suppliant vows appear,
The adverse heavens disperse my vows in air;
Not all the gods shew pity to my love,
Nor aid the passion they so much approve.
But since the flames which rage within my soul,
Nor *Chloris* blesses, nor can I controul;
From distant prospects of eternal joys,
In my torn breast eternal woes arise;
I'm ever doom'd the pleasures to bemoan
I only wish'd, but never made my own.

The Last of the Mill. A SONG.

1.

DAN *Pope* first in vogue
Brought the blith *Molly Mog*,
And flourisht her praise with his quill:
But strange! that as yet
Not a *Twittenham* wit
E're thought of a neighbouring mill.

2.

That the sea's foaming juice
Did a *Venus* produce,
Let poets insist on it still:
I stoutly aver,
That a fairer than her
Took her rise from the froth of a mill.

3.

But say, O ye nine,
How a nymph so divine
Could the lap of a miller's wife fill?
Say, did not some god
Stray out of his road,
And set up his staff in the mill?

4.

Jove roguish and loose,
In the shape of a goose,
Did *Læda* so lovingly bill;
That *Helen* she hatch't,
Who never was match't,
But by the fair lass of the mill. 5.

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5.
In another diſguiſe,
Alcmæna he plies,
Like *Amphytrion* frolicks his fill:
Then why might not *Jove*,
As a cloak to his love,
Take upon him the man of the mill?

6.
How to tell ev'ry grace
Of this freſh-water laſs,
I own far ſurpaſſes my ſkill:
Even *Pope* could not do't,
And from head unto foot
Deſcribe the fair laſs of the mill.

7.
Once *Homer* inflam'd
An hundred tongues claim'd,
Some arduous taſk to fulfil;
Let me tell the old bard,
This taſk is too hard,
Tho' he had all the clacks of the mill.

8.
Ye youths all beware,
She's bewitchingly fair,
Her eyes moſt aſſuredly kill;
A boſom more ſleek
Than the downy ſwan's neck,
Has the beautiful laſs of the mill.

9.
Under petticoat red
Tho' her feet be well hid,
Yet peep they alternately will;
Which plainly muſt ſhew,
More charms in perdue,
Has the beautiful laſs of the mill.

10.
With influence benign,
Oh! would ſhe incline
With my ſtars but to favour my will;
So it might be with her,
'Twou'd be raptures, I ſwear,
And muſic to live in a mill.

11.
Then fair one be kind,
Nor with water or wind
Inceſſant turn round with the wheel;
Leſt, when I am dead,
It ſhould truly be ſaid,
Thy heart was the ſtone of the mill.

The following EPITAPHS *may not be unentertaining to ſome of our Readers.*

Upon a Tomb-Stone *in the Neighbourhood of* London.

By a LADY *upon her Huſband.*

O! cruel death! how cou'd you be ſo unkind,
To take him before, and leave me behind?
You ſhould have taken both of us, if either;
Which wou'd have been more pleaſing to the ſurvivor.

Upon a SEXTON *at St.* Edmondſbury.

THAT had carried a hundred bodies brave,
Was carried by a ſeaver to my grave:
I carried and was carried, ſo that's even;
May I be porter to the gates of heaven.

In Grantham Church-Yard.

JOHN *Palfryman* which lieth here,
Was aged twenty four year;
And near this place his mother lies,
Alſo his father, when he dies.

A Lady being in Company with a certain Clergyman, they had ſome Diſcourſe about Dr. Tindal's *Book. He aſk'd her what ſhe thought of the ſeveral Anſwers to him, particularly Dr.* Conyb—re's *and Dr.* Cockb--n's? *She deſir'd ſome Time before ſhe gave her Opinion, and not long after ſent the Clergyman her Sentiments in the following Lines.*

TINDAL, give o'er, thou ne'er wilt gain thy ends;
Whilſt *Cock* and *Cony* are the church's friends.

EPIGRAM.

CRIES *Celia* to a rev'rend *dean*,
What reaſon can be given,
Since *marriage* is a holy thing,
That there is none in *heav'n*?
There are no *women*, he reply'd:
She quick returns the jeſt,
Women there are, but I'm afraid
They cannot find a *prieſt*.

An EPIGRAM, *occaſioned by the Diſpute between Dr.* STERBING *and Mr.* FOSTER, *on the Subject of* Hereſy.

THE Doctor puts the caſe ſo odd,
That both are in the lurch:
Himſelf a heretick to God,
And *Foſter* to the church.
The Doctor's in a hopeful caſe,
Poor *Foſter* is undone;
For heaven, we know, abounds with grace,
But Oh! the church has none.

On the Death of the late Lord Chancellor.

HEAV'N calls him hence; his ſoul obedient flies, [ſkies;
Nigh-blazing mounts, and glides the azure
Whom the aſtronomer deſcries from far,
And for a *comet* takes the *new-made ſtar* *.

The Lady's RESOLVE.

WHILST thirſt of praiſe, and vain deſire of fame,
In every age is every woman's aim;

* *There was a Report of a* Comet *being ſeen about this Time.*

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With courtſhip pleas'd, of filly toaſters proud,
Fond of a train, and happy in a crowd;
On every fool beſtowing ſome kind glance,
Each conqueſt owing to ſome looſe advance:
Whilſt beauties lay their baits to be purſu'd,
And think they're virtuous, if not groſly lewd:
Let this great maxim always be my guide:
She is in part to blame, who has been try'd;
He comes too near, who comes to be deny'd.

STANZAS *occaſioned by reading Mr.* Pope's Imitation of HORACE, Book IV. Ode 1. (*See p.* 158.)

1.

WHILE *Pope* to friendſhip conſecrates the lyre, [throng;
The loves to hear the notes aſſembled
And with the ſoftneſs of renew'd deſire,
Inflame the dear re-animated ſong:
Unrivall'd bard!—the kindly taſk forbear,
The youth before had worth enough to boaſt;
You *Orpheus*-like, but raiſe the *Syren* air;
The *Britiſh* nymphs approach!—your friend is loſt.
Hard fate! a praiſe ſo wiſh'd as yours to ſhun,
Or by the fair encomium riſque to be undone.

2.

But oh I err!—and *M*—*y* muſt forgive
A fame that brings ſuch unexampled bliſs!
To love is ſure the nobleſt way to live:
Grandeur and wealth are toys compar'd to this. [wait;
Deſcend, dear youth! the ſhining gueſt a-
For beauty's queen the roſeate bower prepare:
Let her gay ſmiles adorn thy riſing fate,
And ſoften all the pomp of future care:
And, like *Adonis*, boaſt the envy'd pow'r,
To charm the wiſe and fair—when *Pope* muſt charm no more.

PHILO-MORAVIUS.

The FLIGHT. *An* ODE.

Non uſitatâ, nec tenui ferar
Penna biformis per liquidum æthera
Vates: nec in terris morabor
Longius —— —— ——
Jam, jam reſidunt cruribus aſperæ
Pelles: & album mutor in alitem
Superne: naſcunturque leves
Per digitos, humeroſque plumæ.

HORAT.

ALAS! what prodigy is this!
What means this wond'rous change!
My limbs their wonted burthen miſs,
My ſoul pants after unknown bliſs,
And longs thro' air to range.
Shall we then henceforth credit give
To poets antient tales?
Shall we their vary'd forms believe?
Or do my ſenſes me deceive?
Or is't ſome dream prevails?
Oh! if I be ordain'd a prey
To that transformer *love*,
Let me thy dreaded arms convey,
Oh! let me face the god of day,
In pity, mighty *Jove!*
See, ſee the feathers round me grow!
Behold my arms extend
To plumy wings! I feel below
My feet contract, I know not how,
And into pounces bend.
I ſcorn on humble earth to tread,
See I begin to riſe!
The trembling birds around are fled,
Soon as I ſhew my royal head,
And dart along the ſkies.
Now *Venus*, for the wrong I've born,
O dear delicious thought!
Shall ſee her doves in pieces torn,
While ſhe ſits helpleſs and forlorn
With ſobs availing nought.
All, all her *Ganymedes* around,
As *Troy* ſaw heretofore,
I'll with my circling claws ſurround;
I'll bear them into diſtant ground,
Ne'er to be heard of more.
Delia, forbear,—in vain you ſereen
Thoſe *loves* that round you wait;
You are the cauſe of this ſtrange ſcene,
But for your eyes this ne'er had been,
And I had kept my ſtate.
I ſee them neſtle to your breaſt,
Their pinions flag with fear;
Their boſoms pant with grief oppreſt
To leave that ſacred place of reſt,
Than *Venus'* ſelf more dear.
What joy to find their arrows lie
Neglected and forgot,
Their bows unbent, thrown uſeleſs by,
Whoſe wounds how deep, none more than I
Severley have been taught!
Forbear my pity to implore,
Revenge is my deſign:
'Tis glorious ſuch a nymph t' adore,
I own; but freedom's ſomething more,
There's ſomething in't divine.

A FAREWEL *to* FRIENDSHIP.

——*Nomen inane, vale.*

FRIENDSHIP adieu!—thou dear deceitful good,
So much profeſs'd, ſo little underſtood!
How often to thy ſacred injur'd name,
A thouſand vain pretenders lay their claim?
Like flies attend the ſummer of our day,
And in the ſun-beams of our fortunes play!
But when life's *wintry evening* ſhades come on [gone,
Soon we behold the treacherous inſects
And find ourſelves at once deſerted and undone!

The new Eating Song *in our next.*

THE

THE

Monthly Chronologer.

TUESDAY, *March* 1.

THE Anniversary of the Queen's Birth-Day was celebrated, when her Majesty enter'd the 55th Year of her Age.

THURSDAY, 3.

Twelve Malefactors condemn'd the three last Sessions at the *Old Baily*, were this Day executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *George Sutton* and *Robert Campbell*, for robbing Mr. *Smith* on the Highway in *Great Russel-street*: *William Wager*, alias *Cocky Wager*, and *Edward Baker*, for robbing Mr. *Lewis*, and several others on the Highway. *David Jenkins* and *Tho. Stafford*, for breaking and entering the House of *John Dalby* near *Hyde-Park* Corner, and stealing the Till, with several Guineas in it. *These six were condemn'd in* December *last*. *James Ryan*, *Hugh Mac Mahon*, and *Gerard Farrel*, for robbing Mr. *North* and others on the Highway. *These three condemn'd in* January *last*. *Mary Shrewsbury*, for the Murder of her Bastard: *Charles Orchard*, for robbing *Elizabeth Elly* on the Highway, and cutting her Finger off: And *Wm. Maw*, the Soldier, for killing *Charles Dubois* the Watchman at *Westminster*. *These three condemn'd last Month*. *Jeffrey Morat*, the Black, was to have been executed with them; but he died in the Cell in *Newgate*. He was condemn'd for breaking and entering the Dwelling House of the Marquis of *Lindsey*, and robbing him, and assaulting with an Intent to kill Mrs. *Emberton*, and robbing her. He was however hung in Chains, with the above mentioned Soldier.

Four others condemn'd in these three Sessions, dy'd also in the Cells in *Newgate*. And *Joseph Herbert* for stealing the Tankard at the *Globe-Tavern* in *Fleet-street*; *Phillis Fratter*, for stealing Callimancoe and other Mercery Goods from Mr. *Ryder*; *Catherine Pollard*, for stealing four Silver Plates, the Goods of his Majesty; *Gerard Fitzgerald*, for assaulting Mr. *North* (with the aforementioned Irishmen;) And *John Watson*, for breaking open the House of Mr. *Cook* his Master, of Surrey, and stealing Plate; *were reprieved for Transportation*.

SATURDAY, 5.

This Night a great Number of Footmen assembled together with Sticks, Staves, and other offensive Weapons, in a tumultuous and riotous Manner, and broke open the Doors of *Drury-lane* Play-house, for not being let into what they call *their Gallery*, and fought their Way in so desperate a Manner to the Stage Door (which they forced open) that 25 or 26 Persons were wounded in a very dangerous Manner, in the Fray; and Col. *De Veil* who was in the House, being thereupon applied to, and required to read the Proclamation, did accordingly attempt to do it, having a small Guard to support him; but such was the Violence and Number of Footmen in this riotous Assembly, notwithstanding their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of *Wales*; and others of the Royal Family were there, that it was impossible to appease their Fury, without coming to such Extremities as he thought very improper; and being thus obstructed, and hindred from reading the Proclamation, in the Execution of his Duty, and not knowing where this dangerous Attempt would end, he caused several of the Ringleaders of this Disturbance and Riot to be taken into Custody, the Audience having been put into the utmost Confusion, and several Ladies greatly frightned. The Prisoners that were taken were under Examination before Col. *De Veil*, in an adjacent Room to the Play-house, till two o'Clock in the Morning, and several of them (after long Examination) were committed to *Newgate*. A great Number of Persons wounded had, during that Time, their Wounds dress'd by a Surgeon in the said Room. (See p. 107 and 149.)

MONDAY, 14.

His Grace *James* Duke of *Atholl*, one of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, took the Oaths and his Place in the House of Lords as Lord *Strange*, his Grace having made out his Right to the said Barony, as Great-Grandson, and sole Heir of *James* Lord *Strange* (afterwards Earl of *Derby*) who was summon'd to Parliament by that Name in the third Year of the Reign of King *Charles* I.

A Petition was presented to the House of Commons, for an Act for better Regulating the Nightly Watch in the City of *London*: And also for an Act to enable them to build a Mansion House on *Stocks-Market*, and for removing the said Market to *Fleet-Ditch*.

The same Day were drawn in two Carts from *Newgate* to *Execution-Dock*, with the Oar, the Naval Badge, carried before them, the four Pirates lately condemn'd at a High Court of Admiralty, viz. *Nicholas Williams* and *Edward Johnson*, for the Murder of *Benjamin Hawes*, Master of the *Dove Bri-*

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gantine; *Lawrence Sennet*, for robbing and piratically running away with the ſaid *Brigantine*; and *Richard Coyle*, for the Murder of Capt. *Hartley*; and about a Quarter paſt Two o' Clock they were turn'd off. They are all four hung in Chains. It appear'd againſt *Coyle* at his Tryal, that he being Mate of the St. *John Pink*, *Benjamin Hartley* Maſter, did in concert with 3 other Mariners (not yet taken) on *Aug.* 27, 1735, about 2 in the Morning, murder the ſaid Maſter, 20 Leagues diſtant from *Madras* in *Turkey*: When the Captain firſt perceived their Deſign, he ſhriek'd out upon the Deck, and then got upon the Fore Top, begging and praying for his Life; crying, *Dear* Mr. Coyle, *what, are you againſt me?* who anſwer'd, *yes, he was, it being a Thing conſulted among the Ship's Company, and that Overboard he muſt go, and Overboard he ſhould go.* He then begg'd for *Chriſt's Sake, to ſpare his Life, and he would hurt none of them:* He continued to entreat him in the Name of all things Sacred, to ſpare him for his Wife and Family's Sake; but *Coyle* call'd out, *G——d d——n you, why don't you fetch him down? why do you ſtand, talking to him? as we have begun, we muſt go through*; and ſoon after the Carpenter beat his Brains out and hove him into the Sea. *Coyle* was taken ſome Time after at *Tunis*. Againſt *Williams* and *Johnſon* it appear'd, that the former being Mate, and the latter a Mariner, on Board the *Dove Brigantine*, *Benjamin Howes* Maſter, they did, on the 7th of *Sept.* laſt, murder the ſaid Maſter, when he was aſleep in his Cabbin, near *Lagborn*, by giving him ſeveral mortal Wounds with a Knife in his Body; that the Captain's Servant, complaining of the Tragical Scene, they were going to murder him alſo; but the Lad leaping overboard into the Sea, ſwam to ſome *Engliſh* Ships, in the Mole of *Lagborn*; notwithſtanding they threw a ſharp Knife at him in the Water, and purſued him in the Boat to no purpoſe. The Merchant Ships diſpatch'd immediately ſeveral arm'd Boats and ſecured the Murderers, and others on Board, and ſent them to *England*. *Lawrence Sennet* was acquitted of this Murder, but convicted of feloniouſly and piratically endeavouring to make, and cauſing to be made, a Revolt in the ſaid Ship, and running away with the ſame.---One *Mara* an *Iriſhman* was principally concern'd in both Facts; but was admitted an Evidence.

THURSDAY, 17.

This Morning about One o' Clock a Fire broke out at Mr. *Harding's*, late a Diſtiller, but ſince the late Act of Parliament againſt Spirituous Liquors, an Oilman, near the Pump in *Little Britain*, near *Aldersgate*, occaſioned, it is thought, by a Stove Chimney: That Houſe, with every Thing belonging to it, was conſumed, and the two adjoining Houſes damaged. Mr. *Harding's* Wife, who came about *Michaelmas* from *Jamaica*, brought with her a Black Woman from that Iſland, who lay-in about two Months ago, who, with her Child, and a Niece of Mr. *Harding's* about 16 Years of Age, periſhed in the Flames.

A General Court was held at the Bank of *England*, when a Dividend of 2 and 3 4ths was declar'd on the Capital Stock of the ſaid Company, due at *Lady-Day* next. The Directors agreed to allow a farther Time to the Proprietors of their Bonds, to bring them in, and have them mark'd for 3 *per Cent.* or be paid off.

MONDAY, 21.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the Mutiny and Deſertion Bill, the Two-penny *Scots* Bill, and three private Bills.

At the Aſſizes at *Reading* 7 Perſons were capitally convicted, one of whom was for Murder. At *Chelmsford* 8 were condemn'd. At *Bedford* two. At *Oxford* three. At *Hertford* Mr. *Beſſham* was tried for the Murder of Mr. *Prich*, and Mr. *Newport* for the Murder of his Nurſe or Servant; but both were proved lunatick, and acquitted. At *Gloucester* 3 were condemn'd. At *Cambridge* four. At *Bury* ſix. At *Thetford* three. At *Eaſt Grinſtead* one. At *York* five. At *Nottingham* one. At *Kingston*, *Surry*, eight; one for the Murder of his Wife. At *Hereford* two, one for the Murder of his Wife. At *Saliſbury* ſix, one for poiſoning his Wife and Child. At *Winchester* an old Fellow of the Iſle of *Wight* for the Murder of his Grandſon. At *Rocheſter* one was convicted for Smuggling, one for the Murder of his Wife, and two for Burglary.

At the ſame Aſſizes a remarkable Cauſe was tried on the following Occaſion. A Gentleman being hunting near *Maidſtone*, one of his Dogs ran after a Farmer's Cat, and kill'd her. The Farmer valuing his Cat, came out and ſhot the Dog dead. Upon which the Gentleman brought his Action againſt the Farmer for killing his Dog. The Farmer's Attorney adviſed him to bring his Action for his Cat being kill'd. The Gentleman obtain'd 20*s.* Damage for his Dog, and the Farmer 21*l.* Damage for his Cat.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

REV. Mr. *John Caſſelman*, Fellow of *All-Souls*, *Oxon*, to the Hon. Mrs. *Brodrick*, Siſter to the Lord Viſcount *Middleton*.

Sir *Francis Whichcote*, Bart. to the Relict of the late Sir *Neville Hickman*, Bart.

Thomas Brightwell of *Hertfordſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Warburton*.

John Wadman, junior, of *Imber*, *Wilts*, Eſq; to the Honourable Miſs *Windſor*, eldeſt Daughter

Daughter to the Lord Viſcount *Windſor*.

James Jackſon of *Reading*, Eſq; to Miſs *Salmon*, only Daughter and ſole Heireſs of *George Salmon*, Eſq;

The Lady of the Rt. Hon. the Lord *North* and *Guilford*, ſafely deliver'd of a Daughter.

Right Hon. the Counteſs of *Ankram* ſafely delivered of a Son and Heir.

The Lady Viſcounteſs *Nutterville*, of a Daughter, at her Houſe in *Dublin*.

The Lady of Sir *Robert Morton* of *Gogar*, Bart. ſafely delivered of a Son.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Juſtice *Willes*, alſo ſafely delivered of a Son.

DEATHS.

AT *Frome* in *Somerſetſhire*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Rowe*, formerly *Singer*, the celebrated Author of *Friendſhip in Death*, and *Letters Moral and Entertaining*.

At his Houſe in *Fetter-lane*, Sir *George Stonehouſe*, Bart.

Mr. Serjeant *Baynes*, Standing Council to the Admiralty, and Steward of the Manor of *Romford*.

William Wiltins of *Great Marlow*, *Oxfordſhire*, Eſq;

The Lady *Cheſtwynd*.

At *Kew-Green*, Sir *Jaſper Williams*.

Rev. Mr. *Gerard de Golt*, Rector of St. *Peter*, in *Sandwich*.

At his Seat at *Wycomb-Abbey*, near *Scarborough*, *Edward Hutchinſon*, Eſq; a Gentleman of a very conſiderable Eſtate in that Neighbourhood.

At his Seat at *Haſlewood* near *Sligoe*, the Rt. Hon. *Owen Wynne*, Eſq; Lieut. Gen. and Commander in Chief of all his Majeſty's Forces in *Ireland*, in the Abſence of the Lord Viſcount *Shannon*.

Near *Dublin*, *Joſeph Damer*, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for *Tipperary*.

At his Seat at *Bixley*, near *Norwich*, Sir *Edward Ward*, Bart.

At *Dublin*, the Lady *Bligh*, Grandmother to the Earl of *Darnley*.

The Hon. Mrs. *Lumley*, Relict of the late General of that Name, Uncle to the Earl of *Scarborough*.

Sir *Juſtinian Iſham*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the County of *Northampton*.

The. *Davis*, Eſq; an eminent Merchant, Deputy of *Candlewick Ward*.

At *Marlborough*, Capt. *John Beach*, belonging to the *Artillery*.

At *Corſhalton*, the Rev. Mr. *Hollyer*, Rector of that Pariſh.

At *Ware*, in *Hertfordſhire*, *Joſeph Jenkinſon*, Eſq;

Nicholas Dee, Receiver-General for *Suſſex*.

At his Houſe in St. *James's-ſquare*, the Right Hon. *John* Earl of *Aſhburnham*, Capt. of the Yeomen of the Guard.

William Bromley Eſq; lately choſen Member for the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

Robert Alſop, Eſq; Alderman of *Queenhithe* Ward, and next the Chair.

Dr. *Fullerton*, Phyſician of *Chriſt's-Hoſpital*.

Mr. *William Green*, Surgeon of the ſame Hoſpital, Senior Surgeon of St. *Bartholomew's*, and F. R. S.

Joſeph Child, of *Canterbury*, Eſq;

Baron Harteff, his Majeſty's Secretary for the Affairs of *Hanover*.

At *Richmond*, *Surry*, *Cha. Trewanion*, Eſq;

Elizabeth, Dutcheſs Dowager of *Portland*.

Right Hon. *Rebecca*, Lady Baroneſs of *Abergavenny*.

The Relict of Sir *Thomas Frankland*, Bart.

Reverend Mr. *Spencer Warren*, Rector of *Badſworth* in *Yorkſhire*.

The Rt. Hon. the Counteſs of *Antrim*.

Benjamin Burroughs, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of the Peace for the Counties of *Middleſex* and *Bucks*, and ſome Time High Sheriff of the latter; a Gentleman remarkable for his great Humanity and Affability, whoſe Death is lamented by all who had the Happineſs of his Acquaintance.

Edward Turner, Eſq; of *Gray's-Inn*, (known by the Name of *Plumb Turner*.)

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Henry Bradley* preſented to the Vicarage of *Haſley*, *Lincolnſhire*.

Dr. *Rye* appointed Regius Profeſſor of Divinity at *Oxford*, in the room of the preſent Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

His Grace has appointed the Reverend Dr. *Bateman*, of St. *Dunſtan's in the Eaſt*, to be his Senior Chaplain; the ſaid Gentleman is alſo appointed Archdeacon of *Suſſex*.

Mr. *John Mekon* preſented to the Rectory of *Hemington*, *Norfolk*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

William Poole, Eſq; made Receiver-General of the Stamp-Duty.

Edward Tucker, Eſq; appointed Supervifor of his Majeſty's Quarries in the Iſle of *Portland*.

The Earls of *Weſtmorland* and *Exeter*, ſucceed the late Earl of *Weſtmorland*, as Warden of the *Eaſt-Bailiwick*, in the County of *Northampton*.

George Drummond, Eſq; made Secretary of the Moſt Noble Order of the Thiſtle.

Mr. *Say*, Secretary to the Biſhop of *Ely* appointed her Majeſty's Librarian at the new Library in St. *James's Green-Park*.

Henry Hitch, Eſq; made a Commiſſioner of the Salt Duties.

Mr. *William Talbot*, Nephew to the late Lord Chancellor, made Clerk of the Diſpenſation-Office, in the Room of Mr. *John Wheate*.

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The Earl of *Crawfurd* appointed *Aid de Camp* to his Majesty.

John Bird, Esq; Member for *Coventry*, made a Commissioner of the Stamp-Duties.

Captain St. *Loe* appointed Commodore of the small Squadron of Ships of War, to be sent to the *West Indies*, to relieve Commodore *Dent*.

Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Duke of *Devonshire*, chose Governors of the *Charter-house*, in the room of Abp. *Wake* and Lord-Chancellor *Talbot*.

Robert Westley, Esq; Treasurer of St. *Bartholomew's-Hospital*, chosen Alderman of *Queenhith-Ward* without Opposition, in the Room of Alderman *Alsop*, deceas'd.

Mr. *Biggs*, Assistant Surgeon, appointed one of the Head Surgeons of St. *Bartholomew's-Hospital*, in the Room of Mr. *Green*; and Mr. *Scrafton* chosen Assistant Surgeon.

New Members chosen.

Sir *Robert Cowan* for *Tregony*, *Cornw.* but he is since dead.

John Crawley, Esq; for *Marlborough*, *Wilts.*

Anthony Chute of the *Vine*, for *Yarmouth* in the Isle of *Wight*.

Armine Wodehouse, Esq; Knt. of the Shire for *Norfolk*.

John Olmius, Esq; for *Weymouth*, *Dorsetshire*.

Bussey Mansel, Esq; Knt. of the Shire for *Glamorgan*.

PERSONS *declared* BANKRUPTS.

JAMES Bagg, of *Norwich*, Woolcomber.

George Davis, the Younger of St. *Leonard Shoreditch*, *Middlesex*, Clothworker.

John Williams, of *Snow-hill*, *London*, Inn-holder and Chapman.

James Cabuac, at the Sun behind the *Royal-Exchange*, Vintner.

Robert Wadham, of *Poole*, Ironmonger.

Charles Morgat, of *Ludgate-hill*, Chinaman.

William Abram, of *Exeter*, Linen-draper.

John Church, of *Bristol*, Vintner and Peruke Maker.

William Caddick, of *Liverpool*, Woollen-draper.

Richard Ralphson, of *Chester*, Grocer.

James Wilson, of *Highgate*, Linen draper.

John Lindsey, of *Brook-street*, near *Hanover-Square*, Dealer and Chapman.

Joseph and *Edward Bezely*, of *Limehouse*, Merchants and Co-partners.

William Chambers, of *Cambridge*, Draper and Chapman.

Andrew Martin, of *Red-Cross-Street*, *Southwark*, Oilman and Shopkeeper.

Josiah Dooley, late of *Stratford upon Avon*, Malster.

John Bishop, of the Parish of St. *Thomas*, *Southwark*, Cordwainer and Chapman.

William Prest, late of *Taunton*, *Somersetshire*, Chapman.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	101¼ 98½ 99½	*Afric.*	14
—*Bonds*	3 14 a 10	*Royal Aff.*	109¾
—*Annu.*	110,107 a ¼	*Lon. ditto*	15
Bank	142 ½	3 *per C. An.*	nothing
—*Circ.*	2l 10s	*Eng. Copper*	
Mil. Bank	120	*Salt Tallies*	1 ½ 2 4
India	178, 177	*Emp. Loan*	116 ½
—*Bonds*	6l 13s a 10	*Equiv.*	115

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst.	35 3 2 ½	*Bilboa*	41 ⅝
D. Sight	35 ½	*Legborn*	50
Rotter.	35 4 2 ½ 2	*Genoa*	53 ⅛ a 53
Hamb.	34 3 2 ½	*Venice*	50 ⅞ a 1
P. Sight	32 ⅛	*Lisb.*	5s 6d a ⅛
Bourdx.	31 ⅞	*Oport.*	5s 5d ¼
Cadiz	41 ⅛	*Antw.*	35 5 a 6
Madrid	42 a ⅜	*Dublin*	10 ⅛

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	30 33	*Oates*	10 14
Rye	12 17	*Tares*	22 24
Barley	13 18	*Peafe*	20 24
H. Beans	20 23	*H. Peafe*	16 18
P. Malt	19 21	*B. Malt*	16 18

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Feb.* 22. to *March* 22.

Christned	Males 695, Females 661	1356	
Buried	Males 908, Females 912	1820	
Died under 2 Years old			637
Between 2	and 5		170
5	10		65
10	20		47
20	30		164
30	40		188
40	50		192
50	60		158
60	70		92
70	80		75
80	90		26
90	and upwards		6
			1820

Hay 45 to 52l. a Load.

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THE Diſgrace of Monſ. *Chauvelin*, and the Alterations it may produce in the *French* Affairs, takes up all the Converſation at *Paris*; and as uſual upon ſuch Occaſions, thoſe very Fellows who were but a Week before writing Panegyricks upon him, and juſtifying every Part of his Conduct in all Companies, are now writing Lampoons upon him, and accuſing him of the moſt horrid Crimes; for he is not only accuſed of having ſacrificed the Honour and Intereſt of his Country, from mercenary and corrupt Motives, to the Queen of *Spain*, but of having proſtituted the Laws, and ſet Juſtice up to Sale; by which it is ſaid he has amaſs'd above 30,000,000 of *French* Livers; or (near 1,500,000 *Stirling*) and indeed the great Fall of Stocks at *Paris* plainly evinces, that he had large Sums privately veſted in them, and that he has all along had a cloſe Friendſhip and Correſpondence with the *French* Stock-jobbers; for we may conclude, that upon his Diſgrace both he and all his principal Favourites, would ſell out as faſt as poſſible, in order to place their Plunder out of the Reach of the new *French* Miniſters, by remitting it to foreign Countries. Since his Diſgrace, he has been conducted to *Nevers*, where he is to reſide a Sort of State Priſoner; and his great Favourites and Friends, the Prince and Princeſs *de Carignan*, will, 'tis thought, be ſoon ordered to retire from Court; for which the latter, they ſay, is ſufficiently provided, ſhe having amaſſed ſeveral Millions in Gold, Silver, and Jewels, during the Adminiſtration of Monſ. *Chauvelin*. The Cauſes of this Miniſter's Diſgrace we ſhall not pretend to aſcertain; but it ſeems probable that his inſolent and over-bearing Spirit was one of the chief; for he would not allow any of the Princes of the Blood, or other great Men of the Kingdom, to have a Share in the Adminiſtration, unleſs they were ſuch as would ſubmit to be his Tools, and to do nothing without his Direction; and the Cardinal was, it ſeems, ſo wiſe as to foreſee, that he could not ſupport himſelf, if all the Men of Quality and Senſe in the Kingdom ſhould join together againſt him; but whatever may be the Cauſe, the People are generally extremely pleaſed with the Downfal of this Miniſter, and are ſo good-natured as to forget that it was the Cardinal who raiſed him to Power, the Memory of which is now quite obliterated by his Removal, and the whole Nation join in praiſing his Eminence for his Wiſdom and Juſtice; which ſhews how eaſy it is for a King to atone for the Crimes of his Miniſters, and preſerve the Affections of his People.

The Society called *Free Maſons*, ſo famous and ſo much encouraged in this Kingdom, having lately ſet up a Lodge at *Paris*, the *French* Nobility and Gentry began to be as fond of being admitted into it, as ever the *Britiſh* were; but as the *French* Miniſtry are careful not to allow of any Cuſtoms being introduced that may tend to debauch the Morals of the People, and as this Society ſeems greatly to promote Drinking and Tipling, at Taverns and Alehouſes, an Edict of the King's Council was immediately iſſued for ſuppreſſing it; which would perhaps by ſome be look'd on as a Reſtraint or Incroachment upon Liberty in this Country; but People ought to make a Diſtinction between Liberty and Licentiouſneſs; for the moſt certain Method of overturning the former, is by giving a full looſe to the latter.

The Malecontents in *Corſica* have lately renewed their Engagements to one another, and have taken an Oath to die, every Man of them, rather than ſubmit again to the Republick of *Genoa*: In the mean Time they are ſupplied with Arms, Ammunition, and Proviſions from *Catalonia*, and often advance up almoſt to the very Gates of *Baſtia*, from whence they lately carried off an out Centinel.

On the 7th Inſtant, *N. S.* died at *Vienna*, in the 80th Year of his Age, the famous Count *Staremberg*, General Felt Marſhal of the Emperor's Armies, one of his *Imperial* Majeſty's Privy Counſellors, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot. And on the 12th *N. S.* died ſuddenly, in his Way to *Philipſburg*, the Duke Regnant of *Wirtemberg*, likewiſe one of the Emperor's Generals, and a conſiderable Prince of the Empire.

We have an Account from *Conſtantinople*, that in Order to provide for their great warlike Preparations, they had laid a conſiderable Capitation Tax on all the Merchants, and Mechanicks, within that vaſt Empire; from whence we may ſuppoſe they follow that wiſe Maxim, of Taxing poor Labourers and Manufacturers, in order to prevent their being obliged to tax the Rich and the Powerful.

The States of *Holland* and *Weſt Frieſland* have at laſt appointed Mynheer *Vanderheim* Counſellor-Penſionary of that Province, commonly called Grand-Penſionary; but they have given him ſuch Inſtructions as reſtrain his Power much more than any of the late Penſionaries: However he has accepted of the Poſt, being ſenſible that ſuch Inſtructions are neceſſary, in order to prevent the Penſionary's making himſelf a Sort of Stadtholder; which is a Power he has always declared himſelf againſt, and therefore he does not deſire to be put in a Condition of aſſuming any ſuch Power to himſelf.

The

HISTORICAL.

1. THE *Roman* Hiſtory; with Notes hiſtorical, geographical and critical; and illuſtrated with Maps, Copper-Plates and Medals. In Folio, Vol. VI. By *Richard Bundy*, D. D. Deliver'd to Subſcribers by *J. Bettenham*.

2. The Memoirs of *Charles Lewis* Baron *de Pollnitz*. Printed for *D. Browne*. In 2 Vols. 8vo, price 10*s*.

3. The Scripture Hiſtory of the *Jews* and their Republick. By *James Hume*, Eſq; Sold by *A. Cruden* and *J. Davidſon*. In 2 Vols. 8vo, price 8*s*. 6*d*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

4. The Royal *Engliſh* Grammar; containing what is neceſſary to the Knowledge of the *Engliſh* Tongue. By *James Greenwood*. Printed for *J. Nourſe*, 12mo, pr. 2*s*.

5. An Eſſay on Converſation. Printed for Meſſ. *Gilliver* and *Clarke*, price 1*s*.

6. The Church of *England*'s Complaints to the Parliament and Clergy. Printed for *J. Torbuck*, price 1*s*.

7. The dangerous Conſequences of Luxury, &c. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

8. A Letter to *A*—— *B*——, Eſq; concerning Subſcriptions. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 4*d*.

9. The Year of Wonders. By *S*——*n D*——*k*. Sold at the Pamphlet Shops, pr. 6*d*.

10. A ſuccinct Hiſtory of Prieſthood, ancient and modern. Printed for *H. Gorham*, price 1*s*.

11. A Letter to the Author of a Letter to the Biſhop of *London*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

12. An Account of the Proceedings, &c. on the Tythe-Bill. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

* 13. The Procedure, Extent, and Limits of human Underſtanding. The 3d Edition. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, 8vo, pr. 6*s*.

* 14. The Surveyor's Guide. By *Edw. Lawrence*. The 3d Edition. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 3*s*.

* 15. The compleat Family-Piece, and Country Gentleman and Farmer's beſt Guide, The ſecond Edition, improved. Printed for Meſſ. *Bettesworth*, *Hitch*, *Rivington*, *Birt*, *Longman*, and *J. Clarke* in *Duck-Lane*, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

PHYSICAL *and* PHILOSOPHICAL.

16. A Treatiſe of the Venereal Diſeaſe; with a ſhort View of all the conſiderable Writings upon this Head. Tranſlated from the *Latin* of *John Aſtruc*, Phyſician to the *French* King. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*. *C. Davis*, and *J. Clarke*. In two Vols. 8vo, price 10*s*. 6*d*.

17. A compleat Practice of Midwifry. By *Sarah Stone*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 2*s*. 6*d*.

18. A compendious Syſtem of natural Philoſophy. Part III. Opticks. By *J. Rowning*, M. A. Printed for *S. Harding*, pr. 1*s*. 6*d*.

PLAYS *and* POETRY.

19. King *Charles* I. an hiſtorical Play. Printed for *J. Watts*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

20. A Tutor for the Beaus. By Mr. *Hewit*. Printed for Meſſ. *Ward* and *Chandler*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

21. The univerſal Paſſion; a Comedy. Printed for *J. Watts*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

22. *Amintas*. A Dramatick Paſtoral. Tranſlated into *Engliſh* Verſe, by *William Ayre*; ſold by Meſſ. *Lewis* and *Wbiſton*, pr. 2*s*.

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24. Happineſs: A Poem. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s*.

25. An Eſſay on Happineſs. Printed for *J. Walthoe*, price 1*s*.

26. The Olive: An Ode. Sold by *R. Amey*, price 1*s*.

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30. A Poem to the Memory of the late Duke of *Buckingham*, &c. By the Earl of *Orrery*. Printed for *J. Brindley*, price 6*d*.

* 31. Poems on ſeveral Occaſions. By *Joſeph Thurſton*, Gent. The ſecond Edition. Printed for *B. Motte*, 12mo, price 2*s*.

* 32. *England*'s Heroical Epiſtles. By *Michael Drayton*, Eſq; Printed for Meſſ. *Hazard*, *Gilliver* and *Clarke*, 12mo, price 3*s*.

SERMONS.

33. Sermons and Diſcourſes on practical Subjects; Vol. VI. and VII. never before printed. By *Robert Moſs*, D. D. Sold by Meſſ. *Bettesworth* and *Hitch*, 8vo, price 10*s*.

34. Fourteen Sermons on practical Subjects. By *Pawlet St. John*, D. D. Sold by Meſſ. *Bettesworth* and *Hitch*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

35. A Sermon preach'd at St. *Paul*'s, *Jan.* 31, 1737. By *Edward Arrowſmith*, A. M. Printed for *E. Comins*, price 6*d*.

36. A Sermon preach'd before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *Jan.* 31, 1737. By *George Fothergill*, M. A. Sold by *J. Roberts*, pr. 6*d*.

THEOLOGICAL.

37. A Charge deliver'd to the Clergy of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* in 1735 and 1736. By the Lord Biſhop of that Dioceſe. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*.

38. A Defence of the Plain Account, &c. By *Thomas Wingfield*, M. A. Printed for *E. Comins*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

39. A Reply to Mr. *Foſter*'s Anſwer. By *Henry Stebbing*, D. D. Printed for *J. Pemberton*, price 4*d*.

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41. Several Letters to the Rev. Mr. *Jackſon*, from *William Dudgeon*, &c. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 1*s*.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

APRIL, 1737.

The following Letter having been ſent ſome time ſince to a Club of Gentlemen in this City, we believe it may be uſeful to ſome, and agreeable to all of our Readers, eſpecially on the preſent Occaſion; therefore we ſhall give it a Place in this Month's Collection.

A Letter from a Country Gentleman, juſt come to the Poſſeſſion of an entailed Eſtate, in relation to the Debts contracted by his Father; very proper to be read upon the preſent Occaſion, by all Creditors or Tenants of entailed Eſtates.

Gentlemen,

SInce I have the Honour to be an unworthy Member of your polite and ingenious Society, and as there are in your Club Gentlemen of all Sciences and Profeſſions, I can no where apply ſo properly for Advice in a Caſe, in which my Honour, my Conſcience, and my Family, are deeply concerned.

You all know, I lately ſucceeded, by the Death of my Father, Sir *Thomas Bubble*, to a very opulent Fortune, from which I had but a ſmall Benefit during his Life, and ſhould have had a much leſs after his Death, if it had not been for the Entail by which his Power was limited: Which Danger, I muſt by the by take notice, in Juſtice to my Father, was not at all owing to any vicious Inclination, or Want of paternal Affection in him, but meerly to his good Nature, and the miſtaken Notions, or private Views, of thoſe, who, to the Misfortune of his Family and Eſtate, had got the abſolute Management of him.

To this it was owing, that, notwithſtanding my being Heir to ſo conſiderable an Eſtate, I was obliged to live in ſuch a private Manner, while I had the Honour and Happineſs of being one of your Society; where I ſoon learned, that true Grandeur conſiſts not in a great Expence, but in great and noble Sentiments and Actions; and that there is nothing ſo mean as ſpending more than our yearly Income, be it what it will.

Before I can ſtate my Caſe, I muſt give you an Account of the Circum-

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ſtances of my Eſtate, and a ſhort Hiſtory of my Father's Management, or rather the Management of thoſe who were his Favourites.

I muſt therefore acquaint you, that the preſent great Value, as well as the yearly Revenue, of my paternal Eſtate, depends chiefly upon a Number of Villages, which are full of Manufactures and Tradeſmen. To every Houſe, in each of theſe Villages, there belongs a ſmall Parcel of meadow and arable Land, for which the Poſſeſſors pay an exceſſive Rent, a Rent they could not poſſibly raiſe from the Land itſelf; but from the Produce of the Land, they are enabled to ſupport their little Families, and by the Profits of their Trade or Manufacture, they are enabled to pay their Landlord ſo exceſſive a Rent.

Theſe little Villages have likewiſe greatly improved all the other Parts of my Eſtate; for by their Means my Farmers have a ready Sale, and a good Price for every Thing they can produce, and they never want Labourers in abundance, when their Harveſt, or any other Occaſion, calls for more than their uſual Hands.

When my Father ſucceeded to the Eſtate, the Farmers were all rich, the Grounds well ſtocked, and the Villagers full of Employment; Plenty appeared in every Houſe, and Joy and Satisfaction in every Countenance. All were happy, but none exceſſively rich, and therefore every Man was frugal and ſaving.

Unluckily, at that Time, we had a neighbouring Knight, named Sir *Marmaduke Modiſh*, who was of ſuch an unjuſt and ambitious Temper, that he was every Day removing his Neighbour's Land-mark, and incroaching upon their Eſtates. He had not indeed made any Incroachment upon my Father, becauſe of his Eſtate's being ſurrounded with a large Ditch, in the Middle of which there were high Palliſades, which my Father might eaſily have made inſurmountable; but the other Neighbours filled my Father with Apprehenſions, that this incroaching Neighbour would at laſt get over the Ditch, and take his Eſtate from him; and as they knew his weakeſt Side, they told him, that if he would join with them in a Law-ſuit for confining this troubleſome Neighbour of theirs, within his own proper Bounds, they would commit the Management of the Suit entirely to him and his Lawyers; by which Means they not only prevailed with him to join in the Law-ſuit, but to make himſelf Principal in the Cauſe.

Thus a Chancery Suit was begun, in which the Lord *Sullen*, Sir *John Lofty*, 'Squire *Fenn*, and my Father, were the chief Plaintiffs; but my Father bore the greateſt Part of the Charge. 'Tis true, 'Squire *Fenn* was likewiſe at a conſiderable Expence; but then he had one Son in the Six-Clerks Office, another in the Regiſter's Office, and a near Relation in the Examiner's Office; ſo that his Family got more by the Law-ſuit than it coſt him.

This Law-ſuit was carried on for ſeveral Years with very little Succeſs, occaſioned chiefly by the bad Conduct of my Father's Lawyers, and the Backwardneſs of the other Plaintiffs in advancing their reſpective Quota's of the Expence; however, the Cauſe was ſo juſt, that at laſt they got a material Point determined in their Favour, and would ſoon have got a final Decree to their own Liking, but their Antagoniſt had the Cunning to draw them into an amicable Agreement, by which they ſo diſobliged Sir *John Lofty*, that he not only forſook them, but contracted an Intimacy with Sir *Marmaduke Modiſh*, and happening to die ſoon after, bequeathed his whole Eſtate to one of Sir *Marmaduke*'s younger Sons.

This was indeed of dangerous Conſequence to the Lord *Sullen*, 'Squire *Fenn*, and ſeveral other Neighbours

bours of leſſer Note; but to my Father it did not ſignify much, both becauſe of the inſurmountable Boundary before mentioned, and becauſe there had always been ſuch a cloſe Correſpondence between the Friends and Tenants of Sir *John Lofty*, and my Father and his Tenants, that it was very much the Intereſt of both Families to keep well with one another; and it is not the firſt Time we have ſeen a Son go to Law with his Father, when their Intereſts happen to clash; which in this Caſe might probably have happened, if my Father had cultivated a Friendſhip with Sir *Marmaduke*'s Son, who was then of Age, and had taken upon him the Management of the Eſtate bequeathed to him; for his Father's Eſtate, and that he had ſucceeded to, were ſo intermixed, and the Boundaries between them ſo uncertain, that it was almoſt impoſſible the Poſſeſſors of the two ſhould long continue in a perfect good Underſtanding.

For theſe Reaſons, ſeveral of my Father's Friends endeavoured to perſuade him not to engage himſelf in any new Law-ſuit, unleſs Sir *Marmaduke* ſhould begin to renew his former unjuſt Method of incroaching upon his Neighbours; and that even in that Caſe, he ſhould avoid, as much as poſſible, having any direct Quarrel with Sir *Marmaduke*'s Son, who had ſucceeded to Sir *John Lofty*'s Eſtate; becauſe as the Tenants of that Eſtate were chiefly employed in Iron-works, and knew nothing of mechanick Arts, or Manufactures, a free Intercourſe with them had always been of great Advantage to my Father's Tenants, who furniſhed them with almoſt all the Neceſſaries of Life; and got their rough Iron in Return, without which they could not well carry on their Manufactures. But this good Advice was defeated by the private and ſelfiſh Views of 'Squire *Fenn*'s Family, and ſome of my Father's favourite Servants; for the Underſtanding of which it will be neceſſary to inform you of an antient Cuſtom always before practiſed in our Family, and how that Cuſtom came to be altered by my Father.

From Time immemorial the Cuſtom had been, that when the Repreſentative of our Family was engaged in a Law-ſuit, or involved in any other extraordinary Expence, the Tenants of the Eſtate, aſſembled together in the Court Baron, reſolved to contribute voluntarily ſuch a Sum as they thought would be neceſſary for defraying that extraordinary Expence; provided, they found, upon Enquiry, that the engaging in any ſuch Law-ſuit, or extraordinary Expence, was abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation or Well-being of our Family or Eſtate. This Contribution was raiſed by making every man contribute, according to the Rent of the Eſtate he poſſeſſed, the Value of his Effects, and the Profits of his Trade; if he had any other beſides that of Farming. The Rent of every Man's Eſtate was well known, and every one, by a ſolemn Declaration, put a Value upon his own Effects, and the Profits of his Trade; but if any one was ſuſpected of undervaluing either the one or the other, he was obliged to procure ſix of his Neighbours to declare, that they believed he had put the higheſt Value upon which ever of them was conteſted; ſo that every Man generally choſe to exceed, rather than to fall ſhort of the true Value. If the Sum at firſt contributed was found not ſufficient, a new Sum was raiſed in the ſame Manner; but in all ſuch Caſes, the honeſt Farmers and Tenants, aſſembled in the Court Baron, took a Privilege of inſpecting the Conduct of the Managers, and of correcting them if they ran into any needleſs Expence, or protracted the Law-ſuit.

I need not obſerve to you the

great Advantages that have often accrued to our Family from this Method of Enquiry, and the juſt and wiſe Reſtraint it put upon all our Managers; but when my Father entered into the Law-ſuit abovementioned, his Managers, it ſeems, reſolved to free themſelves from this Reſtraint; and therefore inſtead of raiſing Money by voluntary Contributions as the Occaſions might require, they adviſed him to raiſe the Rents, at firſt, of but a few of the Tenants, and to mortgage that improved Rent for a certain Number of Years. This Project was, 'tis thought, firſt contrived by 'Squire *Fenn*; but be that as it will, it was certainly very much encouraged by the 'Squire and his whole Family, for two very obvious Reaſons: *Firſt*, Becauſe they were ſure of getting a much higher Intereſt for their Money than they could have any where elſe; and, *ſecondly*, Becauſe, by this means, they thought they might get my Father to load his Tenants with ſuch exceſſive Rents, that it would be impoſſible for them to carry on their Buſineſs, which would of courſe contribute greatly to the Improvement of their Eſtate, moſt of which was likewiſe laid out in Villages, and the Inhabitants imployed in Manufactures of much the ſame Kind with thoſe made by my Father's Tenants.

Thoſe intended Mortgages were, 'tis true, liable to a great Objection, it being publickly known that my Father was only Tenant for Life, and that the very next Heir of Entail might, if he pleaſed, refuſe to pay one Shilling either of the Principal or Intereſt; but the *Fenns* from thence foreſaw, that they would get the higheſt Intereſt for their Money; and to guard againſt the Danger of the Mortgages being declared void by the next Heir of Entail, they got a great many of my Father's Tenants and Servants, tempted by the high Intereſt offered, to embark in the ſame Bottom with them; by which means they hoped to prevail with every ſucceeding Heir to confirm the old Mortgages, under Pretence that by them the Eſtate was preſerved, and that therefore the Family was in Honour obliged to ſee them paid.

In ſhort, after having by ſome Means or other engaged my Father's moſt favourite Stewards and Servants in their Deſign, they eaſily prevailed on him to alter the antient ſalutary Method of raiſing Money for extraordinary Occaſions, and to run headlong into the Project formed by them; ſo that before the Law-ſuit was at an End, the Rent of almoſt every one of my Father's Tenants was conſiderably raiſed, and that whole improved Rent mortgaged for the Payment of the principal Intereſt due to 'Squire *Fenn*'s Family, or to my Father's own Stewards and Servants; moſt of which had been due to them, by Means of the large Sums they expended in the Management of his Law-ſuit; for tho' the Tenants made ſeveral generous and voluntary Contributions among themſelves for carrying on the Law-ſuit; yet thoſe Contributions were ſo ſmall, and the improved Rents they were loaded with, ſo imperceptible, that they did not much trouble their Heads with the Management of the Suit, nor ever made any proper Enquiry into the Expence.

In theſe melancholy Circumſtances was my Father, when Sir *Marmaduke*'s younger Son ſucceeded to Sir *John Lofty*'s Eſtate, which ought to have been a ſtrong Argument with him not to have engaged himſelf in any new Law-ſuit; but he was overperſuaded by his Lawyers, his favourite Servants, and the Family of the *Fenns*, who had all taſted the Sweets of his having been engaged in the former Law-ſuit, and of the Methods they had put him upon to raiſe Money for carrying it on. If

they

they could but prevail on him to engage in a freſh Chancery Suit, they made no Doubt of perſuading him to make Uſe of the ſame Methods for raiſing Money; by which Means, it may be preſumed, ſome of his Stewards and Servants expected to enrich themſelves and their Families, and the *Fenns* hoped it would compleat the Ruin of his Villagers; therefore they all united in the ſame Intereſt.

By this their Joint-Intereſt they got him not only to engage with Lord *Sullen* and 'Squire *Fenn* in a new Chancery Suit, againſt Sir *Marmaduke* and his Son, but to forbid all Correſpondence or Intercourſe between his Tenants and the Tenants of either; which laſt was a Step of infinite future, as well as preſent Detriment to his Villagers, a Step he had no Occaſion to make, and a Step which never was made by 'Squire *Fenn* during the whole Courſe of the Law-ſuit. After having once got my Father ſo deeply engaged, the Lord and the 'Squire grew ſo ſaucy, that nothing leſs would ſerve them than turning young *Modiſh* out of the Eſtate bequeathed to him, and giving it to a younger Son of Lord *Sullen*'s, under Pretence of ſome Contracts formerly entered into by Sir *Marmaduke*. In purſuance of this Reſolution a long Bill was filed, and many Lawyers retained, in which great Care was taken by all Parties concerned, to load my Father with the chief Part of the Expence, tho' no Proviſion was made for his getting any Thing by the Event, ſave only the free Enjoyment of his own Eſtate, which he was then moſt quietly in Poſſeſſion of.

As they had now in Hand a Queſtion in its own Nature more doubtful, and a much ſtronger Party to deal with than they had in the former Law-ſuit, it was natural to expect leſs Succeſs; but by good Fortune for them, they happened to pitch upon the two ableſt and honeſteſt Lawyers that ever, I believe, lived in any Age or Country, and to them the three Parties firſt concerned committed the entire Management of their Cauſe. By the faithful and dextrous Management of theſe two Lawyers, they got the better of Sir *Marmaduke* and his Son, almoſt in every Point, tho' both the Lawyers were very much plagued with 'Squire *Fenn*, who would needs be intermeddling in every Part of their Conduct, and was chiefly the Cauſe of the Suit's being protracted much longer than it might otherwiſe have been; for whoever loſt, he was ſure his Family would get by the Suit; and at laſt he became ſo fluſhed with Succeſs, that he began to think of getting a good Slice of Sir *Marmaduke*'s Eſtate added to his own.

During the Continuance of this Law-ſuit, my Father purſued the ſame Methods of raiſing Money he had done in the former; and as he not only paid his own Quota of the Expence, but often made good the Deficiencies of others, it coſt him ſo much, that before it was ended, his Tenants, eſpecially his Villagers, were loaded with ſuch exceſſive Rents, that it was hardly poſſible for them to ſupport their Families: His Stewards, indeed, his favourite Servants, and all their Friends and Companions, were become exceſſively rich; for they neglected no Means proper for that Purpoſe. It would be endleſs to recount the Methods they contrived for getting Money; but one I cannot omit mentioning, which was this. Inſtead of paying ready Money, they gave Tickets to all the Hackney-Writers, Porters, and other mean Perſons they imployed in the Law-ſuit; and in particular to thoſe who were employed for preſerving the Ditch and the Paliſades which ſurrounded our Eſtate. As thoſe poor People could not lie out of

of their Money, their Tickets ſoon came to a great Diſcount; and when they were fallen as low as it was proper to allow them, the Favourites ſent out their Agents, and privately bought them all up. Then they were all honourably paid off, and vaſt Profits made by thoſe that had laſt purchaſed them.

By this likewiſe the Farmers and Villagers ſuffered extremely, becauſe many of theſe Tickets fell into their Hands for the Neceſſaries of Life they had ſold to the poor Perſons who were the firſt Proprietors; ſo that by one Means or other, almoſt all the Farmers and Villagers were reduced to great Poverty; but they comforted themſelves with the Hopes that as ſoon as the Suit was finiſhed, their Rents would be lowered, and their Trade reſtored to ſuch a flouriſhing Condition, as would ſoon enable them to recover from the Diſtreſs they then found themſelves in. This made them pay their exorbitant Rents with Pleaſure, and even raiſe large annual Contributions for bringing the Suit to a happy and ſpeedy Iſſue; but unfortunately Lord *Sullen*'s eldeſt Son happened to die, by which the ſecond Son, for whom Sir *John Lofty*'s Eſtate was deſign'd, came to have a Right likewiſe to Lord *Sullen*'s; and both 'Squire *Fenn* and my Father being afraid, that, if the *Sullen* and *Lofty* Eſtates ſhould become united in one Perſon, he might prove more troubleſome to them than ever Sir *Marmaduke* had been, both of them ſecretly reſolved to come to an Agreement with Sir *Marmaduke* and his Son; but neither of them durſt impart the Deſign to Lord *Sullen*, nor indeed to one another. 'Squire *Fenn*, however, delayed putting his Deſign in Execution, becauſe of the Hopes he had of getting Part of Sir *Marmaduke*'s Eſtate to himſelf; which Deſign being diſcovered by my Father, it occaſioned his breaking the Ice, and coming to an Agreement with Sir *Marmaduke*; by which he provided ſufficiently for all Parties concerned with him in the Cauſe, and very advantageouſly for himſelf and his Tenants, if a proper Uſe had been made of the Terms he at firſt ſtipulated.

Notwithſtanding the exceſſive and unequal Expence my Father had been put to by theſe two Law-ſuits, and the heavy Debts he had thereby incurred, yet the improved Rents of his Eſtate were ſo conſiderable, that they were ſufficient to have anſwer'd a moderate Intereſt for every one of thoſe Debts, and to have paid off a Part of the Principal yearly; ſo that if he had lived frugally, and without engaging in any Law-ſuits, or other extraordinary Expence, they might have been all cleared off before his Death, and the improved Rents ſo reduced, as to have enabled his poor Tenants to have lived comfortably, and to have carried on their uſual Buſineſs; but this was not conſiſtent with the private Intereſt of his Creditors, becauſe they could not any where elſe place their Money out to ſo good an Advantage. For this Reaſon they every Year endeavour'd to perſuade him to involve himſelf into ſome extraordinary Expence, in order to oblige him to make uſe of all, or a Part of that Money he had appointed, for paying ſo much of their principal Debt yearly; and they reſolved never to make him uneaſy about the Payment of their Principal, provided the yearly Intereſt was regularly paid.

For this Purpoſe they endeavour'd in the firſt Place to poſſeſs him with a Notion, that they were his only true Friends, and that if it were not for them his Tenants would deſtroy him and his whole Family: Nay at laſt, they made him believe, that none were his Friends but his Creditors, and thoſe he kept in daily Pay; from whence they took Occaſion

ſion to make him keep a much greater Number of Liverymen, Rent-gatherers, *&c.* than ever had been kept by any of our Family; inſomuch that even the Number of the Paliſades in the Ditch ſurrounding his Eſtate were reduced, in order to enable him to keep the more Footmen and other Liverymen about him; and tho' he put great Truſt in his Liverymen, yet he was ſo jealous of the Deſigns of his poor Tenants, that if ever any of his Liverymen ſpoke a Word in their Favour, he immediately turned him out of his Service.

Then in the next Place, they endeavour'd to perſuade him, that he was the principal Man in his County, and that therefore he ought to prevent any one Man's being oppreſſed by another: From whence, if a Law-ſuit was commenc'd by the moſt remote Man in his County againſt his Neighbour, they pretended he was bound in Honour immediately to join the weaker, and to pay the greateſt Part of the Charge; or at leaſt that he ought to have his Lawyers all ready, in order to protect the Plaintiff, or Defendant, which ever ſhould appear to be in moſt Danger of being oppreſſed: Nay, what was more extraordinary, if any two Neighbours had but a friendly Meeting, they endeavoured to make him believe, it was with a Deſign to concert Meaſures for oppreſſing him, and that therefore he ought immediately to retain a Number of Barriſters, Sollicitors, Attornies, Clerks in Court, and at a great Expence to engage ſome other Neighbours to join with him; ſo that if he had taken their Advice, let his Neighbours agree or diſagree, he would always have been ſure of putting himſelf to a great Expence.

'Tis true, they did not ſucceed in all their Attempts, but they ſucceeded in ſo many, that he diminiſhed his Debt but a very little, and conſequently never had it in his Power to give any Eaſe to his Tenants. On the Contrary, that Part of the improved Rents he had appointed for that Purpoſe, or a great Share of it, was every Year converted to his immediate Occaſions; and ſo far were his Creditors from making any Repreſentation againſt it, as they might and ought to have done, that ſome of them took Occaſion, from the Silence of the reſt, to perſuade him, that he was no Way obliged either in Honour or Intereſt to apply that Money regularly to the Uſe for which it was at firſt deſigned.

From this Conduct one would almoſt ſuſpect the Creditors had all forgot, that my Father was only Tenant in Tail, and that it would be in my Power, as ſoon as I came to the Eſtate, to put a full Stop to all further Payments, either of Principal or Intereſt; and this Suſpicion ſeems to be confirmed, by an Accident that happened ſome Years before my Father's Death; for ſome of his moſt friendly Tenants having repreſented to him, that, in order to enable him to give ſome Eaſe to his poor Tenants, they and ſome others would endeavour to get him as much Money, at a leſs Intereſt than what he then paid, as would put him in a Condition to pay off ſuch of his old Creditors as would not agree to take the ſame Intereſt at which the others were willing to lend, the old Creditors, and particularly the *Fenns*, joined in a general Clamour againſt this Project, and endeavoured as much as they could to terrify every Man from coming into it, or contributing to its Succeſs; tho' it was then evident, that it was become abſolutely neceſſary to lower the Rents of every one of my Father's Tenants, in order to preſerve his Eſtate from Ruin.

Had the Creditors generouſly and freely come into this Scheme, I confeſs I ſhould have been under much greater

greater Difficulties than I am at preſent, with reſpect to my taking Advantage of the Entail againſt them; but by the Clamour they raiſed, the Intereſt they made with every one who was then willing to aſſiſt my Father, and ſome other indirect A Practices, this honeſt Scheme was rendered abortive; and when they had thus rendered it abortive, they endeavoured to make my Father believe it was all a Chimera, and that it was contrived by his Enemies on Purpoſe to ruin him, by making a B Breach between him and his only Friends: This is the true Hiſtory of their Conduct upon that Occaſion; and from ſuch a Conduct, I think, I may moſt juſtly conclude, they were never real Friends to my Father, nor ever had any Regard for C his Family.

Thus were the poor Tenants diſappointed in their long and patient Expectation, of being relieved from the heavy improved Rents they groaned under, and now they found their Caſe was become deſperate; D for during the two long Chancery Suits my Father and all his Neighbours were engaged in, of one Side or other, neither of the Neighbours had Time to mind the Improving of his Eſtate, by encouraging Tradeſmen and Manufacturers; ſo that my E Father's Tenants got what Prices they pleaſed for the Produce of their Induſtry, which enabled them to carry on their Buſineſs, notwithſtanding the heavy additional Rents they were ſubject to; but by the F great Expence he was at in both theſe Chancery Suits, every one of the Neighbours had taken Notice of the Advantage he made by his Villages, and the great Revenue he raiſed from them, and therefore, as ſoon as they were free from the G Law-ſuit, every one of them, but particularly Sir *Marmaduke Modiſh*, began to improve his Eſtate in the ſame Manner, and to give great Encouragement to Tradeſmen of all Sorts, to come and ſettle in Villages they had erected for that Purpoſe; and their Projects in this Way met with great Succeſs, by reaſon of the heavy Rents my Father's Villagers paid, which prevented their underſelling theſe new Beginners as they might otherwiſe have done.

The Succeſs the Neighbours met with ſoon reduced the Price of all the Productions of Art or Induſtry, not only within each of their reſpective Eſtates, but in all the Countries round us; ſo that my Father's Tenants could ſell few or none of their Things at ſo high a Price as formerly, and the exorbitant Rents they paid, prevented its being in their Power to ſell at a cheaper Rate, or near ſo cheap as their Neighbours; yet ſtill they laboured and ſtruggled, in Hopes their good Maſter would ſoon be in a Capacity to give them ſome Eaſe in their Rents: So loth were they to leave the Place of their Nativity, that even the very Journeymen choſe rather to live almoſt idly, and in a Sort of ſtarving Condition at home, than to go to any of the neighbouring Eſtates, where they were ſure of meeting with conſtant Employment, and good Encouragement; but when they found this laſt Scheme for their Relief defeated, they loſt all Patience, and in Shoals began to retire, Maſters as well as Journeymen, to ſome of the neighbouring Eſtates. Thus were my Father's Villages in a ſhort Time moſtly deſerted, and by the Breaking of his Tenants ſome of his beſt Farms were thrown into his own Hands; by which Means the Rents of his Eſtate were ſo much reduced before his Death, that inſtead of being able to pay off a Part of the Principal yearly, he was hardly able to ſupport his Family, in his uſual Way, and pay the Intereſt of the Debts he owed; but what was worſt of all, his Neighbours being ſenſible he

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he had no Money wherewith to go to Law, and the Paliſades in the Ditch ſurrounding his Eſtate being very much in Decay, each of his Neighbours in their Turn were beginning to get over the Ditch, in order to make Incroachments upon his Eſtate, or to plunder his Tenants.

Now, Gentlemen, I come to my own unlucky Caſe. As the Rents now ſtand I might perhaps for ſome Time be able to ſupport my Family in that frugal Manner in which I have hitherto lived, and to pay a Part of the Principal as well as the Intereſt of my Father's Debts yearly; but the Tenants who ſtill remain upon the Eſtate, Villagers as well as Farmers, all ſtand at the improved Rents my Father raiſed them to, which I am afraid they cannot long ſupport; ſo that, if I ſubject myſelf to my Father's Debts, and confirm all the Mortgages he made, my Ruin will, I fear, become at laſt inevitable; for if I confirm my Father's Mortgages, I muſt continue the preſent high Rents, the certain Conſequence of which will be, that in a few Years I ſhall not have a Tradeſman or Villager left in my Eſtate; and if my Villages ſhould be all rendered deſolate, none of my Farmers will be able to pay one half of the Rent they now ſtand at: In which Caſe the whole Revenues of my Eſtate would not be ſufficient to pay the Intereſt of the Debts due to my Father's Creditors; and from their late Behaviour towards him, I have Reaſon to believe they would rather ſee me and my Family ſtarve, than give up one Shilling of the Intereſt or Principal due to them.

For this Reaſon, to ſave my Eſtate from utter Ruin, and my Family from ſtarving, I believe it will be neceſſary for me to give up moſt of the improved Rents; and in order to reſtore my Villages, if poſſible, I muſt be at a great Expence yearly in rebuilding decayed Tenements, and other Means, for inducing my old Tradeſmen to return, or others to come and ſettle in their Room. By this Reduction of my Rents, and the great Expence I muſt be at, in endeavouring to reſtore my Villages to their former Luſtre, I find I ſhall be but barely able to ſupport my Family out of the remaining yearly Income of my Eſtate; ſo that the only Means I ſhall have left for paying either Principal or Intereſt due to my Father's Creditors, muſt proceed from the future voluntary Contributions of my Tenants; and it is a great Queſtion whether or no it will be in their Power to make ſuch large Contributions as will be neceſſary for that Purpoſe, but yet a greater, whether they will have any Inclination ſo to do; for if the Family ſhould be neceſſarily involved in any new Law-ſuit, or other extraordinary Expence, it is certain they would not be able to contribute enough for both, and would therefore inſiſt upon it, that the Contributions made by them ſhould be regularly applied to the defraying of that extraordinary Expence, and to that Uſe only.

Theſe are the preſent melancholy Circumſtances of my Eſtate and Family; and to theſe Circumſtances we are reduced by that Project my Father was led into, of providing for the extraordinary Expence of his Law-ſuits, by raiſing the Rents upon all his Tenants, and mortgaging thoſe improved Rents for great Numbers of Years, inſtead of providing for his extraordinary Expence, as uſual, by large voluntary and annual Contributions from his Tenants; and the worſt of it is, that this Project has ruined all the Tenants as well as the Maſter; for if the Tenants had made ſuch Contributions yearly as were neceſſary for the current Expence, each of them would have contracted his Method of Living, in proportion to the Sum he found it was neceſſary.

to give to his Maſter. If a Farmer of 20*l.* a Year Rent, had contributed 10*l.* a Year, he would have lived more frugally than ordinary, in order to have ſaved that Sum out of the Year's Expence of his Family; but when an additional Rent of 20*s.* only was laid upon him, and that 20*s.* mortgaged by my Father for the 10*l.* he might otherwiſe have had without Intereſt, and without any Obligation for Repayment, the additional Rent was ſo imperceptible, that the Farmer did not think of altering his Way of Living; his Expence continued the ſame, and his net Income being every Year imperceptibly reduced by the additional Rents heaped upon him, tho' he toiled as hard, and lived as frugally as uſual, his Subſtance imperceptibly decayed, and at laſt he found himſelf unaccountably undone.

When I came down to take Poſſeſſion of my Eſtate, there was a Rumour ſpread, I do not know how, that I would never pay a Shilling of my Father's Debts, whereupon one of his old Stewards came and asked me, If there was any Ground for that Rumour? I told him I had asked no Advice of him, and therefore he had no Title to ask any Queſtions of me. With this ſhort Anſwer he was no way abaſhed, but gravely began to tell me, That my Father's Creditors were my only Friends, and that my Family would be ruined, if I did not cultivate a Friendſhip with them: To which I anſwered, that our Family had always been ſupported by the Induſtry and Friendſhip of their Tenants, and therefore I was reſolved to cultivate their Friendſhip preferable to that of any other Set of Men whatever. Then he had the Impudence to tell me, that if I did not honourably diſcharge the Debts of the Family, no Man would ever lend us a Shilling for the future: I calmly anſwered, that if I followed the antient Maxims of the Family, I ſhould never have Occaſion to borrow, becauſe my Tenants would always ſupply my neceſſary Occaſions: Then I turned him out of Doors, with expreſs Orders never to come again within my Gates.

The Concluſion of this Conference made it generally believed the Rumour was well founded, and therefore ſome of my Father's principal Creditors had a Meeting, and deputed two of their Number to converſe with me upon this Subject. Theſe two Gentlemen, both very rich, had likewiſe been old Servants of my Father's, but being by my Behaviour towards the Steward made ſenſible, I was not to be dealt with in the ſame Manner my Father had been, they repreſented to me in the humbleſt Manner, That all the Money had been lent to my Father, to ſupply Occaſions of the moſt preſſing Nature; that he could not then raiſe Money any where elſe; that our Family would have been ruined, and the Eſtate taken from us, if they had not lent their Money for the Preſervation of the Family; that all the Money had been imployed for the Benefit of the Family, and ought therefore to be made good by the Family; that if the firſt Lenders were guilty of any Fraud, moſt of them had ſold their Debts to others who were perfectly innocent; and that Numbers of Widows and Orphans would be undone, and reduced to a ſtarving Condition, if I did not confirm the Mortgages made by my Father. To which Repreſentation I anſwered thus:

Gentlemen,

'I have not had Time to enquire 'into the Circumſtances of my Affairs, therefore have not yet determined, whether I ſhall confirm 'thoſe Mortgages or not. In the 'mean Time I muſt let you know, 'that you and I differ very widely 'in Opinion. The Occaſions for 'which this Money was borrowed 'were,

were, I grant, very preſſing; but I abſolutely deny that my Father could not have raiſed Money any where elſe: He might have had what was really neceſſary by annual voluntary Contributions from his Tenants; and his not having raiſed what he wanted in that Way, gives me a ſhrewd Suſpicion that a great Part of the Money he borrowed was not imployed for the Benefit of the Family. A

'Our Family might, 'tis true, have been ruined, if either of the Law-ſuits he engaged himſelf in, had had a contrary Event; but I cannot eaſily admit that Self-Preſervation obliged him to engage ſo deeply as he did; for by engaging ſo deeply he only took the Burden off of the Shoulders of thoſe who were more expoſed to the Danger, and therefore more immediately concerned: However, ſuppoſe it was neceſſary for him to engage ſo deeply, I am ſure the Tenants would have moſt willingly contributed what they ſaw was neceſſary for the Preſervation of their Maſter's Family or Eſtate; and therefore I am ſo far from thinking our Family would have been ruined, if you had not lent my Father Money, that I believe the preſent diſtreſſed Condition to which both our Family and Eſtate are reduced, is owing to your having been ſo ready upon all Occaſions to lend him Money, or at leaſt to your not having inſiſted upon the proper Application of that Part of the improved Rents which was originally appointed for your Payment. B C D E F

'In ſhort, the raiſing of Money for extraordinary Occaſions, by Loans, or by any other Method, except by the annual and voluntary Contributions of the Tenants, has always been reckoned inconſiſtent with the Good of our Family, and therefore, whatever I may do with reſpect to the Money borrowed by my Father, I am reſolved never to borrow any myſelf; however, though I am no Way obliged in Law to pay you, tho' I am very far from thinking the Preſervation our Family ever depended upon the Money you lent, or now depends upon your Payment, yet I am reſolv'd to pay every Shilling, if I can poſſibly do ſo, without ruining both my Family and Eſtate; but I hope you would not have me reduce the many Hundreds of induſtrious Tenants and Villagers I have within my Eſtate to Beggary and Starving, for the Sake of maintaining twenty or thirty Perſons who happen to be my Father's Creditors, in Wealth, Idleneſs and Luxury, which I know would be the Caſe with moſt of you. G

'Perhaps ſome of the preſent Poſſeſſors of the Mortgages made by my Father may be Purchaſers from the firſt Lenders; but no Man can be an innocent Purchaſer of a bad Title, when the Lameneſs of the Title appears upon the Face of the Title Deeds; and beſide, even the preſent Poſſeſſors cannot be ſaid to be otherwiſe quite innocent, becauſe they, at leaſt, connived at my Father's applying that Money to other Uſes, which by the very Mortgage Deeds was appropriated to the Payment of their Principal: There may likewiſe be among you ſome poor Families whoſe All depends upon the Payment of what is due to them from my Father; but I know how to extend my Charity to real Objects, without ruining myſelf and my Tenants, for the Sake of maintaining others in the Height of Opulence and Extravagance.

'Therefore, Gentlemen, conſult among yourſelves before it be too late: It may be in your Power to aſſiſt me: If you are moderate, I will be generous, (I can call it no-

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'thing elſe) becauſe you ſay you 'were my Father's Friends, tho' 'I believe moſt of you were ſo, 'only for what you could get by 'him; but in all your Deliberations 'remember this, *that the Happineſs 'of my Tenants is what I ſhall al- 'ways prefer to every other Conſide- 'ration: By conſulting their Happi- 'neſs, I know, I ſhall engage their 'Affections; and I deſpiſe every pre- 'tended Security that is founded upon 'any Thing elſe.'*

In a few Days after this Conference, I made a Progreſs through my whole Eſtate, which I do aſſure you raiſed both my Pity and my Indignation; for except thoſe who had been in the Secret of the Management under my Father, and were conſequently his Creditors, I found all in the greateſt Diſtreſs: The Farmers I found very poorly ſtock'd, and what Stock the Farmers had upon their Grounds, was generally mortgaged to ſome one or other of my Father's Creditors: The Villages again preſented me with a more ſhocking Scene of Miſery; almoſt one Half of the Houſes in each were either in Rubbiſh or quite empty; and in thoſe that were inhabited, the Maſter Tradeſmen had hardly the neceſſary Tools for their reſpective Imployments, and moſt of the Journeymen hardly Clothes to their Backs.

Among the many little Families whoſe Conduct I enquired into, the Oeconomy of one gave me great Delight, and their Complaints, becauſe they were juſt, an equal Concern. The Man, a Weaver by Trade, I found buſy at his Loom; the Wife buſy at Spinning; their Daughter, a Girl about eight Years old, waſhing ſome earthen Diſhes; their eldeſt Son, about ſeven, filling Quills for his Father; and a younger Son, about four, rocking their laſt Born in its Cradle. Upon my asking the Man what he got by his Labour in a Day: He anſwered, O Lord! Sir, but very little during theſe ſhort Days: I could earn a great deal more, if I could work by Candle-Light; but our Candle-Maker has raiſed his Candles ſo much, on Account of the high Rent he pays, that we poor Folks cannot find our Account in working by Candle-Light. Then I asked the poor Woman, what ſhe might get by her Spinning: Hardly Salt to my Porrage, ſays ſhe, now 'tis ſo dear; for a great Part of what I get is laid out in the Purchaſe of Soap, for waſhing my Yarn and making it fit for Market. Upon my obſerving that none of the Children had Shoes, ſays the Woman, why, Sir, our increaſed Rents have made the Tanner raiſe the Price of his Leather, and the Shoe-maker the Price of his Labour, ſo that we pay almoſt as much now for one Pair of Shoes as we formerly paid for two, and therefore we poor Folks muſt let our Children go without. After this I asked for a Draught of their Small-Beer: Small-Beer! ſays the Man, God help me! Sir, I never had any in my Family: We drink nothing but Water, only now and then we mix it with a little Milk: My Father, who was but a Weaver as I am, and brought up a greater Family than I have, uſed to brew his own Drink, and generally had a Cup of good humming Liquor for a Friend; but latterly the Maſter pays ſo high a Rent for his Malt houſe, and therefore puts ſo high a Price upon his Malt, that we are not able to purchaſe it, now that the Rents of our Houſes are ſo dear and the Labour of our Hands ſo cheap. I was really afraid of asking any more Queſtions, therefore I ſlipt a Crown into the poor Woman's Hand, bid her buy what ſhe thought was moſt neceſſary for the Uſe of her Family, and made my Retreat; not without ſome ſevere Reflections upon thoſe who, for ſelfiſh Ends, had been the Authors of ſuch Miſery.

Before

Before I conclude I muſt let you know, that the Entail by which our Family has been preſerved for many Generations, is a very extraordinary, and, in my Opinion, a very excellent one; for every Grant made, and every Thing elſe done, by the former Tenant, ſtands good till declared void by the next Heir of Entail; and if the Tenant gets any Grant, or other Deed of his, confirmed by his Court-Baron, and that Confirmation entered in the Court-Rolls, *it* is not in the Power of the next Heir of Entail to alter or avoid that Grant or Deed, without the Conſent of his Court-Baron. As my Father's Creditors neglected nothing they could think of for their Security, they got all his Mortgages, and every Thing elſe they prevailed on him to do, confirmed by his Court-Baron; which the Tenants were at firſt eaſily brought into, becauſe they did not clearly ſee the Conſequences of what they were about; and at laſt the Tenants grew ſo poor and the Creditors ſo rich, that the latter bore the only Sway in the Court-Baron, and got every Thing they had a Mind confirm'd in the moſt ſolemn Manner: But to me this ſignifies nothing; for as I can take Care, that the Creditors ſhall make uſe of no undue Influence on the Tenants in my Court-Baron, I am ſure, when the Circumſtances of the Caſe are fairly laid before them, they will do what ſhall appear to be moſt proper and beneficial for my Family and Eſtate; all of them being now fully ſenſible, that their own Security and Happineſs depends upon the Preſervation of me and my Family *only*, and that every one of them muſt be totally ruined, if I am not immediately put into a Capacity of lowering their preſent Rents.

I ſhall not pretend that all my Father's Creditors were guilty of the many indirect Practices I have mentioned, for preventing its being in his Power to pay them off; but it is certain the chief of them were, and all the reſt approved, at leaſt by their Silence, of what the others did: Nay all of them were active, and even diligent, in raiſing a general Clamour againſt the above-mentioned Project propoſed to my Father ſome Years before his Death, for reducing their Intereſt. As their Behaviour leſſens, in my Opinion, any Obligation I may in Honour lie under, with reſpect to their Payment, and is, I think, a plain Proof of the Ridiculouſneſs of that Notion my Father was poſſeſſed with, That his Creditors were his ſureſt Friends, therefore I thought it neceſſary to repreſent to you their Behaviour in its moſt true and genuine Light.

Thus, *Gentlemen*, I have laid before you the preſent unlucky Circumſtances of my Eſtate and Family. I beg you will conſider my Caſe ſeriouſly, and let me have the Opinion of the Club, how far I am oblig'd in Equity, in Conſcience, in Honour, or even in Charity, to pay the Debts ſo contracted by my Father; for the legal Obligation I am under may, I know, be diſſolv'd by my Court-Baron, whenever I have a Mind. I am,

Gentlemen,
Your moſt ſincere Friend
And humble Servant,
EDWARD BUBBLE.

We ſhall endeavour to get the Anſwer to this Letter, and publiſh it the firſt Opportunity.

Gazetteer, March. 25. N° 547.

A remarkable Story of Henry V. *when Prince of* Wales.

THIS Paper firſt takes Notice of Mr. *D'Anvers*'s Want of Matter, which appears by his begging the *Gazetteer* to favour him with a Word or two in Diſhonour of *Edward*, the *Black Prince*, that he may have

have an Opportunity to prove it to be falſe and inſolent. A very civil Requeſt indeed! It is only to deſire a Gentleman to belye his own Judgment and Conſcience, on purpoſe that Mr. *D'Anvers* may have Materials to fill up half a Dozen Journals with Quotations out of Hiſtory, where every Word one meets with, relating to that illuſtrious Hero, contains nothing but Admiration and Praiſe. (See p. 151. F.)

Let us now ſee a little of his Judgment and Modeſty as to Hiſtorical Facts. He was charged with abuſing the Character of Prince *Richard*, purpoſely to fix the Abuſe of an imaginary Alluſion, on the Author of the Letter in the *Gazetteer*; and, as if the falſifying Hiſtory on purpoſe to injure an innocent Man, was no Crime; he only cries out, *What then?* (See p. 151.)

After ſome Particulars about Prince Richard, *he ſays*, 'Twill be the ſame with another Falſity I ſhall charge him with. He affirms, after *Rapin*, as he ſays, but I have nothing to do with that; that Prince *Henry* ſtruck the Lord Chief Juſtice of *England* over the Face in the *King's-Bench* Court at *Weſtminſter*: All which is not true, as will be ſeen by this plain Narration of the Fact after old *Stow*. I am the more willing to inſert it, becauſe it is very curious and affecting, and will prove the Falſhood of that abominable Inſinuation in the *Craftſman* of *March* 5. that King *Henry* IV. directed ſome about his Son to lead him into *diſhonourable Courſes*. (See p. 132. F.)

'It happen'd, ſays *Stow*, that one 'of Prince *Henry*'s Servants, whom 'he favoured, was arraign'd at the '*King's-Bench* Bar; of which the 'Prince having Notice, and being 'incenſed by light Perſons about 'him, he went thither in a Fury, 'and commanded the Officers to ſet 'the Priſoner at Liberty; at which 'all that heard it, were abaſh'd, except the Lord Chief Juſtice, who 'humbly exhorted the Prince *to be 'ordered by the ancient Laws of the 'Realm; or if he would have his 'Servant ſav'd from the Rigour of 'thoſe Laws, that he would pleaſe 'to apply to the King his Father for his 'Pardon, whereby Law and Juſtice 'might be preſerved.* The Prince, ſtill 'inſiſting on the Deliverance of his 'Servant, offered to take him from the 'Bar by Force; which the Lord 'Chief Juſtice obſerving, he with great 'Reſolution and Preſence of Mind, 'commanded the Prince, upon his 'Allegiance, to leave the Priſoner 'and the Court; at which he was 'ſo enraged, that he came up to 'the Judge in a terrible Manner.' So far *Stow* goes; but ſays not a Word of the ſtriking over the Face. And Sir *Henry Spelman* ſpeaking of this Judge, Sir *William Gaſcoigne*, and of this Incident, ſays only he was provok'd to commit him by his reproachful Words, *per contumeliam a Principe Walliæ laceſſitus*. No ſtriking over the Face you ſee. Sir *William Gaſcoigne*, with a ſteady Look and Voice, declared the Majeſty of the King's Place of Judgment, and ſaid, 'Sir, 'remember yourſelf, I keep here the 'Place of the King, your Sovereign 'Lord and Father, to whom you owe 'double Obedience; wherefore I 'charge you in his Name to deſiſt 'of your Wilfulneſs, and henceforth 'give a good Example to thoſe which 'ſhall hereafter be your proper Subjects; and now for your Contempt 'and Diſobedience, go you to the Priſon 'of the King's Bench, to which I 'commit you, and remain you there 'Priſoner till the Pleaſure of the 'King your Father be farther known.' With which Words, and the Gravity of the Judge, the Prince was ſo ſtricken, that laying down his Sword immediately, he made a low Reverence to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Gaſcoigne*, and went directly to the *King's-Bench* Priſon. His Servants

'Servants ran to K. *Henry* with 'Complaints againſt the Judge: But 'when the King had heard how the 'Matter was, he paus'd ſilently a-'while, and then lifting up his 'Hands and Eyes to Heaven, burſt 'out in a kind of Rapture, *O mer-'ciful God! How much am I bounden 'to thy infinite Goodneſs, in theſe 'Things eſpecially, for that thou haſt 'given me a Judge who fears not to 'do Juſtice, and alſo a Son who can 'obey Juſtice, and ſuffer it.*' Is it likely that a Prince of ſuch pious Sentiments, ſhould place lewd and wicked People about his Son, with any Intent that they might corrupt and debauch him?

Common-Senſe, March 26. N° 8.

SIR,

YOUR generous Method of communicating Common Senſe to the Publick upon very cheap and eaſy Terms, calls for the utmoſt Acknowledgment from thoſe who are ſenſible of the Evils occaſion'd by the Want of it; to which, I really think moſt of thoſe Misfortunes, of which we complain, owe their Origin; (at leaſt I find it ſo in my own Caſe) then judge with how much Joy a weekly Supply of ſo valuable a Commodity muſt be received. Yet, Sir, give me Leave to lament, that I find by your Paper of *Feb.* 26. (ſee p. 130.) a great Part of our Species utterly excluded from all the Benefits of it; *viz.* the ugly Part of Woman-kind. Now we are very ſure, Uglineſs is involuntary, and by Conſequence no Crime, and therefore ought rather to be treated with Compaſſion than Contempt; and ſure Common Senſe and Compaſſion together, might have found out ſome better Imployment for the unhappy Creatures than you have aſſign'd them; but for the Sake of being witty, you have laid both thoſe aſide, otherwiſe they would have dictated to you, that tho' you exclude them from other Relations, yet they may ſtill be valuable as Daughters, Siſters, Friends, and Neighbours; and given them room to hope, that as your Paper diffuſes, if they take care of the Improvement of their Minds, no Syſtem of Features, tho' ever ſo bad, is ſufficient to exclude them from ſome Degree of Love and Eſteem, or make them proper Subjects of Ridicule. I have been told perſonal Defects ought never to be ſo, unleſs a Way could be found out to laugh People out of their Deformity. And ſince it is impoſſible for them to arrive to Dignities by Drinking and Hunting, which have preferred many of your Sex to high Stations, ſure it were not difficult for a Genius like yours, to find out ſomething for which they were fit, eſpecially if you conſider, *That Nature has made nothing in vain.*

Now, Sir, as you may plainly perceive this is a Cauſe in which I am deeply intereſted, the Reſult of all is an humble Petition, that as you have moſt judiciouſly directed thoſe who are already amiable how to appear more lovely, and thoſe that are in the Decline of Life how to become venerable, ſo you will provide ſome other Recourſe than that of a third Sex for the reſt; and in order to take off all Prejudice, when you are ſo unhappy as to converſe with any of them, do but forget that they are of any Sex at all, and then it is poſſible you may be as much edified and entertained, as with many of the very pretty Gentlemen, or elderly Beaux, with which this populous Town abounds. I am, *&c.*

HIDEOSA.

Grubſtreet Journal, March 31. N° 379.

Of Diet *in general, and the bad Effects of* Tea-drinking. *In a Letter from a* SOUTH BRITON.

THE Matter of Diet, in every Country, conſiſts chiefly of ſuch

ſuch Animals and Vegetables which Experience has proved to be nouriſhing, without giving any Diſturbance to the Body. Some other Articles are generally added in our Diet for the Sake of Pleaſure. Animal Food is of the higheſt Kind, for Nouriſhment and Pleaſure alſo, while the Appetite laſts; but when that is ſatiated, Meat is too rich to be continued any longer out of Pleaſure. Fiſh indeed is of a lower and poorer Nature; yet even that is ſufficiently rich to clog the Appetite before the Stomach can be ſaid to be full. Vegetables may be eaten after either: For there are very few ſo ſatiating, but a Perſon may fill his Stomach with them after his Appetite has been ſatisfied with Fiſh or Fleſh. Hence we may obſerve, that no Diet which is very nouriſhing can be eat to Fulneſs: Becauſe thoſe Parts which nouriſh are oily and very ſatiating, as Fleſh, Eggs, *&c.* but that Diet which is leſs nouriſhing may, as Vegetables in general. There is however a very great Difference in Vegetables; ſome are of oily Parts and very nutritive, ſuch as Peas, Beans, Almonds, Wheat, Barley, Oats, *&c.* ſome leſs nutritive and leſs oily, as Turnips, Carrots, Parſnips, *Jeruſalem* Artichoaks, Potatoes, Cabbage, Spinage, Salating. Other Vegetables which are eat for Pleaſure have the leaſt Oil in them, and nouriſh the leaſt of all; as Apples, Pears, Plumbs, Goosberries, Currants, and all the juicy Fruits. Providence has furniſh'd every Country with a Mixture of theſe pleaſant Things, along with thoſe which are for our real Support; and thoſe which grow in every Country, either ſpontaneouſly, or by Culture, are generally ſpeaking moſt friendly to the Inhabitants. This ſeems to be a Matter of Neceſſity; for as we ſee the different Climates frame very different Appetites and Conſtitutions; ſo it is very natural to expect, that our Produce for Food in this cold northern Iſle, ſhould be unfit for thoſe in the warm ſouthern Parts. A Pound of roaſt Beef and a Quart of Ale, which is a common Meal for a hearty Man here, could hardly be eaten by, or if eaten, might endanger the Life of an *Eaſt-Indian*. On the other Hand, a Piece of Sugar-cane, and a Cup of Water, which is a very good Meal there, would reduce an *Engliſhman* ſome Pounds lighter and much weaker in a few Days. So that our Diet ſhould undoubtedly be of home Growth, unleſs it be of the Grain or Pulſe Kind; which grows in all Climates, either naturally, or by Cultivation.

When *Engliſhmen* go to the *Eaſt-Indies*, the Diet there is ſo different from ours, that notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* on the Spot have naturalized it as much as poſſible, yet Multitudes die; which I don't impute to the Heat of the Climate only, but to the Diet which is unnatural to *Engliſh* Conſtitutions, eſpecially that which is uſed for Pleaſure. Here it may be obſerved, that the Diſorders which happen to *Indians* upon uſing our Country Diet, are of the inflammatory Sort; and the Diſorders which happen to the *Engliſh* upon uſing theirs, are of the colliquative Sort. This ſhews that our Diet is richer and ſtronger than theirs; and that a changing of ours for theirs does not only hazard our Health but enfeeble our Conſtitutions. The Poorneſs of their Diet is undoubtedly the Cauſe of the Feebleneſs and Effeminacy of their Perſons. On the contrary, our *Engliſh* Beef and Wheat-Pudding for Eatables, and good Ale for Drinkables, has very probably been the Foundation of the antient *Engliſh* Strength and Courage; the Decreaſe of which I cannot mention without much Regret.

Now for the Nature of *Tea*, of which there are ſeveral Sorts; but as they are but one Kind of Plant, and differ

differ only as Malt may do, in being high or ſlack dry'd, or being finer or coarſer, ſo I ſhall conſider them all as one. *Tea* is the Leaf of a ſmall Shrub of the Kind of our *Dog-Tree*, of an auſtere, bitter, aſtringent Taſte, without any aromatic Warmth. It has but very little Oyl in it, and that which it has is of the reſiny Kind, is narcotic and ſtupefactive: It has alſo but a very little Salt, and that is of the fixed Kind.

If we compare the Nature of Tea with *the* Nature of *Engliſh* Diet, no one can think it a proper Vegetable for us. It has no Parts fit to be aſſimilated to our Bodies: Its eſſential Salt does not hold Moiſture enough to be joined to the Body of an Animal; its Oyl is but very little, and that of the opiate Kind; and therefore it is ſo far from being nutritive, that it irritates and frets the Nerves and Fibres, exciting the expulſive Faculty; ſo that the Body may be leſſened and weakened, but it cannot increaſe and be ſtrengthened by it. We ſee this by common Experience; the firſt Time Perſons drink it, if they are full grown, it generally gives them a Pain at the Stomach, Dejection of Spirits, cold Sweats, Palpitation at the Heart, Trembling, Fearfulneſs; taking away the Senſe of Fulneſs, tho' preſently after Meals, and cauſing a hypocondriac, gnawing Appetite. Theſe Symptoms are very little inferior to what the moſt poiſonous Vegetables we have in *England* would occaſion, when dried and uſed in the ſame Manner.

Theſe ill Effects of Tea are not all the Miſchief it occaſions. Did it cauſe none of them, but were it entirely wholſome as Balm or Mint, it were yet Miſchief enough to have our whole Populace uſed to ſip warm Water in a mincing, effeminate Manner, once or twice every Day; which hot Water muſt be ſupped out of a nice Tea-Cup, ſweatened with Sugar, biting a Bit of nice thin Bread and Butter between Whiles: This mocks the ſtrong Appetite, relaxes the Stomach, ſatiates it with trifling, light Nick-nacks, which have little in them to ſupport hard Labour. In this Manner the Bold and Brave become daſtardly, the Strong become weak, the Women become barren; or if they breed, their Blood is made ſo poor, that they have not Strength to ſuckle; and if they do, the Child dies of the Gripes: In ſhort, it gives an effeminate weakly Turn to the People in general. The poor People's Children which are bred with it, as they really are in the Cities and Towns, are only fit for Foot-men and Chamber-maids. May not this ill Diet be a great Cauſe of the Want we have of labouring Servants, the Riſe of their Wages, and the Prodigality which the common Servants have ſhewn within theſe laſt 50 Years? It is now become a Part of the Covenant with labouring Servants truly, that they muſt be allowed Tea for Breakfaſt. If this unwholeſome Weed is not in ſome Degree prohibited by the Government, I can expect nothing leſs, in one Generation more, but that we muſt hire Foreigners, as they do in *Spain*, to do our hard Labour; and for the Defence of the Nation, I leave any one to judge what Soldiers we are like to have.

Tea was firſt uſed by the Rich, and when that had flatted their Spirits and racked their Stomachs, a Dram was a known Remedy. This might probably bring the poorer Sort into Dram-drinking; for they could not ſo well return to their Labour with their Fibres relaxed and Spirits dejected. May it not be neceſſary then to put a Check upon the poorer Sort of People's uſing this depauperating Liquor Tea, now the Legiſlature have debarred them the Help of Drams? It ſeems very rea-

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ſonable to allow the labouring People ſome cheap ſpirituous Liquor; or to lay an equal Reſtraint on that, which in the Uſe of it calls ſo neceſſarily for ſuch Aid and Aſſiſtance. Yet I cannot confine the Reſtraint I mention to the poorer Sort only, becauſe I am convinced, that ſuch poor hot Suppings help to unman our very Governors; and the *Spaniards*, very likely, had felt the Force of *Engliſh* Beer within this laſt 20 Years, if the Uſe of it had not been exchanged for warm Water bewitched with *Indian* Poyſon. *He concludes, that conſidering the Number of Tea Drinkers, it has done a great deal more Hurt than Dram-Drinking.*

Craftſman, April 2. N° 561.

A New EXCISE-SCHEME.

SIR,

AS every Thing is to be fear'd from the deſperate Deſigns of that *bold Projector*, to whom we were obliged for the late *Exciſe Scheme*, you cannot do more Service to your Country than by alarming it, whenever he is attempting any Thing of the ſame Nature; for let his Steps towards extending of *Exciſes* be ever ſo ſmall, or ſpecious, they ought always to be ſuſpected.

When one conſiders the great Talents, eminent Virtues and Abilities of the *noble Projector*, who is at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior, to all that have gone before him in thoſe laudable Arts of ſoftening Mankind; what have we not to dread, when he continues to declare, *that whenever he hears the Word* Exciſe, *he cannot avoid repeating what he hath often ſaid, that the* Gentlemen of England *were never more miſled upon any Subject, or more impoſed upon, than they were upon that of the* Exciſe. In this he correſponds with the Paſſage quoted in your laſt Paper, of *waiting a more proper Opportunity for putting his* late Exciſe-Scheme *into Execution*; (ſee p. 154.) but ſurely a little more *Oblivion* muſt be neceſſary to co-operate with his *moſt perſuaſive Power*, before the *Gentlemen of England* can think they were miſled, on *that Occaſion*. The Point, to which he particularly alludes, was the pretended Eaſe to be given the *Land* by that *pernicious Project*. It therefore becomes neceſſary juſt to mention that, upon the Examination of the *Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms*, the putting of *Tobacco* under an *Exciſe* would not have produced above 17,510 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* a Year in *England*, more than it did before, according to the higheſt Computation; out of which additional Sum there would have been paid to the *Civil Liſt* 2,764 *l.* 14 *s.* 3 *d.* and it was allow'd that the *additional Charges of Management* would be 12,000 *l.* a Year; ſo that the remaining 2,745 *l.* 13 *s.* 3 *d.* was all that could accrue to the *Publick*, by their own Calculation, and the *Bill* itſelf. What Eaſe could the *deluded Land-holders* expect from ſo ſmall a Sum? Was it a Temptation ſufficient to juſtify the Deſign of putting the reſt of our Fellow Subjects under the *moſt oppreſſive* and *arbitrary Laws*?

It is a melancholy Conſideration, that the annual Purſuit of *ſome Perſons* is either the Multiplication of *penal Laws*, the Extenſion of *Exciſes*, or the Increaſe of the *Civil-Liſt*. Every *new Power* of theſe Kinds, which we grant, renders them ſo much the more habitual to us, that we ſeem not to know when to ſtop, or where to refuſe; and we ſee, by *foreign Nations*, that even *Slavery* itſelf becomes ſupportable by *Cuſtom*. Is it not therefore high Time, if we would preſerve our Remnants of *Liberty*, whatever they are, that we ſhould put a Stop to *theſe growing Powers*? If *Neceſſity* and *Self-Preſervation* have already carry'd us to great Lengths; what Reaſon can there be why we ſhould now, in Times of *profound Peace*, be for raiſing *new Taxes* in *that Method*, which is moſt agree-

agreeable to *ſome Perſons*, becauſe moſt oppreſſive, and the *People* are thereby put the more under their immediate Power?

Laſt Year, when *foreign Affairs* were not thought ſo clear as at preſent, Part of the *Sinking Fund* was mortgaged for 600,000 *l.* But now, ſince we have the Honour and Happineſs of parcelling out *Europe* into a Peace, by *our Plan of Accommodation*, which we are aſſured *is ſo much like the Preliminaries, that they are taken for one and the ſame*; it is certainly proper that the Nation ſhould receive ſome immmediate Eaſe from *it*; and how can that be done, conſiſtent with that glorious Plan of Power *ſome Perſons* are purſuing, better than by ſteadily adhering to the Method already chalk'd out to them, upon *fulfilling all the Engagements of* the *Vienna Treaty*, by carrying the Troops of *Don Carlos* into *Italy*? We were then told, * *that when every Thing abroad hath thus* ſucceeded to our utmoſt Wiſhes; *when we can no longer juſtify* Delays to eaſe the People, *from any viſible Uncertainty of our Affairs*; *ſhall we do nothing to convince the People that we have a* Peace, *but meerly by* telling *them that we have procured it*; *or rather ought we not from the* Difference of Taxes *to ſhew them the Difference between* certain *and* unſettled Tranquillity? For this Reaſon, the *Land-Tax* was reduced to 1 *s. in the Pound*, and the *Salt Duty* was laid on again for 3 *Years*, to ſupply the *other Shilling*, with its 600 *pretty Attendants*. Nay, under the Pretence of continuing this charming Eaſe, in the *Difference of our Taxes*, tho' the greater in our *Payment*, it was thought that the *late deteſted Scheme* might have been brought to paſs. But ſince we have now *farther ſucceeded to the utmoſt of our Wiſhes*, by beſtowing of *Crowns* upon the *ſame young Prince*, it becomes ſtill more neceſſary to convince the People of the Benefit of it, by ſome *farther Difference in our Taxes*. *Two Shillings in the Pound* and 400,000*l.* out of the *Sinking Fund* would be too much like the Grants of *laſt Year*; whereas it will afford another new Scene, to ſee the *whole Sinking Fund* apply'd to the Uſes, for which alone it was deſign'd, and to take this favourable Opportunity, as the *firſt Fruits of Peace*, to eſtabliſh and extend *new Exciſes*.

There is nothing more ridiculous than the Arguments, lately advanced upon what are call'd and deſired to be known by the Name of *Sweets*. It is to be the *ſame Thing*, that was deſigned to be tax'd by the 10*th* and 11*th* of K. *William*, and yet 'tis not to be the *ſame Thing*. It is appropriated to the *Sinking Fund*, and it is not; for the *Publick* have a Right to it. It is not to be a *new Tax*, by taking off *two Thirds of the Duty*, but an *old one*, which altogether produced but 23 *l.* a Year; and by the ſingle Dexterity of taking away 14 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* from it, is now to produce 25,000 *l.* a Year, tho' Computations are made that it will produce 50,000*l.* a Year.

It muſt be obſerved, that the *Dealers in Wine* formerly uſed to mix their *Wines* with a Liquor call'd *Stum*, which came from abroad; and that, to ſave the *Duty*, as well as in ſome Meaſure to ſupply the ſame Uſes, *Sweets* were made here: And as the Practice upon a *new Law* is generally eſteem'd the beſt Interpretation of the *Deſign of the Legiſlature*, and every one will eaſily believe that the *Commiſſioners of Exciſe* are not the dulleſt Interpreters of *Revenue Laws*; it is natural to conclude, that ſince they have not thought fit, in this long Courſe of Time, to extend it by *Judgments of their own* to any Thing

* See *a Letter to a Freeholder on the late Reduction of the* Land-Tax *to one Shilling in the Pound.*

but *that ſingle Liquor*, upon which it was originally intended to be laid, there was neither *Law* nor *Power* to collect it on *thoſe many other Liquors*, which their *Officers* have endeavoured to do before *thoſe*, upon whom they thought to impoſe. How much therefore are the *Gentlemen of England*, who are *Juſtices of the Peace in the Country*, obliged to *them*, as well as the *Projector* himſelf, who founds his *Scheme* intirely upon a Declaration that the *Country Juſtices* would not execute the *preſent Law*, becauſe the *Duties* were too high, and therefore it is neceſſary to reduce them *two Thirds*?

In his *late Majeſty*'s Reign, when the Practice, Force and Extenſion of the Law for the *Duties on Sweets* muſt have been ſufficiently known, there was an Act paſs'd, if not at the Deſire of the *Commiſſioners of Exciſe*, at leaſt not without their Knowledge, by which it appears that *Sweets* were not Liquors *drinkable* of themſelves; and the Method of preventing *Frauds* in them is, that the *Maker* ſhall not remove them without a *Certificate*, nor any *Vintner*, or *Vintners*, receive them without *ſuch a Certificate*, under the Penalty of 10*s*. *a Gallon*. This intirely agrees with the Deſcription of them, in the Act of K. *William*; for after enumerating the ſeveral Ways that *Sweets* may be made, it goes on thus; *and commonly made Uſe of for* recovering, increaſing, *or* making *of any Kinds of* Wine *or* Cyder, *or of any Liquor call'd* Wine, *ſhall be deem'd to be* Sweets *within the Act*. From whence it is plain that the *Wine* and the *Cyder* can't be charged as *Sweets*, but only that *Part of the Liquor*, or any *new Inventions of the ſame Kind*, to ſupply the Uſe of what was formerly call'd *Sweets*.

The *new Tax*, now in Agitation, is on all Liquors *made by* Infuſion, Fermentation, *or otherwiſe*, *from* foreign Fruit, *or* Sugar, *or from* Fruit, *or* Sugar *mixt with* other Materials; which will include not only all *Engliſh Wines* made of *Sugar*, *Raiſins*, *Grapes*, *Elder-Berries*, *Currants*, *Gooſberries*, *Cherries*, &c. but likewiſe all *foreign Wines*, mix'd or increaſed with any *ſuch Materials*. Nay, even a great Part of the *Cyder* made within this Kingdom will come under *this Law*; and *ſuch a Tax*, with the *Duties* already on it, will amount to a Sort of Prohibition. What Numbers will this involve in that rigid Inquiſition, the *Exciſe*?

This Exciſe-Scheme on Wine may be more extenſive than the *laſt*, which ſo happily miſcarried; for *that* related to *foreign Wines* only; whereas this takes in *ſeveral other Liquors*, and conſequently may ſubject greater Numbers to its Power. Nor will it be the leſs grievous in this Light, becauſe it is computed that it will produce ſo much leſs than we were deſired to eſtimate the *other* at; for it renders it the more ſuſpicious that the *Power* alone is aim'd at, ſince the *Money* is not ſo much wanted.

Nobody therefore ought to be deluded with the Expectation of its ſtopping, before it comes to be his own particular Caſe; nor can any Perſons, with Juſtice to themſelves and their Country, be for laying any Part of their Fellow-Subjects under *ſuch grievous* and *oppreſſive Laws*, without an immediate Neceſſity. It is to be hoped that the *Spirit of Liberty*, which ſo lately preſerved us, is not yet *ſweeten'd* into a more ready Compliance.

I need not explain the vaſt Benefit our *Sugar Colonies* will receive from *this Tax*; which, together with the *late Act* for preventing the publick Sale of *Rum*, and *all other ſpirituous Liquors* made into *Punch*, will certainly retrieve them from that deplorable Condition, under which they now labour.

Common-

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Common Senſe, April 2. N° 9.

Of the Prerogative of the Crown and the Liberties of the People, and the Neceſſity of preſerving an equal Balance in the Conſtitution.

SIR,

WE that are out of Affairs may ſometimes ſee more than thoſe who are in will thank us for ſeeing; but ſtill there may be ſome Things, which none but thoſe that are in Secrets can truly lay open, and which ought to be laid open before proper Remedies can be applied; notwithſtanding this, I ſhall take the Liberty of offering ſome Things which are obvious enough, and yet ſuch as ought to be taken into Conſideration whenever the Cauſe comes to be heard.

I muſt begin, by putting you and the World in mind of that Maxim which will eternally hold good—That when any Alterations are made in a free Government, upon ſome Neceſſity, whether pretended or real, if it is not ſoon brought back to its firſt Inſtitution, it cannot long continue a free Government.

That which muſt preſerve our Government free, muſt be an equal Balance betwixt the three conſtituent Parts of which it is compoſed; *viz.* the Regal, the Noble, and the Popular—I believe it is demonſtrable, that for ſeveral Years paſt the Regal has drawn from the other two.

I conceive there are three Things which have thrown an Addition of Weight into the Royal Scale.——

The immenſe Debts of the Nation (I hope that is not the Reaſon why ſo little of it has been paid off) which have created new Funds, the Produce of which being appropriated to paying the Intereſt of the Creditors, paſſes every Year thro' the Hands of the Miniſters, and might be a Source of Corruption, if our Miniſters were not Perſons of great Integrity.

The ſecond is, the numerous Penal Laws, which have created new Crimes, and new Puniſhments; and lays almoſt all the Trading Part of the Nation, at one Time or other, at the Mercy of the Miniſters.

The third is, the great Increaſe of the Civil Liſt.

All Things in limited Governments are in Nature of Contracts betwixt the Governors and Governed. The People are to allow the Prince his Prerogative, and the Prince to allow the People their Rights. If the People ſhould deſire the Prince to give up his Prerogative, and give back his Civil Liſt, that they would allow him what Servants were neceſſary, would pay both them and his Tradeſmen, and take care that he ſhould want for nothing, or, in other Words, that they would make no bad Uſe of it: Would not the Courtiers ſay it was a Plot to deſtroy the Crown, and overturn Monarchy itſelf?

He who is a Truſtee or Repreſentative of the People, would no more give greater Powers to the Crown, than what has been found convenient, than he would give up the Deeds and Titles of his Eſtate, if he was not under ſome very corrupt Influence.

In all Treaties, Negociations, or Bargains whatſoever, where Conceſſions are made on one Side, there is a Right to expect they ſhould be proportionably made on the other. In limited Governments it muſt be ſo, otherwiſe the Balance muſt be deſtroyed. If a Prince ſhould demand more Powers, and more penal Laws than what he had before, he ought certainly to part with ſome of thoſe of which he is already poſſeſs'd.

The King cannot reſtrain the Liberty of the Subject, without ſuch and ſuch Cauſes as are limited by our Conſtitution; but what an Abſurdity ſhould we introduce into our Conſtitution, if we ſhould give the King ſuch a Power, only upon a Preſumption, that he will not make Uſe of it.

Nothing can be ſo dangerous to the

the Liberties of a Nation, as an immenſe Civil Liſt in the Hands of the Crown; for in all Countries, whoever has all the Money, will have all the Power, nay, may have it according to Law.

If the Civil Liſt was ſo large that the Crown ſhould be able to ſave 3 or 400,000 *l. per Annum*, nay, but 100,000 *l.* out of it, what is it they might not do? Money has a magnetick Power; Money, and Intereſt, is of ſo prodigious multiplying a Nature, that it has been proved, by a plain Calculation, that 100 *l.* laid out at Intereſt, at Ten *per Cent.* ſhall, in the Space of 70 Years, amount to above 100,000 *l.* If therefore the Prince could be able to lay out 100,000 *l.* at Four *per Cent.* or even Three *per Cent.* and add every Year 100,000 *l.* to his Capital, muſt not all the Wealth in the Nation in a few Years center in the Crown?

In a Country where Taxes are high, and Living dear, the landed Gentry will certainly run out. And where there is a ſaving Court, and a neceſſitous Gentry, the Prince may get Footing into all the Eſtates in the Kingdom; they may have their Truſtees, their Scriveners and Agents to take Mortgages for them in feign'd Names; ſo that what with this, and with a Number of Places, ſcarce any Man will know how to live, that has not ſomething given by the Court.

Let it be conſider'd what a ſhocking Sight it would be to behold the Deſcendants of the reduced Nobility and Gentry, cringing at the Levee of ſome inſolent Upſtart, begging for the Payment of a ſmall Penſion; while the vile Inſtrument of arbitrary Power might draw out the alphabetical Liſt of all his Mercenaries, with their ſeveral Wages in Columns, in the ſame Page where he kept another Liſt of Spies and Informers. If ever this ſhould come to paſs, I don't know whether we ſhould be better Chriſtians, or better Proteſtants than we were heretofore, but certainly we ſhould be more like the old Apoſtles; for we ſhould be able to ſay truly with them, *Silver and Gold have we none*, &c.

Fog's *Journal*. N° 437.

EXTRACT *of a* Letter *from a* Britiſh PLANTER *now ſettling in a* Dutch *Sugar Colony, to his Friend ſtill reſiding on his Majeſty's Iſland of* Antego.

Nov. 30, 1736.

SIR,

OUR News is, that a Plot which had been long forming among the *Blacks* of *Antego* to kill the *Whites*, was to have been executed on the 11th of laſt Month, being the King's Coronation Day, when they knew the Governor was to make a Ball for the principal Inhabitants; that the Conſpirators (chiefly *Creoles*, and ſuch from *Africa*, as had been beſt treated, and moſt truſted) were firſt to blow up the Ball-Room (when fulleſt) with Gun-powder, next to ſet Fire to the Town in ſeveral Places, and then to fall in Sword in Hand among their Owners, from whom, or the King's Troops, they fear'd the leſs Reſiſtance, as being a Night conſecrated to Mirth; that after a total Maſſacre aſhore, except ſome Females to be kept for their Luſt, they meant to embark in your Ships, and to force the Seamen to navigate them to *Africa*: But that the Governor thinking fit, on the Death of his eldeſt Son, to defer the Ball to the 30th, being the King's Birth-Day, a Diviſion ſoon aroſe among them, ſome being for falling on on the 11th, and others for putting it off to the 30th of *October*, which begat a Diſcovery; and that, what by Hanging, Burning, Breaking on the Wheel, and ſtarving on Gibbets, 30 of them are already put to Death. The

The Conduct of *Antego* on this Occasion will, no Doubt, be scan'd by many a Critick at home, where the Fault of the *Slave*-Trade, and all its direful Consequences, are constantly cast on the immediate Possessors of the *Slaves*, and on none else; for you can no more convince the People there, than you can those very *Slaves*, that the first Authors of this Trade are the Gentry that rule in *Africa*, and sell them to the Traders from *England*; that the next are the *English* Traders who buy them in *Guinea*, and retail them in the *Sugar* Islands; that the third are the good People of *England*, who protect and encourage this Trade, because all the Gain, both of it and the *Sugar* Trade, always centers among themselves; and that all the Concern the Planters have in it, is, that rather than drop the *Sugar* Manufacture, they submitted to carry it on with *Slaves* brought to their Door by the Traders of their Mother Nation. Most certainly, no Man who knows what these *Negroes* are, the Manner of their Conveyance from *Guinea*, &c. can help dreading to have to do with any of them: In Fact, when they provoke a rougher-hewn Planter to Wrath, and one puts him in Mind of the Patience of *Job*, the Answer often is, *there were no* Negroes *in the Land of* Uz; and many a Time have I heard many of the best and wisest Planters passionately wish, that there was never a *Negro* more to be brought from *Africa* to *America*, and that all the *Slaves* in the *British Sugar* Islands were in *Africa* again, or any where but where they are. But these, I say, are Facts not at all minded in *England*, where the *Masters* of the *Slaves* which she Forces on her *Sugar* Islands, after long and various Tortures, have at length got very near the *Coup de Grace* by the late Regulation in the Sale of certain Spirits, and where even the vilest Scoundrels take the Liberty to treat the same *Masters* with the worst of all Indignities, and to hasten their approaching Ruin. What do you think of the *Speech* in the *Prompter* of *Jan.* 10, 1735, (which you have seen in the *London Magazine* of that Month p. 13.) wherein the naughty Caitiff *does all he can* to animate these unhappy *Slaves* in their Rebellions against their more unhappy *Owners?* And this, as far as yet appears, without any Rebuke, or rather with the good Liking of some no mean Men in *England*.

Favour me, *Sir*, with a full Account of the Plot, and in Requital I will endeavour to shew you, how the like Conspiracies may be prevented for the future, or how the *Blacks* in the *Sugar* Colonies may be kept in full Obedience. For tho' the *Slave*-Trade, taking it from first to last, and in its full Extent, passes with some, and possibly with me, for one of the soulest Wickednesses the Sun ever saw; yet, when a Nation will give into it, a private Person, who can neither prevent nor remove the Cause, can hardly deserve Blame for seeking to blunt the Edge, and deaden the malign Influences of it, if he can.

Universal Spectator, April 2. N° 443.

The Mischiefs of Avarice, *especially to Lovers.*

O *Cursed Avarice!* Full of thy baleful Influence, what Miseries are suffer'd unredress'd? How few are mov'd with human Woe? How many avert their Eyes and Memories from their unfortunate Friends, and leave them unassisted to struggle with Grief and Disappointments, rather than damp their own Gaiety by entering into their Distress, or hurt their Interest by relieving it?

But of those whose Unhappiness

is owing to this reigning Vice, none ſeem more the Objects of Pity, and yet are leſs pity'd, than Lovers: My Friend *Sylvius*, whoſe Good-Nature, Good-Senſe, and agreeable Perſon gain him the general Eſteem of both Sexes, is deſtroy'd by a ſucceſsleſs A Paſſion, and has long dragg'd a hated Life, becauſe the Father of *Cælia* thinks his Fortune, tho' competent and capable of anſwering all the neceſſary genteel Conveniencies of Life, is not equal to what his Daughter may expect; tho' natu- B rally good and compaſſionate, he can't prevail with himſelf to make the leaſt Abatement in his Proſpect of Wealth and Grandeur for her. *Pride* and *Luxury*, the Parents of Avarice, have introduced ſo many unreal Wants, and made it ſo hard C to purchaſe what the deprav'd World calls the Conveniences of Life, that Parents betimes inſinuate to their Children, that neither the Beauties of the Mind or Body can cancel the Defects of Fortune, and therefore are not to be look'd upon with fa- D vourable Eyes, but when that is annex'd: Hence Thouſands, whoſe Purity of Inclinations and Sentiments declare them form'd for each other, are for Life ſeparated, and for Life unhappy; becauſe their Fortunes are not exactly equivalent, or not affluent enough to ſecure to them what the World calls a genteel Life; while others are join'd for Life, with no other Parity than their Fortunes, and who thereby being incapable of entertaining each other with any tolerable Satisfaction, in vain ſeek to F make up the Loſs of Love and Friendſhip in the Glitter of a Drawing Room, the Glare of Jewels, Dreſs, and ſplendid Equipage, or the Lull of an *Opera*: Wretched Exchange! How inferior in Bliſs to the following Picture of Life!

But happy they! the happieſt of their kind,
Whom gentler ſtrains unite, and in one fate
Their hearts, their fortunes, and their beings blend:
'Tis not the coarſer tie of human laws,
Unnat'ral oft', and foreign to the mind,
That binds their peace; but harmony itſelf
Attuning all their paſſions into love:
Where friendſhip full exerts his ſofteſt pow'r,
Perfect eſteem, enliven'd by deſire
Ineffable, and ſympathy of ſoul, [ing will,
Thought meeting thought, and will prevent-
With boundleſs confidence; for nought but love
Can anſwer love, and render bliſs ſecure.
Thompſon's Spring.

Grubſtreet Journal, April 7. N° 380.

Some general Remarks on a Bill now depending in Parliament, entitled, A BILL for the more effectual puniſhing Rogues and Vagabonds, and for the better Relief and Employment of ſuch poor Perſons as are therein mentioned. *In a Letter to a Member of Parliament.*

SIR,

AS you have ever exerted yourſelf in Support of our Conſtitution and Defence of our ancient Liberties, I cannot help applying myſelf to you with regard to the preſent Bill, which is now under your Conſideration.

I muſt confeſs, from the ſpecious Title it bears, I was induced to think the Bill a very neceſſary one, little imagining a Poor's Bill could be fraught with ſuch dangerous E Powers; but on Examination I find, what was deſigned for puniſhing Rogues and Vagabonds, may prove a Scourge to the People, and while it propoſes Relief to the Poor, impoſes a Yoke on the Publick.

As all Approaches towards abſolute Power and arbitrary Adminiſtration ought to be ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, ſo we ſhould be more than ordinary careful that ſuch ſuperior Powers never come into the Hands of ſo inferior a Magiſtrate as a Juſtice of Peace. G I ſhall ſubmit, Sir, the following Remarks to your Conſideration.

BILL, Page 4. Among other Things, *Be it enacted, that all Perſons whom the Juſtices ſhall adjudge dangerous*

dangerous to the People, ſhall be deemed incorrigible Rogues.

This general Power of *adjudging Perſons dangerous to the People*, may prove of fatal Conſequence, ſince any one who either by voting at Elections contrary to the Inclination of the Juſtices, or by any other Means may incur their Diſpleaſure, may eaſily be adjudged within the Deſcription of theſe general Words, *dangerous to the People*, and ſuffer the Puniſhment of *incorrigible Rogues*, which by this Bill is made Tranſportation, and from which Sentence there lies *no Appeal*.

Page 6. *Be it enacted, that any two or more Juſtices, in the laſt Week of the Months of* March, June, September *and* December *in every Year, or oftener if Need be, ſhall meet in their reſpective Diviſions, and by their Warrant command the Conſtable of every Hundred,* &c. *in their ſeveral Diviſions, who ſhall be aſſiſted with ſufficient Men of the ſame Place, to make a general privy Search in one Night thro' their ſeveral Limits, for the finding of Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars; and ſuch as they ſhall apprehend they ſhall cauſe to be brought before any Juſtice,* &c.

This is certainly a very *dangerous Clauſe*, for the Latitude of Power it gives the *Juſtices, any two* of whom may, as often as they pleaſe, meet and empower a *Conſtable* with his *Myrmidons*, to make a *general privy Search* in the Night-time; which Search we may obſerve is not at all limited, but *general*, and conſequently every Houſe liable to it; thus *every Man's Houſe* may be *rifled at Midnight* at the Will of the *Conſtable*, who has this *Advantage* over the *Exciſeman*, that the one cannot do it without a particular Information upon Oath, the other may without any Information at all.

Page 7. *Be it enacted, that when any Perſon or Perſons ſhall be ſo apprehended, and brought before any Juſtice or Juſtices, it ſhall, and may be lawful for ſuch Juſtice or Juſtices, if, upon Examination, he or they ſhall ſee Cauſe, to commit ſuch Perſon or Perſons to the Houſe of Correction till the next Quarter Seſſions.*

By this Clauſe *a Juſtice of Peace* has the Power to *commit any Perſon to the Houſe of Correction till the next Quarter Seſſions*, which may be 3 Months, *without Bail or Mainprize*; what fatal Uſes may be made of this Power, and how deeply it *ſtrikes at the Foundation of Liberty*, let any one determine!

Page 8. *Be it further enacted, that if, at the Quarter Seſſions, the Juſtices ſhall adjudge any Perſon ſo committed, to be an idle diſorderly Rogue, they may confine him in the Houſe of Correction for a Time not exceeding 12 Months. If they adjudge him to be a Rogue and Vagabond, they may confine him a Twelvemonth to hard Labour. If they adjudge him to be an incorrigible Rogue, they may, and ſhall confine him in ſuch Houſe of Correction, or tranſport him for 7 Years.*

By this Clauſe, after a Perſon has been committed without *Bail* or *Mainprize* by any one or more Juſtices, perhaps in 3 or 6 Months Time, he may have the Comfort to be tried by the Brethren of the Bench, who may *confine* or keep to *hard Labour* for a *Twelvemonth*, or *tranſport* for 7 *Years*. Thus the Juſtices have a Power, firſt of *committing without Bail*, afterwards of *judging their own Proceedings*, and the Subject is deprived of that inеſtimable Privilege a *Jury*. Could it be imagined that Juſtices would ever make an ill Uſe of this Power, *what Havock might they make on the Liberties and Properties of the People?*

Page 9. *Be it enacted, that if any Perſons find themſelves aggrieved by the Act of any Juſtice or Juſtices of the Peace out of Seſſions,* &c. *they may appeal to the next General Quarter Seſſions, giving reaſonable Notice*

thereof, whoſe Order therein ſhall be final, and no Certiorari *ſhall be granted to remove any Warrant, Order, or other Proceedings whatſoever, of any Juſtice or Juſtices of the Peace, or Seſſions concerning the ſame.*

By this Clauſe, if a *Perſon* is *injured* by any *Juſtice*, he can only *appeal* to his *Brother Juſtices* for Redreſs; and how unequal the Conteſt would be between a Member of the Bench, and a poor Appellant, is eaſy to determine, if it ſhould happen that they ſhould err in their Judgment (and every one will allow a Bench of Juſtices not to be infallible) the *injured* will then have *no Refuge* left, ſince, by making their Order *final*, the Bench is become the *Dernier Reſort* of all Right and Juſtice; thus this Clauſe may ſerve the Juſtices as a Tower of Defence againſt the People, from the Batteries of which they may annoy them without Fear or Danger.

Thus, Sir, I am apprehenſive that this Bill, ſhould it paſs in the Form it now is, will only conduce towards *weakning* the *Conſtitution*, and rendering the *Liberties* of the People more precarious.

Daily Gazetteer, April 7. N° 558.

Of the firſt Eſtabliſhment of the BANK.

THERE, certainly, never was a Body of Men, that has contributed more to the publick Safety and Emolument, than the *Bank* of *England*; and yet, even this great, this uſeful Company, has not eſcaped the Invectives of malicious Tongues.

The Bank was erected by Virtue of an Act of Parliament, made in the fifth Year of K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, which gives a Power to their Majeſties, by Commiſſion under the Great Seal, to authorize and appoint any Number of Perſons, to take and receive all ſuch voluntary Subſcriptions as ſhall be made, towards the raiſing and paying into the Receipt of Exchequer, the Sum of 1,200,000*l.* Part of 1,500,000*l.* which was granted by Parliament, by ſeveral Rates and Duties upon Tunnage of Ships and Veſſels, and upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for carrying on the War againſt *France*.

And by the ſame Act of Parliament, their Majeſties were further enabled, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, to incorporate ſuch Subſcribers and Contributors, their Heirs, Succeſſors, or Aſſigns, to be one Body Corporate and Politick, by the Name of *the Governor and Company of the Bank of England*; and by the ſame Name to have perpetual Succeſſion, and a Common Seal; and to grant them ſeveral other Privileges, Immunities, and Advantages, in the Act particularly expreſſed.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, That when the erecting this new Corporation was under Conſideration, it occaſion'd great Debates: *Some*, ſays he, *thought a Bank would grow to be a Monopoly; all the Money of* England *would come into their Hands, and they would, in a few Years, become Maſters of the Wealth and Stock of the Nation.* But thoſe that were for it, argued, *that the Credit it would have muſt increaſe Trade, and the Circulation of Money, at leaſt in Bank Notes. It was viſible*, continues he, *that all the Enemies of the Government ſet themſelves againſt it with ſuch a Vehemence of Zeal, that this alone convinced all People, that they ſaw the Strength that our Affairs would receive from it. I had heard*, ſays he, *the* Dutch *often reckon up the great Advantages they had from their Banks: And they concluded, that as long as* England *continued jealous of the Government, a Bank could never be ſettled among us, nor gain Credit enough to ſupport itſelf; and upon that they judged, that the Superiority in Trade muſt*

ill lie on their Side. And a lit-
ther the ſame Hiſtorian ſays,
vantages the King, and all con-
in Tallies, had from the Bank,
ſoon ſo ſenſibly felt, that all Peo-
ew into the ſecret Reaſons, that
the Enemies of the Conſtitution
mſelves with ſo much Earneſtneſs
ff it.

ter the Bank was eſtabliſhed,
ublick Credit revived, and the
was ſupplied with Money re-
ly, and upon reaſonable Terms:
as enabled to puſh the War on
Vigour againſt *France*, in De-
of our Religion and Liberties;
tho' the Price of ſo much
and ſo much Treaſure, yet by
who have a juſt Senſe of thoſe
able Bleſſings, cannot be thought
purchaſed too dear.

d not only in thoſe Times of
r and Diſtreſs, but ever ſince,
ouriſhing and opulent Com-
have, upon every Emergency,
s chearfully and readily ſup-
the Neceſſities of the Nation;
t there have never been any
ulties, any Embarraſſments, any
s in raiſing the Money which
en granted by Parliament for
ervice of the Publick; and it
very truly be ſaid, that they
in many critical and impor-
Conjunctures, relieved this Na-
ut of the greateſt Difficulties,
abſolutely ſaved it from Ruin;
herefore it is not at all to be
er'd, that there ſhould be Per-
ow, as well as formerly, who
all Occaſions to leſſen and de-
te this great Fund of publick
t, and this great Support of the
t Eſtabliſhment.

Craftſman, April 9. N° 562.

poſal for the Benefit of the Country, &c.

WHEN we conſider the ſlow Progreſs, made in the Pay- of our Debts, by the *Sinking Fund*, in the laſt bleſſed 30 Years; and that we now owe as much as we did upon the Concluſion of the Peace of *Utrecht*; tho' the People have not paid leſs in Taxes than they did, whilſt they were carrying on that glorious War; tho' the Proprietors of the publick Debts have ſuffered a Reduction of one Third of their Intereſt for that Uſe, and are ſoon like to have it reduced to one Half; yet ſtill there is annually raiſed upon the People as much as ever, and the only Eaſe they have received was a Year and a Quarter's Diſcharge from the *Salt-Tax*; which was almoſt ſufficient to convince us that our Debts were never to be paid off, if we expected at the ſame Time to get rid of our Taxes and Collectors; this, I ſay, muſt give a melancholy Proſpect; but how much more muſt it affect us to hear it publickly avow'd, *That it is neceſſary to continue the Debts of the Nation, as the beſt Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and the preſent Royal Family on the Throne.* According to the Reaſoning of thoſe, who think *Intereſt* the governing Principle of all human Actions, nothing can tend ſo much to the Revival of *Jacobitiſm*, as the Doctrine *that all are to pay that a few only may receive.* If *ſuch Doctrines* as theſe were to take Place, there is Reaſon to apprehend the moſt dreadful Conſequences. In ſuch a Caſe, indeed, it will be our Happineſs that the *glorious Plan of Power*, ſo ſucceſsfully purſued, will be the only Thing, that can ſave us; and that the firſt Maxim in the Propoſition to K. *James* I, *for bridling the Impertinency of* Parliaments, will be verify'd; *viz. That in Policy it is a greater Tye of the People, by Force and Neceſſity, than merely by Love and Affection; for by the one, the Government reſteth always ſecure; but by the other, no longer than the People are contented.* (See p. 153.)

This new Doctrine ſeems to be

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fubſtituted in the Room of *another*, now almoſt quite worn out; *viz.* that the Debts of the Nation are the Riches of the Nation; and as we have hitherto been very provident in not loſing thoſe Riches, ſo our preſent Situation is ſuch, that we ſhall hardly know what to do with all the Money, now ſo eaſily collected from the People, notwithſtanding the very expenſive current Service of the Year. Theſe happy Incumbrances would therefore be in ſome Danger, were it not thought adviſeable to poſtpone the Diſcharge of any of them, for 14 *Years*, upon this valuable Conſideration to the Publick, of their parting with one Fourth of their Intereſt; from whence it might be naturally imagined, that ſome of our moſt burthenſome Taxes would be taken off; but as it hath been declared, that the Publick is not to receive any ſuch Benefit from this Scheme, every Body is at a Loſs to gueſs how the *Sinking Fund* (as it was formerly call'd) is to be apply'd; ſince no Debts are to be diſcharged, nor any Taxes taken off.

Tho' I confeſs myſelf one of thoſe, who labour under this Difficulty, I can by no means approve of the following Propoſal, which hath lately fallen into my Hands, upon this Subject: Which, whether it was calculated for the Service of a certain Perſon, or only by Way of Mirth, is not very plain.

A Propoſal for the Benefit of the Country, *by keeping the* Gentry *there, for* 14 Years, *and not holding of any* Parliaments, *during that Time.*

In order to ſhew the Practicability of his Scheme, the Projector begins with obſerving that the *Sinking Fund*, with the Million, that is to be paid off this Year, will produce *communibus Annis*, 1,150,000*l.* The additional Increaſe, by the Reduction of Intereſt to 3 *per Cent.* and taking off *no Taxes*, is 450,000*l.* a Year. Then granting the *Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms* the ſame Powers over their *inferior Officers*, as the *Commiſſioners of Exciſe* have, (which they declared would enable them to prevent the Frauds in *Wine* and *Tobacco*) there will be an additional Produce, according to former Eſtimations, of 500,000*l. per Annum*; and as ſo great an Increaſe will ariſe from this ſmall Alteration upon two Articles alone, it may be modeſtly computed that at leaſt 100,000*l. per Annum* will be farther ſaved by preventing all the other Frauds in the Cuſtoms. The Savings upon ſeveral Items, by not holding of Parliaments, will be, upon the loweſt Calculation, 250,000*l. per Annum*. Theſe ſeveral Sums amount yearly to 2,450,000*l.* The Expence of the current Service, even for this Year, excluſive of the Deficiencies of former *Land* and *Malt-Taxes*, is about 2,000,000; and tho' the ſame Army and Navy ſhould be kept up, a Saving of 100,000*l. per Ann.* may be juſtly allow'd, upon thoſe Heads; which reduces it to 1,900,000*l.* and this being deducted from the 2,450,000*l.* above, there will remain 550,000*l.* a Year, to ſupply all extraordinary Occaſions and Emergencies of the 14 Years, without the farther Aſſiſtance of Parliament.

The Advantages to the Nation, by rendering this Scheme effectual, will be,

1. That the *Land* and *Malt-Tax* will ceaſe; which will enable Country Gentlemen to make a better Proviſion for their Families, than having 1 *per Cent.* more paid for Intereſt of Money.

2. They will live more comfortably and hoſpitably amongſt their Neighbours than they have hitherto done, when that Bone of Contention, Elections for Members of Parliament, is taken away.

3. Their Health and Virtue will be the better ſecured, by their not being infected with the Luxuries and De-

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Debaucheries of this Town; by which Means we may hope to ſee hereafter a new Race of healthy, robuſt, vigorous young Gentlemen.

It is apprehended that if this Project was to take Place, there would be no Occaſion for the late Scheme of Exciſes, or any new ones; but if they ſhould be thought wanting, the Affair of *Sweets* may be eaſily extended to include all Dealers in Wine, and, upon a third Reading, a Rider may take in all the Reſt, that is found neceſſary. (See p. 187.)

There is no Danger in this Projector's Scheme; ſince he hath not founded it on the Principles of Action, which now alone prevail. He hath calculated it for thoſe primitive Times, when the Ladies were contented with their Dairy, and Houſewifry; the Gentlemen with their Hunting and Husbandry; P—ces and Miniſters with being only watchful Guardians for the Good of the People. But the preſent Generation are grown ſo much wiſer, there can be no Apprehenſion that the Members will be brought into ſuch deſtructive Meaſures to themſelves and their Poſterity. No, they will bask and rejoice in the Sunſhine of Liberty, the annual holding of Parliaments; and will certainly meet once a Year, for the better Improvement of their Country and themſelves, and for diſpoſing of the Moneys already collected.

It is likewiſe againſt the Intereſt of thoſe, whoſe Parts, Knowledge, and paſt Experience render them capable of the greateſt Service to their *King* and *Country*. It would then no longer require an *able* and *dexterous Miniſter*, broken in the Paths of Virtue, to govern; ſince the *firſt Miniſter*, who came to Hand, might be thought ſufficient for that Purpoſe. For this Reaſon, even the worſt of Miniſters, in all Caſes, (except one, which I ſhall mention hereafter) will be againſt any Propoſals of this Nature. It will always be their Intereſt not to load the People with burthenſome Taxes only, but by an oppreſſive and influencing Collection; nor will they ever part with ſuch Taxes, when they have theſe farther, advantageous Circumſtances attending them, that the Conſumer does not ſee he pays any Tax; and, from the Length of Time, it is almoſt forgot that any Duty is laid upon thoſe Commodities; but that their Dearneſs proceeds from other Cauſes. From whence too many are induced to believe, that they pay no other Taxes than ſuch as go immediately out of their own Hands, or are charged in their Accounts. This Sort of imperceptible Taxes, as they are juſtly call'd, tends very much to make a bad Adminiſtration eaſy; ſince it furniſhes them not only with the Means of Money, but at the ſame Time takes away the principal Reaſon of Oppoſition to their Meaſures, and even the very Feeling of the People that they pay for them.

But let us now conſider the only Caſe, in which a deſperate Miniſter would be for ſuch a Scheme. It muſt be, when he hath involved his Country in the moſt diſgraceful, as well as hazardous Meaſures. It muſt be, when he hath endanger'd his Prince, by robbing him of the Affections of his People, and by laying his own Guilt at his Door. It muſt be, when he finds that he can no longer go on in the ſame Methods, which he hath hitherto purſued; when he hath try'd all his Arts, and publickly declared, *that he hath endeavour'd at a Reconciliation, and would be glad of any Means to bring it about; even almoſt to being the* Scape-Goat *himſelf.*

Were this our Situation, much might be apprehended; but it is our preſent Happineſs, that no Scheme of this Nature, or any that can have the leaſt Tendency to it, is likely to meet with any Succeſs. I ſhall therefore

fore conclude with the *Fable of the Fox and the Weazle*, as it is tranſlated from *Æſop* by Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, with his Reflection upon it.

A ſlam, thin-gutted Fox *made an hard Shift to wriggle his Body into an Hen-rooſt; and when he had ſtuff'd his Guts well, he ſqueezed hard to get out again; but the Hole was too little for him. There was a* Weazle *a pretty Way off, that ſtood tearing at him all the while.*——Brother Reynard, *ſays he, your Belly was empty, when you went in, and you muſt e'en ſtay till your Belly is empty again, before you come out.*

Reflection.

The Fox's *Caſe here is that of many a* publick Miniſter, *who comes empty in; but when he hath cramm'd his Guts well, he is fain to ſqueeze hard before he can get out again, and glad to compound with his very Skin for his Carcaſs.*

Common Senſe, April 9. N° 10.

Some Thoughts on LEONIDAS, *an Epic Poem lately publiſhed.*

SIR,

SINCE I have read *Leonidas*, I have been ſo full of all the Beauties, I met with in it, that to give ſome Vent, I found it neceſſary to write to you, and invite my Countrymen to take Part with me in the Pleaſure of admiring what ſo juſtly deſerves their Admiration. And in doing this I have yet a further View, I deſire to do them Good as well as pleaſe them; for never yet was an Epic Poem wrote with ſo noble and ſo uſeful a Deſign; the whole Plan and Purpoſe of it being to ſhew the Superiority of Freedom over Slavery; and how much Virtue, publick Spirit, and the Love of Liberty are preferable both in their Nature and Effects, to Riches, Luxury, and the Inſolence of Power.

This great and inſtructive Moral is ſet forth by an Action the moſt proper to illuſtrate it of all that ancient or modern Hiſtory can afford, enforc'd by the moſt ſublime Spirit of Poetry, and adorn'd by all the Charms of an active and warm Imagination, under the Reſtraint of a cool and ſober Judgment.

And it has another ſpecial Claim to your Protection; for I will venture to ſay, there never was an Epic Poem which had ſo near a Relation as this to *Common Senſe*; the Author of it not having allow'd himſelf the Liberty ſo largely taken by his Predeceſſors, of making Excurſions beyond the Bounds, and out of Sight of it, into the airy Regions of *Poetical Mythology*. There are neither *fighting* Gods, nor *ſcolding* Goddeſſes, neither Miracles nor Enchantments, neither Monſters nor Giants in his Work; but whatſoever human Nature can afford that is moſt aſtoniſhing, marvellous, and ſublime.

And it has this particular Merit to recommend it, that, tho' it has quite the Air of an ancient Epic Poem, there is not ſo much as a ſingle Simile in it, that is borrowed from any of the Ancients, and yet, I believe, there is hardly any Poem that has ſuch a Variety of *beautiful Compariſons*; ſo juſt a Confidence had the Author in the Extent, and rich Abundance of his own Imagination.

The artful Conduct of the principal Deſign; the Skill in connecting and adapting every Epiſode to the carrying on, and ſerving that Deſign; the Variety of Characters, the great Care to keep them, and diſtinguiſh each from the other by a Propriety of Sentiment and Thought, all theſe are Excellencies which the beſt Judges of Poetry will be particularly pleaſed with in *Leonidas*.

Upon the whole, Sir, I look upon this Poem *as one of thoſe few* of diſtinguiſh'd Worth and Excellence, which will be handed down with Reſpect to all Poſterity, and which, in the long Revolution of paſt Centuries, but *two or three Countries*

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tries have been able to produce. And I can't help congratulating *my own*, that after having in the laſt Age brought forth a *Milton*, ſhe has in this produced *two more* ſuch Poets, as we have the Happineſs to ſee flouriſh now together, I mean Mr. *Pope*, and Mr. *Glover*.

Fog's Journal, April 9. No 438.

Monſieur Chauvelin's Miſerere *to his Eminence, the Cardinal, the Day preceding his Diſgrace.* (See p. 167.)

MISERERE Mei: Moſt eminent Cardinal; commiſerate me according to your accuſtomary Compaſſion, and do not ſuffer me to be unmasked.

Et, Secundum Multitudinem; And, anſwerably to your abundant Goodneſs towards me, ſcreen my Iniquities, my Theſts, and thoſe many *Arrets*, to which I have affixed the proper Seals, after I had made the requiſite Alterations, and converted them to the Uſe and Profit of thoſe who offered moſt Money.

Amplius lava me; Redouble your Favours to me, ſpite of all my Wickedneſs. I have the Ambition to be a Duke; it is very juſt and reaſonable that my Family ſhould paſs after yours; cleanſe me, and cauſe the Meanneſs of my Origin to diſappear.

Quoniam iniquitatem meam: I acknowledge all my Prevarications, whereof the leaſt Part only are ſuſpected by the Publick. I have had all my Crimes and Backſlidings before my Eyes, ever ſince you began to perceive them: They inceſſantly riſe up againſt me; the Gratifications which I received from *Spain*, to bring you over to conclude the *Seville* Treaty; what was remitted me from *England*, to ingage you not to puſh on the Diſgrace of *Pletier des Forts*; the Procedure of M. *de la Mothe**; the Murder of M. *de Plelo*†; my haughty Deportment towards the Secretaries of State; my Alliances and Union with the *Janſeniſts*; my keeping back and ſecreting your Diſpatches, to ſend away Orders quite contrary to yours; my Knaveries with Regard to the *India* Company; my *Portefuelle*, which I took Care to ſtuff full of *Actions*; the bad Uſe I was pleaſed to make of the Authority my Poſt gave me; the infamous Meaſures I took to defraud the Prince of *Carignan*'s Creditors, who periſhed for Want; my betraying the moſt momentous Secrets; the abominable Perfidy I practiſed againſt the Marquis of *Segur*; my Ingratitude to the Marechal *D' Uxelle*; my many great Inſolencies; my Intrigues; and finally, even the Cuiraſs of *Soltan Mahomet* II. which my Wife diſpoſed of: All theſe Objects, which are eternally before me, make me ſuffer Martyrdom, filling me with Horror, Confuſion and Reproach.

Tibi ſoli peccavi. Yet the moſt heinous of all my Offences, is my having ſinned againſt you, and gone about to ſupplant even your Eminence.

Docebo iniquos vias tuas. I will give a favourable Turn to your Steps, and Proceedings, among thoſe who hate you; I will re-eſtabliſh your Credit with the King of *Spain*, and will prevail on *Monſieur* the Duke to ſpeak well of you.

Libera me de ſanguinibus. Deliver me from the Enemies who ſurround me, and who thirſt after my Blood; you who are the Divinity whom they adore. The Parliament, Marechal

* *It was by the Keeper of the Seals private Order, that Monſ.* de la Mothe *hindered the Junction of thoſe Ships which were appointed to ſavour the* Dantzickers, *and let them be ſhut up in their City by the* Ruſſians. † *Monſ.* de Plelo, *who oppoſed the Keeper of the Seals in his Deſigns, and who was for forwarding the Affairs of K.* Staniſlaus, *was killed before* Dantzick, *not by the Enemy, but by our own People.*

de

de Noailles, with such Numbers of others, wait only for the Maturity of their Project, in order to tear me piece-meal: O leave me not to them: And this astonishing Goodness of yours will very speedily be counted a consummate Act of Justice.

Domine labia; Restore to me the Use of my Tongue which I have lost: It is now three Months that I have not known what I should say to any of the Embassadors, or other Foreign Ministers.

Quoniam si voluisti sacrificium. If I might appease your Eminence at the Expence of a few Millions, I would lay them down to you upon the Spot. But what Service would that be to you? You are at the Fountain-Head: Besides, your Eminence does not covet Wealth, in order to employ it in exterior Pomp and Splendor.

Benigne Fac. Persevere in your good Opinion of me; suffer me to accumulate a new Mass of Wealth, wherewithal to accomplish my commenced Purchase of *La Brie*, and to convert once more *Grosbois* into a stately Castle.

Tunc acceptabis; I will cause your Eminence's Arms to be station'd by my own, and that shall remain a precious Monument of my Acknowledgment.

Et super altare tuum vitulos; And my Son, who is really fit for nothing else, shall constantly make his Court to your Eminence's Nephews.

GLORIA CARDINALI.

Craftsman, April. 16. N° 563.

Of the FREE-MASONS.

SIR,

AMONGST all the Instances, lately produced, of our Advantages over other Nations, in Point of *Liberty*, there is one that deserves your serious Consideration; I mean the Toleration of that mysterious Society, call'd FREE-MASONS, who have been lately suppress'd not only in *France* but in *Holland*, as a dangerous Race of Men; (See p. 167.) whereas here they are permitted to hold their private Meetings, in every Part of the Town, and even to appear in publick Procession, with the Ensigns of their Order.

Indeed, I have often wonder'd they have not been laid under some Restraints even in *England*; for tho' *our present most excellent Ministers* have always preserved a sacred Regard to *Liberty*, I think no Government ought to suffer such dark and clandestine Assemblies, where Plots against the State may be carried on, under the Pretence of *Brotherly Love* and *Good-Fellowship*.

The *Act of Toleration* does not allow of *private Conventicles*, even in Cases of *Conscience*, but injoins that all *Meeting-Houses*, or *Places of Worship*, shall be not only *licensed* but *publick*; and all others are punishable as contrary to Law. Shall more Indulgence be granted to this *incomprehensible Fraternity*, who do not pretend to plead *Conscience*, or any *publick Emolument*, in their Behalf?

They derive their Original, as I am inform'd, from the Building of *Babel*, which was an audacious Attempt against *Heaven*; insomuch that *God* himself thought fit to defeat their Design by the *Confusion of Tongues*, that such impious Offenders might not understand one another. But, our *modern Masons* pretend to an *universal, dumb Language*, by which People of all Nations, who are initiated into their Mysteries, can easily converse together, by the Help of *certain Signs*, which nobody understands but themselves.

It is likewise said that by the *same Signs* they can oblige any of their Brethren to leave off their Business, and follow them wherever they please; a Power of a very dangerous Nature, and which may be some Time or other turn'd to a very ill Use.

The *Concord*, which reigns amongst them, is very surprizing; for tho' they are compoſed of all *Nations*, *Parties* and *Religions*, we are told there hath not happen'd the leaſt Quarrel or Diſturbance in any of their Aſſemblies.

That *impenetrable Secrecy*, for which they are ſo famous, is likewiſe Matter of juſt Suſpicion, and ſeems to indicate that there is ſomething in their *nocturnal Rites* which they are afraid of having diſcover'd. For this Reaſon, they not only lock themſelves into the Room, where they meet, and ſuffer none to wait upon them, except *Brethren*; but upon all extraordinary Occaſions, (ſuch as admitting *new Members*, or inſtituting *Lodges*) a *Centinel* is placed at the Outſide of the Door, with a *drawn Sword* in his Hand, to prevent all Diſcoveries.

This is not the only Mark of their being a *military Order*; for they give their *chief Officer* the Title of *Grand-Maſter*; in Imitation, I preſume, of the *Knights of Malta*; nay, he hath a *Sword of State* carried before him, almoſt as large and richly ornamented as that of his Majeſty. *This Sword* was preſented to them, as I am inform'd, by a *great Roman-Catholick Peer*: With what View I ſhall not take upon myſelf to determine. But if the worſhipful Mr. *B.* were taken up, and cloſely examined about it, I fancy he might be induced to make ſome uſeful Diſcoveries.

There ſeems likewiſe to be ſomething emblematical in their *Gloves* and *Aprons*. A *Glove* is only another Word for a *Gauntlet*, and a *Gauntlet* is a *Piece of Armour for the Hands*. An *Apron*, indeed, is a proper Badge of *Maſonry*, in the literal Senſe; but I am told, it is likewiſe a Term in *Gunnery* for a flat Piece of Lead to cover the *Touch-hole of a Cannon*, when it is loaded; and I leave my *Superiors* to judge whether it may not be made Uſe of by our *Free-Maſons* to typify ſomething of the ſame Nature.

It farther deſerves Notice how artfully they have diſperſed themſelves, in *different Lodges*, thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, and particularly in *this great Metropolis*; as if it were on Purpoſe to beat up for *Volunteers*, in which they make no Diſtinction of Perſons; for they not only admit of *Turks*, *Jews* and *Infidels*, but even *Jacobites*, *Nonjurors*, and *Papiſts* themſelves.

They keep their Proceedings ſo very private, that it is impoſſible to gueſs what *Seal of Secrecy* they have invented, which is able to tie up the Mouths of ſuch Multitudes of People; for there are many of them, whom the *moſt ſolemn Oaths* could not bind, on any other Occaſions, and yet nothing hath been able to ſhake their Fidelity, in *this Particular*. I wiſh it may not be ſomewhat like *that horrid Obligation*, which *Catiline* adminiſter'd to his *Fellow-Conſpirators*.

Upon the whole, *this myſterious Society* hath too much the Air of an *Inquiſition*, where every Thing is tranſacted in the Dark; and I wiſh it may not be ſpawn'd from the ſame helliſh Original, notwithſtanding its pretended Antiquity.

I am ſenſible that many plauſible Reaſons may be alledged, in Favour of *this Fraternity*.

And, *firſt*, it may be ſaid that a *learned and worthy Divine of the Church of England* hath long ago publiſh'd the *Inſtitutions of the Free-Maſons*, which contain nothing but what is perfectly innocent, and prove them rather to be a *whimſical* than a *dangerous Sect*. But *this Book* ſeems deſign'd rather to *amuſe* than *inform* the World, and put them upon a wrong Scent; for it is not to be ſuppoſed he would reveal *thoſe boaſted Myſteries*, in which the very Eſſence

of their *Society* conſiſts. They have, no Doubt, their *Secreta Monita*, as well as the *Jeſuits*, and we can never hope to ſee them, in *one Caſe*, unleſs by meer Accident, as it happen'd in the *other*.

But the moſt material Argument A is, that there are ſo many of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and even the *Clergy*, of the moſt undoubted Affection to his Majeſty, in *this Society*; that as it will be impoſſible to carry on any wicked Deſigns againſt him, without their Knowledge, ſo it cannot be B ſuppoſed they will concur in them, or conceal them. But, with all due Deference to *theſe honourable* and *reverend Perſons*, I muſt beg leave to give my Opinion, that *this Argument* is very fallacious, and upon which we can have no ſure Dependence; for I apprehend the *Obligation*, which the *Free-Maſons* take, to be of ſuch a Nature, that the *blackeſt Conſpiracies*, or *Machinations*, will not allow them to break thro' it. Beſides, how can we be ſure that *thoſe* D *Perſons*, who are known to be *well-affected*, are let into all their *Myſteries?* They acknowledge there is a Diſtinction between *Prentices* and *Maſter-Maſons*; and who knows whether they may not have an higher Order of *Caballiſts*, who keep the E *grand Secret* of all intirely to themſelves?

It may likewiſe be ask'd, perhaps, in what *Plots*, or *ill Deſigns*, they have been engaged, ever ſince the firſt Foundation of *their Society?* This Queſtion is not eaſily anſwer'd; F for their Principles and Actions are ſo unfathomable, that nobody can pretend to ſay, with any Certainty, in what they are, or are not concern'd; but I cannot help thinking them at the Bottom of *one Affair*, which hath lately happen'd, and is G now upon the *Tapis*; I mean the late Tumult at *Edinburgh*, and the Murder of Capt. *Porteous*; which was concerted and executed with ſo much *Unanimity* and *Secrecy*, that none but a Mob of *Free-Maſons* could be guilty of it, without the Diſcovery of *one Perſon* in ſo numerous a Multitude as were concern'd in that *atrocious Fact*. (See Vol. V. p. 510.)

I am glad to hear that a *Law* is likely to paſs, in the Nature of the *Black-Act*, (the moſt compendious of all *penal Laws*) for preventing any *ſuch Riots*, for the future, by trying the Authors, or Accomplices, of them in *England*; for if the *Scots* will not find one another guilty, there is all the Reaſon in the World they ſhould be try'd by an *impartial Jury*, who know nothing of *them*, or *their Characters*; and I hope to ſee the *Free-Maſons* included in the C *ſame Bill*; for they may be properly ſaid to *go in Diſguiſe*.

I know *theſe Men* are generally look'd upon, in *England*, as a Parcel of idle People, who meet together only to make merry, and play ſome ridiculous Pranks; but it is very D plain that the wiſe Governments of *France* and *Holland* look upon them in a very different Light; and I humbly hope to ſee my own Country follow the Example of the *latter*, at leaſt, by ſuppreſſing *ſuch dangerous Aſſemblies*.

But if a *total Suppreſſion* ſhould be E thought inconſiſtent with our *free Conſtitution* and *moſt incomparable Government*, I have an Alternative to offer; which is to lay a double Tax upon all *Free-Maſons*, as there hath been for many Years upon the *Papiſts*. F

I flatter myſelf that *this Scheme* will not prove diſagreeable, at preſent, when *great Sums of Money* are wanted, and *Ways and Means* are ſo very hard to be found. I am ſure, it will be more acceptable to the Generality of Mankind, or at leaſt of Womankind, than the *Reduction of Intereſt to* 3 *per Cent.* without any *Redemption of Taxes*; for as the *Ladies* have a very bad Opinion of the *Free-Maſons*,

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Masons, and are incapable of being admitted into *that Order*, they will never complain of any Tax being laid upon *keeping a Secret*, which they are not let into themselves.

I am, SIR, &c.

JACHIN.

Daily Gazetteer, Apr. 16. N° 566.

ONE who subscribes himself *an Adventurer in Politicks*, in a long Letter to the *Author of Common-Sense* (whom he charges with falsly assuming that Title) in Answer to his Paper of *Apr.* 2. (p. 189.) among other Things, says: To convince you how little *Common-Sense* there is in your three Assertions, I shall observe on the first Head, That the Funds being conceded by you (as in Truth they are) to be *appropriated by Parliament*, a Minister is accountable to Parliament for any Draught made, and much more so, if contrary to its *Appropriation*; and I question much, if an Order from the *Treasury* for a large Sum out of any of these *appropriated* Funds, payable to other Persons, and for other Purposes than those appointed by Parliament, would be immediately complied with, by the Officers of the Exchequer, with whom such *Trust of Funds* is vested; so that it is a Mistake (hardly possible for Common-Sense to make) to say these Funds may be a Source of Corruption, by passing thro' the Hands of the Ministry; for they have no other Direction in the *Application* of it, than as *Members of Parliament*: *Lords of the Treasury*, or *Officers of the Exchequer*, *draw*, indeed, and *pay*, but 'tis in Conformity to the Application made by the first.

For Instance, there is a Million appropriated by Parliament, for paying off so much of the Old *S. S.* Annuities. Can the Minister touch any of this Money, and apply it to other Uses? Can the Treasury issue out Orders for disposing of it, any other Way? It passes no more thro' the Hands of the Ministry, than any Money in an Office does thro' the Hands of those who hold that Office: And as these, under the Penalty of the Law, may alienate any Money intrusted; so *at the same Price* indeed, may the Minister; and *the whole of this Danger, is no more than what any Society may apprehend from any one single Member of it*, who may violate the Laws, if he will incur the Penalty: But Society, in its Nature, can admit of no other Security.

As to the second, till you, Sir, will be pleased to shew with *Common-Sense*, what new Crimes and new Punishments are the Birth of the numerous Penal Laws you inveigh against, and what those Penal Laws are, as well as how the trading Part of the Nation lies at the Mercy of the Ministers, it will not be necessary to add any Thing farther on that Head; for I can hardly think you have in your Eye any late Acts against *Smuggling*.

As to the third, I shall only observe, that when any such *necessitous, greedy and rapacious Fellow shall hereafter rise at Court, and by the Plunder of the Publick, shall not only have enriched his worthless Family, but made a waxen Parliament*, I may then, with you, apprehend all you fear, for our Liberties. In the mean Time, as I can at present discover no such *Fellow*, and am willing to believe the greatest Part of that august Assembly which, *at this Instant*, represents the People, are Men of *Principles*, as well as *good Sense* and *Honour*, I cannot from *unsupported* Postulata, draw real Inferences of present Danger.

The Civil List is, indeed, Money, of which no Account can be demanded by Parliament; nor, indeed, ought: So that if this may be a possible Source of Corruption, it has

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been ſo ever ſince there has been a *Civil Liſt*, and muſt continue ſo while there is one. This is one of thoſe neceſſary Evils all Governments are ſubject to, and 'tis quite idle to quote this *Conſtitutional Error*, in Aggravation of the preſent Times.

I paſs over your Chain of Suppoſitions, as having neither *Common Senſe* nor *Common Truth* in them, in their Application to the preſent Times. As general Maxims I'll allow them to have both, as have all *Political Maxims*; but the Dangers foreſeen by *Political Maxims*, need not alarm a Country with Fears of Loſs of its Liberty, or Subverſion of its *Conſtitution*. And that Nation that ſhould receive a *Panick* from a Survey of ſuch Dangers in *Political Theory*, would deſerve as much Compaſſion and Regard, as a Man who having read a Treatiſe, *Of all the Diſtempers incident to the human Body, ſhould fancy himſelf attack'd by them all, becauſe liable to them all.*

Common-Senſe, April 16. N° 11.

Of Taxes *and* Tax-Gatherers.

IT is an Obſervation made of the People of this Iſland by all Foreigners, That no People dabble more in Politicks, no People underſtand leſs of them. They have likewiſe begun, of late Years, to make another Obſervation, which, I hope, has not as yet any Foundation, That no People talk more of Liberty, no People enjoy leſs. This, I ſay, has not as yet, I hope, any Foundation. It muſt proceed from their Ignorance of our Conſtitution, and of the Happineſs we at preſent enjoy, by means of the Frequency, and the Independency of our Parliaments. But if a late Doctrine ſhould prevail, that the preſent high Duties upon our Trade, our Labourers, and Manufacturers, ought to be continued, under Pretence of giving Eaſe to our Landed Gentlemen; the laſt Obſervation will, in a few Years, become as true as the firſt.

I am far from imagining, that the whole Expence of our Government ſhould be laid upon our Landed Gentlemen. I think there ſhould be no Tax laid upon Lands, but what ought to be equally laid upon every other yearly Revenue, let it proceed from what it will; and in this Country, as well as in every other, ſome Methods may certainly be found out for making every Man give an Account of his yearly Revenue, whether it proceeds from Land, from Money, from Trade, or from any Poſt or Imployment. But, I ſay, that all Exciſes, all Duties laid upon Goods, and levied from the Importers, Manufacturers, Retailers, or Conſumers, have been thought inconſiſtent with the Liberties of a free People; becauſe they cannot be levied without maintaining a great Number of Officers, and enacting ſevere penal Laws; both which have always been deem'd inconſiſtent with Liberty.

The *Roman Senate*, in the pureſt Times of that Republick, were of Opinion, *that every Kind of Duty or Impoſition, which required the Imploying of a great Number of Officers, was inconſiſtent with the Liberties of a free People.* For when they took into Conſideration the Settling of the Government of *Macedonia* and *Illyria*, after they had conquer'd them, *Livy* tells us, among other Things, it was reſolv'd *to aboliſh the Duties upon the* Macedonian *Mines, and upon the Produce of Country Farms, the firſt of which brought in a moſt prodigious Revenue: Becauſe without* * *Publicans*

* Publicani, *or* Publicans, *was a general Term uſed by the* Romans, *for thoſe we call Cuſtom-Houſe and Exciſe Officers; and what Opinion the People had of them we may judge from the New* Teſtament.

licans it was impoſſible to collect thoſe Duties; and where ſuch Officers are employed the Publick muſt either loſe its Right, or the People their Liberties. Even the Macedonians *themſelves were not able to collect them; for where Peoples Goods are ſubjected to the Danger of being made a Prey of by Officers, Occaſions of Sedition and Contention will never be wanting.*

The only Taxes that ſeem conſiſtent with the Liberties of a free People, are thoſe which the *Romans* called *Tributes*, and which we call *Land-Taxes*, or *Poll-Taxes:* Such Taxes, or Taxes of the like Nature with our Stamp Duties, may be raiſed without imploying any *Publicans*, and conſequently without endangering our Liberties; therefore they are the only Taxes we ought to have recourſe to, except in Caſes of Neceſſity; but, as I ſaid at firſt, ſome Methods ought to be contrived for extending our Land-Tax to every Sort of Revenue; and if that were effectually done, and no needleſs Expence incurred, it would give as much Eaſe to our Landed Gentlemen as they could in Juſtice deſire, or in Reaſon expect; a much greater Eaſe than any Landed Gentleman of a ſmall Fortune ever received from being freed from a Shilling in the Pound upon Land, and in lieu thereof ſubjected to a heavy Tax upon ſome of the Neceſſaries of Life.

Craftſman, April 23. No 564.

Tho' I cannot intirely agree with the Author, *(ſays Mr.* D'Anvers*) in every Part of the following* Propoſal, *yet I think proper, for the ſake of Impartiality, to offer it to the Publick.*

SIR,

OF all the unhappy Diſtinctions amongſt us, that between the *landed*, and *monied Intereſt* is like to be moſt fatal; becauſe whilſt thoſe two Intereſts are watching all Opportunities of making their Advantages one of another, there is a *third*, which encourages their Animoſities, and by playing them againſt one another, will, in all Likelihood, ruin them both. Whatever Advantages the landed Men may promiſe themſelves from the intended Scheme of *reducing Intereſt*, if they are not very cautious, they will find they have only been preparing the ſame Favour for themſelves, which *Polypheme* promiſed *Ulyſſes*, of being the laſt ſwallow'd up.

The landed Gentlemen flatter themſelves that the *Reduction of Intereſt* will tend to the taking off *Taxes*, tho' they know they loſt the Queſtion upon that Matter, by the old Art of poſtponing ſuch Things as it is not proper abſolutely to reject. They ought to reflect upon what happen'd, when the *Salt-Tax* was taken off; how ſoon it was brought on again. They ſhould think too upon the Manner of reviving it; firſt only for 3 *Years*; but when that Point was carried, the very next Seſſion it was farther mortgaged for *ten Years*.

Such Reflections ſhould, I think, put them upon their Guard, and be ſufficient Proofs that they muſt expect all imaginable Oppoſition to the Redemption of any *Taxes*. They think themſelves ſure that the *Land-Tax* will be taken off; and perhaps ſome Part of it may; and continue ſo till it is grown into a ſettled Cuſtom to apply the whole *Sinking Fund* to the current Service of the Year; which, whenever it happens, will, unleſs we ſuppoſe there is Virtue enough to reduce our *Expences*, be of the moſt dangerous

Teſtament, where Publicans and Sinners are always ranked together: I muſt however, here take notice, that we find no Traces in Antiquity of what we call Exciſes or Exciſemen; if the Ancients had been plagued as much with them as the Moderns, 'tis probable they would have reckoned them much worſe than Publicans or Sinners.

Con-

Consequence to this Nation. I have always thought the *Land-Tax* to be one of our greatest Securities, as it makes Country Gentlemen attentive to the Application of the Money granted by Parliament; but when they have not the Disposition of this A Tax to watch over, how much more easy will it be for *Ministers* to perswade a Parliament to come into dangerous and unnecessary Expences?

There is still a Point farther, which some Gentlemen are credulous enough to give into. They fancy B the whole *Land-Tax* will be taken off; and that whenever any Occasion calls for a *new one*, it will be put upon an equal Foot. Those, who have Faith enough to believe this, ought to ask themselves what hinders its being done now? A little C Consideration will furnish them with the Reason. It is because there is a Majority of those, who are *undertax'd*; and would not the same Majority subsist, if the Matter was to come on afresh? Is it not reasonable to imagine that the Gentlemen of D the *North*, and *West*, who make the present Majority, would, if they must have a Rate, settle it upon the old Foot?

It is of great Importance to consider how the intended Reduction E may affect *Foreigners*. If either so low an Interest as 3 *per Cent.* or a Jealousy of what may be farther intended, should put them upon drawing their Money out of our Stocks, it must put our Affairs at home into great Disorder; it would certainly carry off, for a great Number of F Years, the whole Balance of our Trade, and probably a considerable Part of our Species.

I know Gentlemen are very uneasy at the great Sums of Money paid at present for Interest to Foreigners; but if we consider that whilst we G pay them 4 *per Cent*, and perhaps less, we are turning their Capital in Trade, we shall find that we rather get than lose by them; for the Case of the Nation is, in that Respect, like the Case of a private Merchant, who having not Stock enough of his own to carry on his Business, borrows Money at a low Interest, and he pays that Interest out of his Profits, all which would have been lost, had he not been able to borrow the Money; for that we pay Foreigners out of our Gain in *Trade* is most certain; since if we did not, we should have been long ago drain'd of our Species. But put the Case it was possible to let Foreigners get out their Money, without greatly injuring ourselves at present, it will be proper to consider what they are like to do with it. But a small Part of it will go into any Securities abroad. The rest must be turn'd in the Trade and Cultivation of other Countries; either in raising new Manufactures, or in carrying those they have higher; and how this may affect us is worth our Attention. Princes abroad would be able to furnish themselves with Money upon easier Terms than they can now. It likewise deserves Consideration whether, when the Subjects of other Nations are so deeply concern'd in our Stocks, their Governors may not be less inclined to disturb us; at least, those Subjects, who are concern'd, will be always very useful Spies.

But farther, I fear *this Reduction* will send great Numbers of monied Men into our northern Colonies in the *West-Indies*. They will soon think, when their Money is reduced here, what Advantages may be made by transporting themselves into Countires, where there is the true Source of all Wealth to be come at easily; large Tracts of Land capable of all Kinds of Cultivation; and under such Governments as are like to keep off Oppression longer than any other now in the World seem to be.

I will now offer some Thoughts of what I believe would be the best

Way,

Way of accommodating Things for the mutual Advantage of the *landed* and *monied Intereſts*.

The firſt Thing is the paying off ſuch Taxes as more immediately affect our Manufactures. Theſe are the Duties upon Salt, Soap, Candles, and Leather. When that is done, I would propoſe making the remaining Funds an irredeemable Perpetuity of 4 *per Cent.* ſubject to the ſame Aids with the Land. This, I know, cannot be done without the Conſent of the Proprietors of the Funds, on Account of Act of Parliament, which guard againſt the *Funds being tax'd*; but I make no doubt that the greateſt Part of theſe Proprietors would readily come into ſuch a Propoſal, rather than be liable to be paid off, or to have their Intereſt reduced; and tho' landed Gentlemen would have all the Reaſon in the World to be pleaſed with the Propoſal of having the Income of *Money* ſubject to the ſame Aids with their *Land*, perhaps it may be objected, that what I propoſe would be eſtabliſhing for ever all thoſe *Officers*, who will be neceſſary to collect the irredeemable Funds; and it is certainly to be wiſh'd that ſome *ſafer* Method of Collection than what they are in at preſent could be brought about.

But allowing it to go on for ever in the Method it now is, by paying off *thoſe Funds* I have propoſed ſhould be paid off, there would be ſo conſiderable a Reduction of Officers, that I think there would be no great Reaſon to apprehend much from thoſe, who would remain.

In ſhort, I hope the *landed Gentlemen*, will be prudent enough not to be tempted, by the Proſpect of a preſent Advantage, to agree to ſuch Meaſures as ſeem likely to bring on a *large independent Revenue*, and its natural Conſequence, *arbitrary Power*.

I am,

SIR, &c.

Univerſal Spectator, April 23. N° 446.

A Catalogue *of the Manuſcripts of* ESDRAS HUMDR***, *Eſq*;

1. HICKATHRIFTIADOS; or, the *Engliſh Worthy*. An *Epic Poem*. Containing the Actions, Sayings, Proweſs, Life and Adventures of *Jack Hickathrift*. In 4 Volomes, Folio.

2. The *Perpetual Motion*; or, a *Project to pay off the National Debt*. Dedicated to *** B**** Knt. To which is added, by Way of *Appendix*, the *Cameleon*; or, the *Art of living upon the Air*. Patriotically inſcrib'd to all *Orphans*, *Widows*, *younger Brothers*, &c.

3. The *Compleat Regiſter*; or, *England's Folly anatomiz'd*. A Fragment of 3000 Volumes, Folio, *Chart. Max.*

4. The *Poetical Mill*; or, *modern Art of Verſification*. From the Deſigns of the ingenious Mr. *Bailey*, by which any Perſon may *turn* Verſes, with the utmoſt Facility and Diſpatch: For the Uſe of ***.

5. A *Treatiſe of Chiromancy*; or, *Palmiſtry improv'd*: In which is ſet forth the Courtly Art of Fortune-telling; informing you how, by properly croſſing the Hand, you may riſe to great Riches and Honours.

6. *Solomon's Fool*; or, the *Art of political Thinking*.—By an impartial Hand.

7. *Modern Eccleſiaſtical Polity*; or the *Orthodox Levee Hunters*. In which the Practice of *Commendams*, *Tranſlations*, *Sine Cures* are largely conſider'd. Dedicated to the *Right Reverend* ***.

8. *Paginology*; or, the *Art of inventing Titles*: Demonſtrating that a Title Page ſhould be the Quinteſſence of the Volume. By *E***d C***l*, Title-vamper in Ordinary and Extraordinary.

9. *Religio Bibliopolæ*; or, the *Encouragement of Learning*: Being ſome Orations and Arguments of *Gothamiath Bookwit*, Citizen, pronounced at Sta**ers Hall, tending to prove, that no *Poet* cou'd write well if not in a Garret.

10. *Apologia Proſaico-Poetica*, *Politica & Rhetorica*: Being an *Eſſay* to ſave a Tragedy from being *damn'd*. Humbly inſcrib'd to the *younger Students* of the *Inns of Court*, by *C. C---r*, P***t L***.

11. *Multum in Parvo*; or, *The Power of Gold*: Being a ſhort practical Treatiſe of Rhetoric, containing all that can be ſaid on a Political Debate to the Purpoſe. By the Right Hon. *****.

12. *Parvum in Multo*; or, *Senatorial Oratory*, ſhewing a Knack of talking an *Hour*, yet ſaying *nothing*. By Sir *William* *****.

Common-Senſe, Apr. 23. N° 12.

POLITICAL RELIGION.

I WAS reading the other Day in Dr. *Heylin's Coſmography*. In his Account of *Germany*

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Germany he tells us, that in ſeveral States, where the Popiſh and *Lutheran* Religions are equally tolerated, there are certain Preferments Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, which, by the Conſtitution of the Empire, are to be poſſeſs'd in ſome Places by *Lutherans*, and in other by Papiſts; in other Places they take it by Turns: Notwithſtanding this, when any fat Benefice becomes vacant, it is a common Thing to ſee Candidates of both Religions preſent themſelves; and he that has the beſt Intereſt, or Pretenſions, always carries it, as if he was not laid under any Incapacity on Account of his Religion; and the Reaſon is, becauſe it is the Cuſtom of the Country to conform. However, to do them Juſtice, he ſays they ſeldom change their Religion unleſs they get ſomething by it.

As to the Women, it is the Cuſtom in ſeveral Parts of *Germany* to breed them up of no Religion at all; and this is done from good Policy, that a Woman, when ſhe comes to be married, being a *raſa Tabula*, may be ready to receive the Religion of the Huſband, if he has any.

So turning of Religion's made
The means to turn and wind a trade;
And tho' ſome change it for a worſe,
They put themſelves into a courſe:
For all Religions flock together,
Like tame and wild fowl of a feather.
Hence 'tis, hypocriſy as well
Will ſerve to improve a church, as zeal;
As perſecution and promotion,
Do equally advance devotion. Hudibras.

I am afraid too much of worldly Intereſt often enters into the Concerns of Religion, in ſome other Countries as well as *Germany*. I remember laſt Year, when the Diſſenters applied to Parliament for a Repeal of the *Teſt Act*, thoſe who were not very well affected to them, cenſured them as an avaricious Body of People, that were making a Puſh to engroſs all the beneficial Employments in the Kingdom.

Tho' I declare I have no Prejudice to any Set of Men for their Manner of ſaying their Prayers, yet if I thought the Buſtle they made proceeded from a ſecret Ambition of this Nature, I ſhould be heartily againſt them; and my Reaſon is, that as the Number of Imployments we have already is become one of our greateſt Grievances, I ſhould be very ſorry to ſee them increas'd; which, if I may compare a Nation to a Beaſt of Burden, would be overloading the Horſe.

One of the chief Reaſons of thoſe that argued for the Repeal, was, That it was not conſiſtent with the Liberties of a Free People, that any Body of Men ſhould be excluded from their natural Rights on Account of their Conſciences; by which they ſeem to underſtand, that a Man has by the Laws of Nature a Right to a good Imployment; but I ſhall beg Leave to differ with theſe Gentlemen, for by the Laws of Nature all Men are equal, whereas nothing contributes ſo much to deſtroy all Equality, as Offices and Imployments.

Is it by natural Right that the lazy Part of the Subjects ſhould be maintained in Pride and Luxury, at the Expence of the Honeſt and Induſtrious? Is it by the Laws of Nature that Thouſands ſhould live in Indigence their whole Lives, that others may indulge all their Vices; that the Wife of one Man ſhall ſcarce have Neceſſaries, that the very Strumpet of the other may ſhine in Gold and Jewels?

I am doubtful whether, by the Laws of Nature, there ought to be any Imployments; but if thoſe Authors had told us, that in Countries where there are Imployments, every Man has a Right to enjoy them in his Turn, a great deal might be ſaid on that Side of the Queſtion; for as Imployments are a Burden upon the Community, every Individual has a Right to be eas'd of it, by enjoying an Imployment ſome Time or other: By which Way of Reaſoning, it is high Time that ſome, who have been on Horſeback a great while, ſhould diſmount, and be rid in their Turn; this is no more than fair Play.

Tho' the Diſſenters, including all Sects, may be very numerous, yet I conceive that thoſe of them that are excluded from Imployments by the *Teſt Act* are but few. Atheiſts, Deiſts, and Free-Thinkers, are certainly Diſſenters from the Church of *England*; yet there is nothing in their Syſtem of no Religion, that can hinder them from receiving the Sacrament, provided they may get a good Imployment by the Bargain. And a great many of thoſe who herd among the Preſbyterians, are not very ſtrait-laced when a good Imployment falls in the Way.

Men of Conſcience never make great Fortunes by Imployments, no more than Men of Honour. We have ſeen Lord Treaſurers go out as poor as they came in; in wiſer Times every Man has got as much as he could.

Suppoſe a Man was to go and viſit a certain great Houſe in the Country (I beg Pardon, I ſhould have call'd it Palace) and when you have beheld that luxurious Expence in Gardening, Building, Carving, Gilding, Pictures, and Statues, and make a Computation of the Owner's Salary, if you were then to aſk the Man who ſhews it, if all this was got by a good Conſcience, I warrant the Fellow will laugh in your Face.

Upon the whole, I take the Road to Preferment to be like the Road to the D---l, broad, open, and commodious for all Travellers; and I am, for this Reaſon, of Opinion, that the Complaints of Hardſhips occaſion'd by the *Teſt Act*, have very little Foundation; and

and that whoever lays aside Prejudice, muſt be obliged to own, that very few are under any Diſabilities by that Act, except *Mahometans*.

What Number of *Mahometans* there may be amongſt the Churchmen and Diſſenters at this Time, I am not able to compute; but if they are under ſome Diſabilities, they may thank themſelves for it: Why muſt they needs be better Chriſtians than other People?

As to Papiſts, I take it they are not excluded from Imployments by the *Teſt Act*. This Act was made in the Reign of K. *Charles* II. who, it is thought, had no great Averſion to Popery himſelf. What need I mention this? It is *well* known that a Doctrine has been propagated, and believ'd too, that Papiſts may have Diſpenſations for doing any thing. This being allow'd, who can pretend to ſay what Number of Papiſts there may have been imploy'd at all Times both in Church and State?

I can eaſily imagine how a Jeſuit would behave in Caſe he ſhould be preferr'd to a Biſhoprick. He would be graſping for Pluralities; perhaps he would no ſooner be ſettled in one Biſhoprick, but he wou'd be puſhing to be tranſlated to a better. In his Legiſlative or Temporal Capacity, he would be a moſt obſequious Slave to the Court, and be ready to do all the dirty Drudgery of a corrupt Miniſter; he would Vote for him, Write for him, Lye for him, and do any thing but Pray for him.

But perhaps I ſhould have examined both Sides of the Queſtion, and have enquired what Benefit or Prejudice might have fallen upon the Common-Wealth, in caſe the Act had taken Place: In a Word then (excepting what I before obſerved, *viz.* the Danger of multiplying Imployments) I can foreſee none at all.

As to the Fear that Preſbyterians, Quakers, Anabaptiſts, Muggletonians, *&c. &c.* might ſhare the beneficial Imployments with Churchmen, I ſee nothing in it that could prejudice the Nation: Let us ſuppoſe, for Example, that a Quaker had been made Maſter of the Ceremonies, how would they have hurt the Common-Wealth? Or ſuppoſe a Quaker ſhould get the Command of a Regiment of Dragoons, how would the Nation ſuffer? If it be objected, that it is inconſiſtent with the Principles of a Quaker to fight, or ſo much as draw a Sword, my Anſwer is, he may command a Regiment for all that. I believe there are more than a Million in this Nation, who are of Opinion, that if the whole Standing Army, for many Years, had conſiſted of nothing elſe but Quakers, the Nation would have made the ſame *Figure* in *Europe* it now does.

Craftſman, April 30. N° 565.

Propoſal for a Tax *upon* URINE.

TO preſerve the *Health* and *Morals* of the People, after ſhewing the Inſufficiency of the *Gin-Act* for that Purpoſe, this Writer humouroufly propoſes, that an Act ſhould paſs to *prohibit* any Liquors made by *Fermentation* or *Infuſion*, and that nothing ſhould be drank but *Water*. But then, *ſays he*, I foreſee one Objection will be made to this, *viz.* What will become of our *Debts*, carry on the *current Service of the Year*, and above all ſupply the *Civil Liſt*? After a long and laborious Search into Hiſtory, for *new Taxes*, I have met with one, which I think moſt proper to our preſent Purpoſe.

The Emperor *Veſpaſian* paſs'd for a pretty good Prince, and oppreſs'd the People in nothing but *Money*. But they were ſo full of Complaints, that *Titus*, that glorious Prince his Son and Succeſſor, could not refrain from ſpeaking to him concerning their *Taxes*, and in particular of one upon *Urine*. The Emperor, by way of Anſwer, fetch'd a Piece of Gold, and made his *Son* ſmell at it, and ask'd him whether it ſmelt of *Piſs*.

Amongſt the ſeveral Obſervations, which will occur to many, one will be, that the *Emperor* only ſuffer'd his *Son* to ſmell at Gold. — But to our preſent Purpoſe.

Such a Tax will beſt ſerve our Turn. It will ſoon pay off our *Debts*, even ſuppoſing there are within this Iſland but 8 *Millions of Souls*; and ſhould every Soul, upon an Average, vent but a *Quart* a Day; (which, at a *Farthing* a *Quart*, would be 7*l.* 2*d.* *Farthing* a Year) yet this trifling Tax would produce above 3 *Millions* a Year.

It will likewiſe require many more *Collectors*, than can be ſpar'd from the other *Taxes*; and not only Decency may, in ſome Caſes, require *Ladies* to be employ'd as *Collectors*, but Compaſſion, conſidering how many of them will ſtand in Need of ſuch a genteel Place, upon the Reduction of Intereſt to 3 *per Cent.*

Another great Advantage, is its being obſervable that *Phyſicians*, tho' little acquainted with their *Patients*, and much leſs with their *Water*, ſometimes examine it, to find out their Diſtempers. To what Height of Knowledge may not theſe *daily Inſpectors* arrive? They will diſcover not only the Seeds of Diſſatisfaction, but of Diſaffection. Plots will always be diſcover'd and ſtifled in Embrio; by which great Sums will be ſaved, that are now ſo wiſely given for *ſecret Intelligence*.

In ſhort, as all Nations have their Proverbs, and none is a more common one in *England* than *watching your Waters*, I humbly recommend my Scheme to the Publick, as the moſt effectual for that Purpoſe.

To his Excellency Governor Belcher (*of* New-England) *on the Death of his Lady.* (*See p.* 108.) *An Epiſtle. By the Rev. Mr.* Byles, *his Excellency's Nephew.*

O quam miſerum eſt neſcire mori!
Sen. Agamem.

BELCHER, once more permit the muſe you lov'd,
By honour, and by ſacred friendſhip mov'd,
Wak'd by your woe, her numbers to prolong,
And pay her tribute in a funeral ſong.
From you, great heav'n with undiſputed voice,
Has ſnatch'd the partner of your youthful joys.
Her beauties ere ſlow hectick fires conſum'd,
Her eyes ſhone chearful, and her roſes bloom'd:
Long ling'ring ſickneſs broke the lovely form,
Shock after ſhock, and ſtorm ſucceeding ſtorm;
Till death, relentleſs, ſeiz'd the waſting clay,
Stopt the faint voice, and catch'd the ſoul away.
No more in converſe ſprightly ſhe appears,
With nice decorum, and obliging airs:
Ye poor, no more expecting round her ſtand,
Where ſoft compaſſion ſtretch'd her bounteous hand;
Her houſe her happy ſkill no more ſhall boaſt;
Be all things plentiful, but nothing loſt.
Cold to the tomb ſee the pale corpſe convey'd,
Wrapt up in ſilence, and the diſmal ſhade.
Ah! what avail the ſable velvet ſpread,
And golden ornaments amidſt the dead?
No beam ſmiles there, no eye can there diſcern
The vulgar coffin from the marble urn:
The coſtly honours, preaching, ſeem to ſay,
Magnificence muſt mingle with the clay.
Learn here, ye fair, the frailty of your face,
Raviſh'd by death, or nature's ſlow decays:
Ye great, muſt ſo reſign your tranſient pow'r,
Heroes of duſt, and monarchs of an hour!
So muſt each pleaſing air, each gentle fire,
And all that's ſoft, and all that's ſweet expire.
But you, O *Belcher*, mourn the abſent fair,
Feel the keen pang, and drop the tender tear:
The God approves that nature do her part,
A panting boſom, and a bleeding heart.
Ye baſer arts of flattery, away!
The virtuous muſe ſhall moralize her lay.
To you, O fav'rite man, the Pow'r ſupream
Gives wealth, and titles, and extent of fame;
Joys from beneath, and bleſſings from above;
Thy monarch's plaudit; and thy people's love:
The ſame high Pow'r, unbounded, and alone,
Reſumes his gifts, and puts your mourning on.
His edict iſſues, and his vaſſal, *death*,
Requires your conſort's--or your flying breath.
Still be your glory at his feet to bend,
Kiſs thou the ſon, and own his ſov'reign hand;
For his high honours all thy pow'rs exert,
The gifts of nature, and the charms of art:
So, over death, the conqueſt ſhall be giv'n,
Your name ſhall live on earth, your ſoul in heav'n.
Mean time my name to *thine* ally'd ſhall ſtand,
Still our warm friendſhip, mutual flames extend;
The muſe ſhall ſo ſurvive from age to age,
And *Belcher*'s name protect his *Byles*'s page.

DEMOCRITUS.

HUMANÆ curæ mentis vexatio diræ,
Stemmata, divitiæ, gaudia, vota, metus;
Quicquid agunt homines, noſtri eſt cenſura cachinni,
Democriti riſus ingeminatque ſophi.
Cum dives nummos congeſtos condit, & uti
Paupertatis eis omina falſa vetant;
Hiſce opibus tandem ſuccedit prodigus hæres,
Et nimio luxu perdit avita bona.
Ecce ſenis miſeri cito ſpes vaneſcit in auras,
Annorum & curas diſſipat una dies.
En ſortem dubiam! quantum eſt in rebus inane?
Quot mentem humanam, quantaque vana tenent?
Non opus hic riſu multo? teneatis, amici?
Et non res hominum creditis eſſe jocum?
Spernite vos igitur, vos omnes ſpernite curas;
Fortunæ & facili pectore ferte vices.

DEMOCRITUS.

E'ER *Rome* was fam'd for arms and arts,
In ancient times (my book imparts)
Democritus, a brother ſage,
Bleſt with his art that early age.
Far had he roam'd in queſt of learning,—
Emptying good bags of father's earning;
Till tir'd with jaunts by land, and ſailing,
Cloaths thread-bare, patrimony failing,
He built a houſe for ſcholars uſe,
And in its garden turn'd recluſe;
There taught, liv'd debonair and jolly,
And always laugh'd at mankind's folly;
Smil'd at the pleaſures, pompous ſtate,
And ſerious trifles of the great;
Tho' thoſe old times were better far,
Than any of our modern are:
What wou'd he do, did he ſurvey
The vices of the preſent day,
When folly ſtalks with larger ſtrides?
What wou'd he do?—he'd ſplit his ſides.
The world, we grant, was ſimpler then;
But in all ages men were men,
Had the ſame follies to engage
The laughter of the hum'rous ſage;
Each ſex were frail, capricious, vain,
Coquets cou'd liſp, and jilts cou'd feign;
Prudes reputations cou'd beſpatter,
Great rogues inſult, and poor ones flatter;
The fop, that inſect ſwoll'n with pride,
The merry ſage might well deride;

Nor

Nor let the miser might entice
To laughter——slave of sordid vice!
The griping wretch keeps close immur'd,
His gold with numerous locks secur'd;
Yet fearful left his other soul
Shou'd by rapacious hands be stole,
He creeps full twenty times an hour,
And views with joy his darling store;
Counts and recounts with eager pain,
Then locks his treasure up again.
Thus whilst he hoards a useless clod,
He scarce allows his body food;
Sleep sits not on his weary eyes,
Tormenting care its room supplies;
He wishes still for this or that,
And fears he knows not why or what;
Thieves, murders, terrors and alarms
His fancy vex and rouse to arms:
Reason and passion always jar,
And keep perpetual noise and war.
What wou'd *Democritus* then do?
Wou'd he not laugh, and justly too?
To see e'en plenty serve to curse
This monstrous self-made *Tantalus*,
Still fearing left he shou'd be poor,
Restless and greedy still for more,
Amid such inexhaustless store.

Now turn the tables—view his heir;
Can'd our blith soph to smile forbear?
When he beheld him sport away
The riches, in one wastful day,
That poor old gripe in twenty years
Had muster'd up with toils and fears.
He'd laugh outright, to find that one,
For such a worthless spendthrift son,
Shou'd so perplex and rack his brain,
And live in constant want and pain;
And t' other, when he might with ease
Remain in happiness and peace,
Shou'd throw away, with lavish hand,
The joy and health he might command.
Such coxcombs ev'ry age are found,
In ev'ry country such abound;
And tho' with fools vice freely passes,
Still wisemen laugh at knaves and asses.

An Excellent new EATING SONG. *Set by Dr.* GREENE.

1.

YE sons of the platter, give ear,
Venter babet aures, they say,
The praise of good eating to hear,
You'll never be out of the way,
But with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs as keen,
Stand ready to cut thro' fat and thro' lean,
Thro' fat and thro' lean,
Stand ready to cut thro' fat and thro' lean.

2.

The science of eating is old,
Its antiquity no man can doubt:
Tho' *Adam* was squeamish, we're told,
Eve soon found a dainty bit out.
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs as keen, [&c.
Our passage let's cut thro' fat and thro' lean,

3.

Thro' the world from the west to the east,
Whether city or country, or court,
There's none, whether layman or priest,
But with pleasure confesses the sport:
When with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs as keen, [&c.
Their passage they cut thro' fat and thro' lean,

4.

At fair *London* the chief magistrate,
From a sermon at holy St. *Paul*,
Straight rides in a great coach of state
To a dinner at *Fishmongers* hall;
Where with knife sharp as razor, and stomach as keen,
His passage he cuts thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

5.

There come aldermen wrapt up in fur,
And swordbearer too at that call;
Or how were he able to bear
The sword—and the scabbard and all?
There with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs as keen, [&c.
Their passage they cut thro' fat and thro' lean,

6.

Common-council, and livery-men,
The rulers of every street,
There come to cut and come again;
A magistrate lives but to eat.
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs as keen, [&c.
Their passage they cut thro' fat and thro' lean,

7.

At the sound of the good college-bell,
On a gaudy the doctors descend,
With a grace all in *Latin* to tell
The founder to eating a friend.
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs as keen, [&c.
Our passage let's cut thro' fat and thro' lean,

8.

At the horn's most untunable notes
The judges repleniſh their maw,
And with napkins tuck'd up to their throats,
Shew good eating's according to law.
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs as keen,
Their passage they cut thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

9.

At the knock at the buttery-hatch,
The rosy-gill'd chaplain comes down;
And my lord himself makes such dispatch,
That his gout at that sound is quite flown.
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs as keen,
Their passage they cut thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

10.

Neither horns, neither knockers, nor bells
Hath the plow-man to give him his cue:
His stomach his dinner-time tells,
And he whets his case-knife on his shoe.

Then with edge sharp as razor, and stomach as keen,
His passage he cuts thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

11.

The 'squire makes the chace all his care,
O'er hills and thro' valleys his course;
And after a whet of fresh air,
He as hungry returns, as his horse;
Then with knife sharp as razor, and stomach as keen,
His passage he cuts thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

12.

Here the doctor, the lawyer, divine,
The courtier, the tradesman, all meet:
Their care and their toil is *to dine*;
—'Tis all—to be able to eat;
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs as keen,
Our passage let's cut thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

13.

A feast is an emblem of life,
Where no sooner we taste, but we're gone;
Few can say, I have play'd a good knife,
Few or none, life's so short, few or none.
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs as keen,
Our passage let's cut thro' fat and thro' lean;
Thro' fat and thro' lean,
Our passage let's cut thro' fat and thro' lean.

OVID, Elegy III. Book 3.

Esse Deos credamne? &c.

TELL me no more of an avenging heav'n:
Corinna's broke the sacred pledge she'd giv'n;
Nor, though forsworn, do her false charms confess,
Thro' all her frame, one faded beauty less.
Her fine long hair in the same order flows;
The snow-white lily and the blushing rose
Still in her face unite, and blended charms compose;
That long, small, taper foot, where beauty reigns,
As long, as small, as taper still remains;
Her piercing eyes, by which so oft she's sworn,
Still, like bright stars, their shining orbs adorn.
The gods the *fair ones* guilt regardless see;
And beauty sure has some divinity.
When by her eyes and mine she falsly swore,
Alas! mine felt alone your injur'd pow'r.
But say, ye gods, if partial to the fair,
Their vows neglected still ye mean to spare,
Can it be just that I by griefs atone
For others crimes, for guilt that's not my own?
Is't not enough, *Andromeda* thus sigh'd,
A sad atonement for her mother's pride?
Is't not enough, she mocks, securely vain,
My easy faith, and your derided name?
That I must suffer because she's forsworn,
And tho' deceiv'd for the deceiver mourn?
Or heav'n's an empty name, by notion rules,
The wild creation of deluded fools;
Or if indeed there is a powerful *Jove*,
This mighty monarch yields to mightier love.
For us dread *Mars* does his dire falchion bear;
For us *Minerva* shakes her vengeful spear;
For us his sounding bow *Apollo* bends;
For us the glowing lightning swift descends.
But heav'n to punish perjur'd beauty fears,
And, tho' by them despis'd, the fair reveres.
And shall we then our pious homage pay,
And fragrant incense on their altars lay?
Thunder the temple strikes and sacred grove;
But heav'n averts the bolt from perjur'd love.
Gods! where's your justice, who the guilty spare,
To injur'd innocence alone severe?
Fair *Semele* great *Jove*'s warm passion crown'd,
And by compliance sure destruction found:
But had she shunn'd the god's delusive arms,
With blasting light'ning fraught, her tender charms [known
Had been secure; nor had the thund'rer
A mother's burthen in his embrio son.
But — — — — — —
Why with reproaches do I heav'n infest?
The gods have judging eyes, an yielding breast.
Was I myself great nature's pow'rful lord,
A tender fair might safely break her word.
Nay I myself in the soft fraud wou'd join,
And swear 'twas true to favour her design.
But still, my fair, tho' such your potent sway,
That willing gods themselves your wills obey;
Your pow'rful charms let kind indulgence share:
At least my guiltless eyes for pity spare.

FIDELIO.

The MOURNFUL APOLOGY.

[*From a fond Husband, to his dear, disgusted Wife.*]

WHY,—O thou dearest, best of womankind! — [clin'd?
Is, on thine hand, thy drooping head re-
Why have sweet smiles that charming face forsook? [jected look?
Why cast those lovely eyes, that poor, de-
Is it, because I fondly did expose
Thy wondrous *verse?*—or, that the world now knows, [see,
And *all*, well-pleas'd, that mighty genius.
The present age can justly boast in thee?
Those dear, upbraiding looks!—how they accuse
A bold betrayer of a modest muse!—
Behold, sweet love!—see, how I mournful stand, [hand,
In doleful dumps; my trembling, treach'rous

Scarce

Scarce able to hold up: — some pity take,
While I, poor culprit, full confeſſion make.
'Twas I, 'twas I, (but with no bad intent,)
That up to town thy lovely labours ſent.
'Twas I, (dear *Poll!*) I fairly do confeſs,
That by the *poſt*, convey'd 'em to the *preſs*.
This nimble *nuncio*, and his ſweating *ſteed*,
Were both co-partners in the daring deed.
Bold, hurrying *highway-lad!* — vile, ſaucy *hack!*
Ye baſe affiſtants in a crime ſo black!
O! the fly thief! — methinks, I ſee him yet:
(His leering look I never ſhall forget.)
No ſooner he the glorious booty ſeiz'd,
But the arch rogue ſeem'd wonderfully pleas'd;
Which in his leathern, mire-beſprinkled bag,
Now made ſecure,—he ſtraight begun to wag
His well-arm'd heels:—the ſcrubby, ſcurvy tit
Soon took the hint, look'd fierce, and champ'd the bit: [morſe,
And then, (O ſad!) without the leaſt re-
Proceeded on his well-known, wonted courſe.
The road behind, the conſcious rider view'd,
As tho' he apprehended being purſu'd.
But, when the knave perceiv'd the coaſt was clear,
He forward ſat his face, and dropt his fear:
Then, for his horn, with haſty hand, he ſeeks; [his cheeks.
Fills his ſtrong lungs, with wind, and ſwells
Soon, from the well-inflated tube, ariſe
Blaſts long and loud! enough to rend the ſkies.
Tan-tivy-tivy, — as he jogg'd along, —
Still *Tan-tan-tivy* was the joyful ſong.
Swift was his pace, without or ſtop or ſtay;
Ready the road; for paſſengers gave way.
The leſs'ning ſound, ſo ſharp and ſhrill before,
Grew ſtill more faint and ſoft; — and then was heard no more.
To think, in ſerious ſort, I now begun,
What my too haſty forwardneſs had done.
Thought I, —— among the gazing croud to puſh,
And put my beauteous fair-one to the bluſh;
T' unveil th' amazing beauties of her mind,
Which, to ſome friends alone, before, had ſhin'd,
In monſtrous rudeneſs! — ſuch a vile abuſe
Of ſuch high worth admits of no excuſe.
But, ah! — 'twas o'er and paſt! — 'twas now too late,
(The plaguy *poſt-boy* rode at ſuch a rate!)
With unavailing ſorrow to repent
Of having raſhly to the *printer* ſent
So rich a treaſure: — who, with raviſht eye,
In rare, tranſcendent worth, did ſoon deſcry.
What have we here? (ſays he;) —— who this cou'd write?
* 'When in my bed I ſpend the ſilent night;' ——
He read it thro': which ſuiting well his taſte,
With greedineſs he fell upon the reſt.
What's here? — * 'You may ſuſpect me, if you will;' ——
Still, as he read, he prais'd; and pity'd ſtill:
And coming ſoon to its too ſudden end,
He thus the ſhort, ſweet copy did commend.
How gen'rous ſeems the lady's juſt defence!—
What ſweet good-nature's here! — what fine good-ſenſe!
How poinant is the piece!—how ſweetly ſmart!
Eaſy and free; and quite devoid of art.
Now willing to purſue the pleaſing text,
He eagerly began upon the next.
* 'Is this the end of all my promis'd joy?'—
With much ado, he then forbore to cry.
Indeed, I think, a tear—(nor is it ſtrange,)—
Did him o'er-ſteal, and oft his colour change,
When he the various turns of paſſion ſaw,
Which, to the life, thy lovely hand can draw.
Methinks, (he cry'd,) *I very plainly ſee*
Beauty o'erwhelm'd with wrongs and miſery.
Can any brute on earth ſhew cool neglect
To one, that juſtly claims ſuch waſt reſpect?—
Or, in ſuch wile behaviour pleaſure take?
(But O!—the title ſhews, 'twas, all, miſtake.)
What genuine ſigns of true regard appear!—
What tender love!—how (ſeemingly) ſincere!
What ſweet reſentment's this!—what ſoft diſtreſs! ——.
And waſtly moving too!—I ſolemnly proteſts.
He paus'd, perus'd, — and prais'd, — and read again:
O happieſt thou (ſays he,) *of mortal men,*
Whoe'er thou art!—how bleſt were thou to find
The fineſt, brighteſt, beſt of womankind!
Mayſt thou the matchleſs bleſſing duly prize;
Mayſt thou continue to be good and wiſe;—
In gratitude, return the heartieſt love:
Mayſt thou, ſtill faithful, kind, and conſtant prove. [reſt, ——
My candid, courteous friend, — of all the
With equal joy, his ſentiments expreſs'd.
He read thy charming copies, ev'ry one:
And, when the ſweetly-pleaſing taſk was done,
Thus ſpoke my correſpondent;—(as he roſe,
With purpoſe, ſoon, the ſecret to diſcloſe
To his admiring readers; and diſperſe,
Far, near, and wide, and broad, the dear, delicious verſe.)
Says he;—*Theſe goods I like:—Aye!—theſe will do!* ——
Such wares, as theſe, I meet with but a few.
Such glitt'ring, glorious gems will brightly ſhine,
And make more welcome, ſtill, my Magazines.
O lovely Sappho!—*phœnix of the age!*
Long mayſt thou ſtay on life's uncertain ſtage.
Long mayſt thou live,—and love,—and muſe,
—and write;
And give a wondring world extream delight.

* *Alluding to ſome Compoſitions of this Lady, already publiſh'd,* (Vol. IV. p. 621. Vol. V. p. 149, *and* 450.)

And

And now, (sweet spouse!)——of your disgust afraid,
Have I a clear, and full discov'ry made
(But much abus'd your patience and your time,)
Of each accomplice in that grievous crime.
For pardon, sure, a fair *confession* pleads;
And true remorse the way to mercy leads.
My wretched instruments, and mournful me,---
Excuse, (kind, tender-hearted love!) *all three.*
The disobliging act all sadly rue;---
The *post*,—the *printer*,—and the *parson* too.
(In ev'ry *plot*, or machination deep,
That makes us loudly laugh, or sorely weep,
Thus,—*at the bottom*,—if we duly mind,
Or *priest*, or *female*, still we're sure to find.)
For pardon,—see!—thy *once-lov'd Honny* sues:
Forgive us *all*,—good, dear, offended spouse!
Poor *post-boy!*—lackaday!—he meant no harm;
Nor wou'd he, for the world, thy fears alarm.
'Twas no insult, nor in the way of scorn,
That he (poor lad!) so loudly blow'd his *horn.*
No:---'tis that customary song of joy,
He's us'd to sing, whene'er he passes by:---
An *omen* too (or I have miss'd my aim,)
Of thy succeeding praise, and future fame.
As for the *bookseller*;---this I can tell,---
He wishes you (my dearest!) wond'rous well;
(But this, by what's above, you'll understand:) [brand.
Him then, I prithee, don't with censure
Besides,--he was (it ought to be surmis'd,)
Of *clancular conveyance* unappris'd.
'Tis *I*,--*poor I!*--that am the most in fault;
'Twas I, alas! that rudely did assault
Your *cabinet*,---and, with o'er-curious eye,
Into the close recess profanely pry;---
Ransack'd each draw'r, and took away by stealth, [wealth;
What I far more esteem, than heaps of
The rare, blest secrets impiously disclos'd,
And *private thoughts* to *public view* expos'd.
Ah! pilfer'd papers!---little did I think,
You'd thus ha' brought me to the fatal brink
Of all this dreadful, deep, and desp'rate woe:---
But (precious *Poll!*) some gen'rous pity shew.
Pity the case of one, that loves you more,
Than, sure, a mortal man e'er lov'd before.
O! think not only of the *means*, I us'd;
Consider too the *motives*, that infus'd
A strong desire of aptly setting forth,
In its true *light*, your great, uncommon worth.
Indeed, what suits our taste, or fancy strikes,
Oft we suppose, another person likes.
As oft we all,--whate'er they do, or say,--
A partial fondness, for our friends, betray:
This, I'll allow, is consonant with truth:
And this, moreover,--that a *sweet-meat tooth*
Grows in the mouth of many a courteous gust,---
By all must needs be equally confess'd.
All eyes, upon the dish, with pleasure, look,
That's neatly order'd by some skilful cook.
And all, but downright foes to common sense,
Must like that food, thy nicer hands dispense:-
Nay, dotingly admire, and vastly prize
What pleases thus their taste, but never cloys.
Then grudge not (lovely fair-one!) in the least,
In public thus, thy hungry friends to feast.
Think it (my charming dear!) no shameful thing
For one, indu'd with such a voice, to sing.
Thy unaffected, sweet, harmonious lays,
May all, that listen, hear; and hearing praise.
Let an unnumber'd audience closely throng;
And thousands bless the music of thy tongue;--
To thy soft lyre, with ravish'd ears attend:
Nay more;---- may thee a *Boyle*, or *Swift* commend.
Acquire (my *Poll!*) a never-dying name:
* *Sapphira* rival in the lists of fame.
Thy *name* but little differ'd, *once*, from hers:
And scarce, her *muse* to thine, the public now prefers. [wrote,---
But they're the *verses*, *before marriage*
Those, dear, sweet pledges of respect!---(I wot,)
That my poor love objects against, in chief;
And which occasion all this mighty grief.
Poor *Poll*, perhaps, will say,---'twas most unkind,---
And what she little did expect to find,---
That he, to whom she frankly did impart
The secret workings of her tender heart,
Shou'd in vile fashion, thus, abuse her for't!--
Her, who, still, treatment of a better sort
Had ever well deserv'd! ——— ———
——— ——— With mournful sighs,
My sorrowing dear (no doubt,)--and weeping eyes,--- [times,
Has dearly wish'd, a thousand, thousand
I'd been more wise, than thus to shew her rhimes,
And to a ridiculing world rehearse
The female fondness of her simple verse.
She'll add,---that still more vain and foolish I,
In this, her patience too severely try;
And, by divulging, thus, her am'rous flame,
Expose her folly, more than spread her fame.
In this,—(thou'lt say,---my much offended dear!---)
A monstrous breach most plainly does appear,
Both of good-manners, and of friendship too:
To be so strangely false to one so true!---
This, this, on guilty me, thy just displeasure drew.

* *Mrs.* Mary Barber, *of the Kingdom of* Ireland: *Who lately publish'd, by Subscription, a very choice Collection of her own truly admirable* Poems.

Ah!

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Ah! love! --- of dull, perplexing thoughts take heed,
That from miſtaken principles proceed.
This preternat'ral tide of fancy'd woes
From falſe, deluſive ſprings entirely flows.
Ah! me! --- what times are theſe! --- what num'rous ways,
Imbitter we, with grief, our fleeting days!
To be uneaſy, O! what pains we take!
What inſufficient grounds ſuffice to make
Poor mortals wretched! --- ah! what mere conceit
Renders the real ills of life compleat!
What ſtrange, prepoſt'rous notions oft aſſail,
And o'er the moſt ingenuous minds prevail!
What, *to a prieſt*, in *private*, is confeſs'd,
(O thou, of wives, -- nay, womankind, -- the beſt!)
Shou'd not, my lovely dear! I freely own,
In any wife, be *publickly* made known.
The crime, he ought, in juſtice, to conceal;
Nor once preſume ſuch ſecrets to reveal.
This I allow. --- 'Tis very wrong, 'tis baſe,
The matter to *divulge*, where *ſin* is in the caſe.
But is it ſinful, --- is it then a crime,
To intimate reſpect in gen'rous rhime!
Shou'd not a lady (O thou lovely fair!)
In any ſort her ſentiments declare,
Before the grave, hard, hamp'ring knot be ty'd? --- [*bride?*
Nor love the man, e'er ſhe commence a
Where there's no ſin, there ought to be no ſhame:
Think *me* not therefore, nor *yourſelf* to blame.
But, after all, --- if it be deem'd a fault, --
If envious minds with malice ſtill aſſault,
And *ſpeaking truth* may for the crime atone; --
I, then, ſincerely ſay, and humbly own,
'Twas all *your goodneſs*, no *deſert of mine*,
That firſt did you, in my behalf, incline.
Nor let the recollection make you ſad:
Conſider, (fair one!) -- both on *good* and *bad*,
(Tho' none, the leaſt of favours, may demand,) [ous hand:
How'n *ſhow'rs down bleſſings* with a plenteHis *ſun ſhines forth*, his fruitful *rain deſcends*
As well on *thankleſs ſees*, as *faithful friends*:
All, *all*, his boundleſs *pow'r* protects and aids; [*braids*,
His *mercy all* wou'd ſave; his *juſtice none* upA copy ſo divine, O then tranſcribe!
And groundleſs notions now no more imbibe.
So bleſs'd a pattern ſtill before you ſet;
Commiſerate, relieve, forgive, forget.
Let ſweet, returning ſmiles my pains remove;
Nor bluſh to own, you, *once*, vouchſaf'd to love; ---
Me, worthleſs *me*, to *love!* --- unkind, perverſe; [tender *verſe*.
And, that kind *love inſpir'd* your ſoft and
Be not aſham'd, --- nor to confeſs ſo loth,
That *me* you *lov'd* before your plighted troth: ——
That *me* you *lov'd*, e'er you became my ſpouſe;
And lik'd the *man* before the *marriage-vows*.
Leave it to great-ones, *Poll!* --- and fools of ſtate, [hate.
To feign reſpect, and marry, where they
Let titles, equipage, and grandeur pleaſe,
(As empty gewgaws will,) ſuch childiſh things, as theſe. [ſhew!
Ye ſlaves to glitt'ring pomp, and outward
Domeſtic jars, and wedlock's ev'ry woe,
Falſe hearts, diſtracted heads, and bitter tongues; ---
Of theſe, the ſole propriety, belongs
To *you*: -- and ſtill be yours th' unenvy'd right;
To *you alone* belong ſuch ſoft delight.
Still, ſtill enjoy, -- ye lofty, courtly dames! --
The dire reſult of falſe, unhallow'd flames.
May grave grimace, and chagrin'd looks betray
A ſad remembrance of your wedding-day.
Still ſigh, and ſob, and rave, and fret, and chide; [*pride*.
And reap the juſt reward of *avarice* and
But, *thou!* — chief comfort of my languid life!
My beauteous *boſom friend!* my deareſt wife!
Whoſe heart ſuch trifles never cou'd allure;
And, in whoſe ſteadier flame, more bright, more pure,
The views of int'reſt, or the helps of art,
Or counterfeit-diſguiſe, cou'd have no part: --
Be *thou* poſſeſs'd of ev'ry bliſsful joy;
Do *thou* the world's fallacious maxims fly;
Thy much diſturb'd, miſtaken thoughts compoſe;
Nor yield to ſuch imaginary woes.
Let calm reflections diſſipate thy grief:
Come, come, with ſmiles, (dear *Poll!*) to my relief.
Let *tattling goſſips* grin, and do their worſt;
And *old*, *invidious maids* with rancour burſt.
But be not *thou* aſham'd (ſweet love!) to own
Thy true reſpect, or make thy paſſion known.
Let not thy *wedded*, plaintive *tongue* retract,
What thy dear, *virgin-hand* did kindly act.
Thou wert not *us'd* (my *Poll!*) to be unkind;
O! --- love me ſtill! -- ſtill let me favour find.
Yet don't miſtake me; --- though I ſeem to boaſt: --- [neſs moſt.
Thy love I juſtly prize; but O! thy goodPonder --- (to be entirely diſabus'd,) ---
The *end propoſ'd*, as well as *method us'd*.
Were my deſign, but to expoſe thy love,
The barb'rous motive, all might well reprove.
No, no: -- thy charming lines were brought to light,
Not, out of *falſhood*, *vanity*, or *ſpite*;
But, that the *world* might *ſee*, how *thou* (ſweet *Poll!*) canſt *write*.
Me then, O me! --- th' unhappieſt, ſure, of men! ---
Whoſe fault'ring tongue, and ſympathizing pen,

(Such

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(Such is my grief!) much longer can't implore, ---
To favour, (dearest!) once again restore.
Thy poor, well-meaning *Hon*, at length, forgive;
And be quite friends: --- or, oh! he cannot live:
His slipp'ry state of health, already bad,
Must grow still worse, if thou continue sad.
Come then, with speed, -- and interpose, -- and save
Thy hast'ning husband, from the yawning grave.
O! help, in time! --- or, it may be too late
T' avert th' impending stroke of unrelenting fate.
Hereafter, *Poll!* --- when thy poor *Honny's* head
Is laid full low, and he, among the dead,
Has long been number'd; --- *then!* (if not before,)
Whilst thou these mournful lines art reading o'er,
In grave and serious mood, --- 'Oh! well-a-day! say:
'My dearest *Honny!*' --- thou, perhaps, wilt
Nay, sighing, say, and letting fall a tear; ---
'Poor, loving, faithful *Hon!* --- Oh! --- I was
'too severe!' *R. D.*

We are oblig'd to our Correspondent for making us so truly express our Sentiments of this Lady's very agreeable and justly admir'd Compositions.

VERSES, apply'd to the Memory *of the late* LORD CHANCELLOR.

WEEPING o'er thy sacred urn,
Ever shall the muses mourn:
Sadly shall their numbers flow,
Ever elegant in woe.
Thousands, nobly born, shall die;
Thousands in oblivion lie:
Names that leave no trace behind;
Like the clouds before the wind,
When the dusky shadows pass,
Lightly fleeting o'er the grass.
Then, O *Talbot!* shall thy name
Through every age still rise in fame:
Sweet remembrance thou shalt find;
Sweet in every worthy mind.

Upon reducing the National Interest.

IN vain at our vices the parsons exclaim,
The bean is embroider'd, brocaded the dame;
Their preaching avails not --- see how they're out-done
By a scheme that is father'd by pious Sir *J--n?*
Our int'rest reduc'd, our expences must lessen,
And so will our sins --- won't this be a blessing!
In vile masquerades nothing now can be spent,
Nor can *Heide--r* open *ridotto's* in *lent*;
To opera subscriptions 'twill take off the itch,
And *H---l* and *F---d* will die in a ditch,
And with 'em likewise our fam'd harlequin *R---ch.*
The ladies of pleasure, now under tuition
Of old mother *H--d*, and train'd for fruition,
Instead of *rack punch*, with the * *spread eagle* jellies,
Must be glad of *leek broth* to swill their damn'd bellies.
Of strangers no more shall we bear the reproaches,
That here the physicians make visits in coaches;
His full-bottom'd wig the lawyer must quit,
And his chariot with springs the extravagant cit:
The tradesman no longer his spouse shall regale
At *Stepney* (on *Sundays*) with buns and with ale.
'Tis hard upon them; but the belles and the beaus
Must all stay at home, for want of fine cloaths.
So godly a change! who will dare to gain-say?--
Religion will flourish, tho' our trade will decay.
Thus with poverty blest, we shall starve by degrees,
And plainly illustrate the *tale of the bees.*

A Paraphrastical Imitation *of* Horace, *Book* III. *Ode* 13.

O THAMES, what river can with thee compare?
What glass so smooth, what crystal shines so clear?
Full cups of wine, with twisted chaplets crown'd,
What glass so smooth, what crystal shines
Shall in libation wet thy sacred ground.
Behold that goat, whose horns begin to spread,
See how he frisks, and shakes his butting head;
His tender breast just feels new lustful flames;
To rout his foe, and court his shaggy dames.
Vain his young hopes; to-morrow to the knife
He yields reluctant his lascivious life.
To thy cold brink the victim shall be led,
And thy white waters run distain'd with red.
In vain the dog-star boasts his strongest hour,
The mid-day fierceness of his burning pow'r.
The shepherd, to thy cool, refreshing side,
Shall at that season drive his woolly pride.
Tir'd with the plow and sultry toils of day,
The fainting oxen in thy stream shall play;
From the kind draught new vigour shall attain,
Cool their parch'd throats, and swell up ev'ry vein.
Whether with nodding trees thy margin crown'd,
Or rising buildings load the verdant ground;
Where gilded turrets seem the heavens to brave,
Their pointed spires reflected in the wave;
Still shalt thou please, and please in ev'ry eye,
Till *Thame* and *Isis* feel their channels dry.
For has not *Denham* sung thy limpid stream?
(The praise of *Denham* is the voice of fame.)

* *The* Spread-Eagle Chocolate-House, *famous for* Jellies.

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And has not *Pope*, the favourite of the nine,
Proclaim'd thy beauties in his matchless line;
Trac'd thy meanders with such wond'rous art,
That the soft verse runs gliding to the heart?
E'en when thy lessen'd waves refuse to flow
And pay the sea the tribute which they owe;
Yet fear not then thou shall in darkness lye,
Immortal verse forbids thy fame to dye.
Xantbus and *Thames* have nothing left to dread
Till *Pope* and *Homer* shall no more be read.

The Pleasures of the Spring-Gardens, Vaux-Hall. *A Song: By Mr.* Lockman. *Set to Musick by Mr.* Boyce, *Organist and Composer to his Majesty.*

FLORA, goddess, sweetly-blooming,
Ever airy, ever gay,
All her wonted charms resuming,
To *Spring-Garden* calls away.
With this blissful spot delighted,
Here the queen of *May* retreats;
Belles and beaux are all invited
To partake of varied sweets.
See! a grand pavilion yonder
Rising near embow'ring shades;
There, a temple strikes with wonder,
In full view of colonades.
Art and nature kindly lavish,
Here their mingled beauties yield;
Equal, here, the pleasures ravish
Of the court and of the field.
Hark! what heavenly notes descending
Break upon the list'ning ear:
Musick all its graces lending
O, 'tis ecstasy to hear!
Nightingales the concert joining,
Breathe their plaints in melting strains;
Vanquish'd now, their groves resigning,
Soon they fly to distant plains.
Lo! what splendors, round us darting,
Swift illume the charming scene;
Chandeliers their light imparting,
Pour fresh beauties o'er the green.
Glittering lamps in order planted,
Strike the eye with sweet surprize:
Adam was not more inchanted,
When he saw the sun first rise.
Now the various bands are seated,
All dispos'd in bright array;
Business o'er and cares retreated,
With soft joys they crown the day.
Thus, of old, the sons of pleasure
Pass'd in shades their fav'rite hours:
Nectar cheering their gay leisure,
Blest by love, and crown'd with flowers.

The Reading *Bards. A* SONG. *(See* p. 158)

Ecce Crispinus minimo me provocat. HOR.

1.

SHOU'D *Democritus* rave,
And *Nelson* be slave
In dialect loathsome and nasty, damn'd nasty,
Till his ballads are sold,
Or jointstool grows old [hasty;
And cools this same widling so hasty, damn'd
The quaker wou'd smile
At the *Billingsgate* stile, [blame him;
Nor can any sober man blame him, — man
But if *Dem.* shou'd appear
With his *fal de lal* here *,
† A *toss in the blanket* shou'd tame him,
shou'd tame him.

2.

Democritus — fie!
I can't, let me die, [low;
Believe you are such a stout fellow, stout fel-
Tho' you talk twice as big
I care not a fig, [quite mellow;
For I know it must be when you're mellow,
I'd have you proceed
With moderate speed, [can, sir;
Write reason as rhyme if you can, sir, you
Then *Urban* and *Phil.*
May prose at their will — [*sir.*
In verse I declare *I'm your man, sir, your man,*

3.

You say — (tho' at best
It proves but a jest) [voke ye,
That the *tripartite leagues* provoke ye, pro-
I scorn the low bam
— See the wolf and the lamb [joke ye;
Where witty old *Æsop* does joke ye, does
'Twas *you* made th' attack,
I heard the loud thwack, [*Eaton*:
Or *Reading* had ne'er dreamt of *Eaton*, of
And right well I ken
Old Nick's in the men [beaten.
If by *Syl. Will.* and *Dem.* they are beaten, are

4.

If *right* what you said,
The leaguers betray'd [*set, their senses*
Want of sense, when they *puzzled their sen-*
To find the *true name*,
Which the owner for shame
Had changed for *Dem. Etonensis,—tonensis*;
The thing is so clear
— I'm sorry to hear [pother;
Those gentlemen made such a pother, a
For sure half an eye
Might plainly descry [ther.
The phyz of old *Mævius*'s brother, his bro-

* Democritus *may* puzzle his Senses *if he pleases (and if the Words convey any Ideas) to find out* what Place *this is.* † *I hope* Dem. *will be as cautious of coming here as* Urban *was of going to* Eaton, *when threatned; especially, when I assure him we have as many Men to handle him, who are in all Respects equal to the* Eatonians.

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The RAT *turn'd* HERMIT.

A FABLE. (From the *Craftſman.*)

HOW few, of ev'ry wiſh poſſeſs'd,
Whom cares and fears do not moleſt?
But moſt precarious is the fate
Of a *prime miniſter of ſtate.*
Or a *dry Death* the *phantom* ends,
Or *Infamy* his name attends.
(But be we rightly underſtood,
We ſpeak of *bad*, here all are *good*)
If wiſe the *prince*, great are his pains,
And not exorbitant his gains.
If weak, and choleric, and proud,
To fill his cheſts will be allow'd.
To fleece the people both agree,
And next invade their liberty.
* *But damned minutes tells he o're,*
Wretched amidſt his ill got ſtore.
The people curſe his iron ſway;
They curſe, but ſervilely obey.
Proud, he ſupports his ſlaviſh ſtate;
For meaner ſlaves upon him wait.
Secure, that pow'r applauſe will win,
He blunders on thro' thick and thin.
At length, for num'rous crimes abhor'd,
No more protected by his lord,
He quenches his ambitious fires,
He quits his poſt, thro' fear retires.
Retires, d'ye ſay? — to what retired?—
To what by moſt men is deſired;
To *wealth immenſe*; and *wealth immenſe*
Is all — but *honeſty* and *ſenſe*;
Retired to *ſumptuous palaces*,
To live in luxury and eaſe.
Do Men thus *criminals* regard?
Is this to puniſh, or reward?
Are injured nations thus appeaſed,
When knaves from toil are gladly eaſed?
Humble at firſt, their fears they hide,
Soon they diſcloſe their native pride.
Bold, by impunity, now grown,
They ſcorn the fools, for mercy ſhewn.
Then like this *Rat*, they plenteous live,
And the more curs'd, the more they thrive.
An *antient Rat*, by rapine fed,
Or earn'd by theft his daily bread.
Each cranny of the houſe he knew,
Did he want food, did foes purſue?
Oft he purloin'd the legs of capon,
From far cou'd wind the fav'ry bacon.
Gimalkin, to his kind ſworn foe,
To ſeize him found his ſpeed too ſlow.
In vain were traps and gins apply'd;
Or craft, or chance their ſnares defy'd.
A num'rous iſſue round him play'd,
Their ſuſtenance the publick paid.
Of all their vices he approved;
But above all, himſelf he loved;
There center'd kindred, wife, and friends;
And hiding thus his ſelfiſh ends,
He ſighing ſaid (with looks demure,
With front of braſs, with mind impure)
Long have I ruled, and well may boaſt
My foes purſued me to their coſt.
You have I nouriſh'd with their ſpoile,
And your good plight rewards my toils.
Now worn with cares, impair'd by age,
'Tis time to quit this buſy ſtage.
To lonely cells I will retire,
Nor muſt you after me enquire.
Be it your care to ſpoil and waſte,
And mine to meditate and faſt.
With grief they heard, amaz'd they ſtood,
A thoughtleſs, heedleſs, guilty brood.
Diſperſed they roam, ſad was their ſtate,
But moſt they mourn'd their *leader's* fate.
Ten days were paſt without their *head*;
They now (concluding he was dead)
Reſolved his ſad remains to view;
To ſuch a chief a grave was due.
Soft they approach the mournful cell,
And ſighs and tears their ſorrows tell.
Aghaſt they caſt their eyes around;
When, to their great ſurprize, they found
Their *fire*, in plenty and at eaſe,
Sit mumping in a *chedder-cheeſe*.

* *Shakeſpear.*

The Scornful BEAUTY.

WHILST *Fanny's* native charms amaze,
And ſeem by fate deſign'd
To conquer all who on them gaze,
And captivate mankind;
Folly, and pride, her mind inſpires;
She's fickle, vain, and coy:
That all the conqueſts one acquires,
The other doth deſtroy. *T. C.*

A Ballad *on* Nothing. *Tune*, Which nobody can deny.

FROM *nothing* the courtier aſſiſtance muſt borrow,
By this he the arts of his levee goes thorough;
For a promiſe to-day ſtands for *nothing* to-morrow: [free
Of their purſes and gold the *French* have been
To reward *Farinelli* — by this we may ſee
Other climes are as much charm'd with *nothing* as we. [grown,
When *Ward* without art a fam'd doctor is
When *Mapp* excels ſurgeons in ſetting a bone,
That your doctors and ſurgeons are *nothing* you'll own. [mend,
Some wits to the ſtage will their *nothings* com-
Full of *nothing* they write, and to *nothing* they tend;
So beginning with *nothing*, in *nothing* they end.

N. B. *The* earneſt Entreaty *has been receiv'd. The* Aſcenſion, *the Verſes to* Celia, *the* Fading Flower, *&c. and the* Wiſh *came too late for this Month, but ſhall be in our next. We ſhould be glad of* Philemon's *farther Correſpondence.*

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THE
Monthly Chronologer.

ON the 21ſt of laſt Month, the Court of Juſticiary at *Edinburgh* ſat from 7 in the Morning till about 8 at Night, upon the Tryal of *William Maclauchlan*, Servant to the Counteſs of *Wemyſs*, for being concern'd in the Murder of Capt. *Porteous*: Upon full hearing of the Evidence on both Sides, the Jury brought him in *Not Guilty*.

At the Aſſizes at *Briſtol*, 6 Perſons received Sentence of Death; and one at *Shrewſbury*.

An odd Trial came on at *Leiceſter* Aſſizes, the Caſe being thus; one *Baggarly* being hired to work about 5 Miles from *Grooby*, and being jealous of his Wife, was afraid to leave her to her own Inclinations, therefore put in Execution a moſt villainous and barbarous Deſign, which the Wife told her Mother and Siſters of, and they the Neighbourhood, who releaſed the Woman from her great Pain, and took him up. His Indictment was as follows. *That he*, George Baggerley, *on* Oct. 15. *with Force and Arms at* Grooby, *againſt the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, then and there did make an Aſſault; and that the ſaid* George Baggerley *a certain Needle and Thread into and thro' the Skin and Fleſh of the Private Parts of the ſaid* Dorothy *in divers Places then and there wickedly, barbarouſly and inhumanely did force; and the ſaid private Parts of her the ſaid* Dorothy Baggerley, *with the Needle and Thread aforeſaid, did then and there ſew up, to the great Damage of the ſaid* Dorothy, *and againſt the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.*

To which Indictment the Priſoner pleaded Guilty, and the Court gave him a very ſevere Reprimand; but conſidering his great Poverty, fin'd him 20 *s.* and to be impriſon'd for two Years. As he was carrying from his Trial to the Gaol, the Women fell upon him, and ſcratch'd him terribly, calling him all the ill Names they could think of.

FRIDAY, *April* 1.

The Lord *Provoſt* of *Edinburgh*, having been order'd to attend the Houſe of Lords, on Account of the late Riot, and Murder of Capt. *Porteous*, was this Day taken into Cuſtody of the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod.

Extract of a Letter from Preſton. There has a moſt terrible Accident happened at the *Kennel-Pits* at *Haigh*; a Boy by his Careleſſneſs has ſet the whole Mine on Fire, and God knows where it will end; eight Men that went down there to work, were immediately ſuffocated by the Smoak and Stench of the burning Minerals; the Water that comes out of the Loughs is ſo impregnated with Copperas and other melted Minerals, that it has turn'd the River *Douglas* as green as Graſs, and will in all Probability deſtroy all the Fiſh. Mr. *Bradſhaigh* is gone over there, and has raiſed all the Country about *Wigan*, in order to ſtop up all the Eyes of the Pits, which is the only poſſible Way of extinguiſhing the Fire, becauſe it keeps the Air from it.

TUESDAY, 5.

This Day *Tho. Cooke*, Eſq; was choſen Governor, and *Nath. Gould*, Eſq; Deputy Governor, of the Bank of *England*: and the next Day the following Gentlemen were choſen Directors, *viz.* Sir *Edw. Bellamy*, Kt. and Ald. *John Bance*, Eſq; *Stamp Brookſbanke*, Eſq; Sir *Gerrard Conyers*, Kt. and Ald. *Delillers Carbonnel*, *Will. Fawkener*, *Fred. Frankland*, Eſqrs. Mr. *James Gualtier*, *Sam. Holden*, *Hen. Neale*, *John Rudge*, *Moſes Raper*, *Will. Snelling*, *Cha. Savage*, *James Spilman*, Eſqrs. Mr. *Sam. Trench*, *Bryan Benſon*, *Hen. Herring*, *Matth. Howard*, Eſqrs. Mr. *Will. Hunt*, Sir *Will. Jolliff*. Mr. *Benj. Lethieullier*. *Matt. Raper*, Eſq; Mr. *Alex. Sheaſe*. The Eight laſt were not in the Direction laſt Year.

THURSDAY, 7.

The following Gentlemen were choſen Directors of the *E. India* Company for the Year enſuing, *viz.* *Rob. Adams*, *Abr. Adams*, *Miles Barne*, Eſqrs; Sir *Wm. Billers*, Kt. *Steph. Biſſe*, Eſq; Mr. *Rich. Blount*, *Chr. Burrows*, Eſq; * Mr. *Rich. Chauncey*, *Cha. Colborne*, Eſq; Mr. *John Emmerſon*, *Peter Godfrey*, * *Will. Goſſelin*, *Harry Gough*, * *Alex. Hume*, Eſqrs; Mr. *Sam. Hyde*, *Mitch. Impey*, * *Hen. Laſcelles*, *Edw. Lovibond*, * *Matt. Martin*, *Will. Pomeroy*, *Jones Raymond*, Eſqrs; Sir *John Salter*, Knt. * Capt. *James Winter*, *Joſias Wordſworth*, Eſq;

Thoſe mark'd * were not in the Direction laſt Year.

TUESDAY, 12.

This and the following Days ſeveral Boats were overſet, ſo that in this Week near 30 Perſons were drown'd between *Graveſend* and *London-Bridge*; moſt of which met their unhappy Fate in coming from *Greenwich*, chiefly occaſion'd by the Watermen overloading their Boats.

THURSDAY, 14.

Came on the Election of one of the Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, in the room of the Earl of *Orkney*, when the Earl of *Bute* was unanimouſly choſen.

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The ſame Day ſeveral Perſons ſet out from *Edinburgh* for *London*, to appear as Evidence on the 3d of *May*, the Day appointed for the ſecond Reading of the Bill for diſabling and impriſoning *Alexander Wilſon*, Eſq; Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, aboliſhing the City-Guard, and taking away the Gates of the *Netherbow-Port*, &c.

SUNDAY, 17.

The Court went into Mourning for a ſhort Time, on Account of the Death of the Duke of *Wirtembergh*, and the Biſhop of *Augsburgh*.

TUESDAY, 19.

The Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh* was admitted to Bail, himſelf in 2000 *l.* and his Sureties in 1000 *l.* each.

THURSDAY, 21.

This Day being the Feaſt of the Sons of the Clergy, there was collected 114 *l.* 14 *s.* for putting out Apprentices the Children of poor Clergymen; and at the Rehearſal of the Muſick at St. *Paul's*, the *Tueſday* before, there was collected 282 *l.* 13 *s.*

FRIDAY, 22.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the Land-Tax Bill; the Bill to make perpetual the Act to prevent the infamous Practice of Stockjobbing; the *Saliſbury* nightly Watch Bill; the *Worceſter* and *Duncburch* Road Bills; the *Ayleſbury* Gaol Bill; the *Dumfries* two-penny *Scots* Bill; the Bill for making navigable the River call'd *Worſley Brook* in *Lancaſhire*; and to ten private Bills.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* is, by a Clauſe in the *Land-Tax* Bill, exempted from paying the 6 *d.* in the Pound, called Civil Liſt Money, to his Majeſty for this Year, which amounted to upwards of 1000 *l.*

SATURDAY, 23.

Came on at *Hicks's-Hall*, the Trial of the two Footmen, for a Riot at *Drury-Lane* Play-Houſe (See p. 163.) There were 30 Witneſſes examin'd on both Sides; and the Trial laſted near 7 Hours, when the Jury brought them in guilty of the Indictment; whereupon the Court ordered them to be kept to hard Labour for ſix Months.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Baily*, when the 8 following received Sentence of Death, *viz. Dorothy Felton*, for breaking open the Houſe of *Sarah Boreman*, and ſtealing from thence Portugal Gold to the Value of 25 *l.* and upwards: *Anne Madd*, for the Murder of her Huſband. (See p. 107.) *Jonathan Adey*, for breaking open the Drawer of *Iſaac Hone*, and ſtealing thereout about 27 *l.* *Henry Boſwarway*, for the Murder of *John Moore*, his Fellow-Servant: *Samuel Moreton*, for ſtealing a Watch from *John Vaus*: *Richard Harper*, for breaking open the Houſe of Mr. *Hollyoke*: *Mary Brown*, for ſtealing Goods out of the Shop of Mr. *Hinchliff*: And, *James Kelly*, for the Murder of *Robert Livermore* in *Newfoundland*. The Sentence on *Anne Madd*, was, that ſhe ſhould be drawn on a Hurdle to the Place of Execution, and there burnt.

SUNDAY, 24.

Don Aweszedo, Miniſter from the King of *Portugal*, gave a grand Entertainment to the Miniſters of State, Foreign Miniſters, &c. on Account of the Accommodation between *Spain* and *Portugal*.

MONDAY, 25.

Advice came from Sir *John Norris*, to the Duke of *Newcaſtle's* Office, and alſo to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, of the ſafe Arrival of the Squadron under his Command, from *Liſbon*, at St. *Helens*, off *Portſmouth*, on Sunday.

TUESDAY, 26.

Upwards of 12 Perſons were convicted before the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, in the Penalty of 100 *l.* each, for retailing ſpirituous Liquors contrary to the late Act of Parliament.

WEDNESDAY, 27.

Sir *John Norris* was introduced to his Majeſty at St. *James's*, and alſo to her Majeſty and the Royal Family, and met with a moſt gracious Reception.

There were cured and diſcharged the laſt Year, out of St. *Bartholomew's Hoſpital*, 5083; out of St. *Thomas's*, 5214; and out of *Bethlem*, 110.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

ROBERT *Trefuſis*, of *Cornwal*, Eſq; to Miſs *Affleck*.

William Deering, of *Thetford*, *Norfolk*, Eſq; to the Relict of the late *George Tomlinſon*, of *Eſſex*, Eſq;

His Grace the Duke of *Bedford* to the Hon. Miſs *Gower*, Daughter to the Right Hon. the Lord *Gower*.

Thomas Farnaby, Eſq; to Miſs *Lloyd*.

John Philipſon, Eſq; to Miſs *Houghton*, of *Surrey*.

Velters Cornwall, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for *Hereford*, to Miſs *Hanbury* of *Byſtret*, *Surrey*.

William Barker, of *Bicester*, *Oxfordſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Anneſley*.

Nicholas Bailey, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Angleſea*, to the only Daughter of Colonel *Paget*.

William Seymour, Eſq; youngeſt Son of Sir *Edward Seymour*, to Miſs *Hippy*.

Henry Courtenay, Eſq; to the Hon. Miſs *Bathurſt*, Daughter of the Lord *Bathurſt*.

The Hon. *Herbert Windſor*, Eſq; Son to the Lord *Montjoy*, to Miſs *Clavering*.

The Right Hon. the Lord *Dunkerron*, to the other Miſs *Clavering*.

Mr. *Groſvenor*, jun. a Wholeſale Stationer in *Leadenhall-ſtreet*, to Miſs *Limberry* of *Throgmorton-ſtreet*, a Fortune of 5000 *l.*

The

The Lady of the Lord Viſcount *Galway*, ſafely delivered of a Daughter.

Lady Gower, alſo delivered of a Daughter.

The Lady of *Abel Walters*, Eſq; Son of *Mr. Walters*, formerly Knight of the Shire for *Surrey*, brought to Bed of a Son.

The Lady of *Edward Gibbon*, Memb. of Parl. for *Peterſfield*, brought to Bed of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

AT *Edinburgh*, the Counteſs Doweger of *Kintairdin*.

At *Aſton*, the Rev. Mr. *Connor*, Fellow of *Clare-Hall, Cambridge*.

At *Cheſhunt, Hertfordſhire, Stephen Foulkes*, Eſq;

At *Tooting*, the Rev. Mr. *Cunningham*, Fellow of *Winchester College*.

Rev. Mr. *White*, Fellow of *Clare-Hall, Cambridge*.

Rev. Mr. *Curtis*, Miniſter of *Duffery* in *Glamorganſhire*.

Mr. *Fowler*, an eminent Banker in *Fleet-Street*.

Rev. Mr. *Spencer*, Chaplain to the Lord *Brook*.

At his Seat at *Pakenham*, near *Bury*, Suffolk, Sir *Wm. Spring*, Bart.

Captain *Swale*, Commander of the *Oxford* Man of War.

Thomas Moore, Eſq; Secretary to the Corporation of Q. *Anne*'s Bounty.

Right Hon. *Arthur Anneſley*, Earl of *Anglesea*. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by the Rt. Hon. *Richard Anneſley*, Lord *Altham*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Thomas Hanmer, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Caſtle-Rising, Norfolk*.

At *Wells, Somerſetſhire, Robert Kendall*, Eſq;

Arthur Bernardiſton, Eſq; an eminent Turky Merchant.

At *Aſton, Daniel St. Claire*, Eſq;

Sir *George Beaumont*, Bart. Member of Parliament for *Leiceſter*.

Brook Bridges, Eſq; one of the Five deputy Searchers of the Export Cuſtoms.

At *Weſtm. George Delillers*, Eſq;

At *Tamworth*, the Rev. Mr. *Worthington*, a Nonjuring Clergyman.

Rev. Mr. *Uvedale*, Rector of *Biſhop's-Cleve, Glouceſterſhire*.

At *Holyport, Berks. Thomas Wright*, Eſq;

Rev. Mr. *Will. Blake*, Vicar of *Eaſt Tilbury, Eſſex*.

Mr. *John Moore*, the famous Worm-Doctor.

Dr. *Strother*, an eminent Phyſician, Author of ſeveral Phyſical Treatiſes.

Near Shrewſbury, John Corbett, L. L. D.

At *Barnham Downs*, near *Canterbury*.

At *Aſhford, Kent*, the Rev. Mr. *Biſſe*, Fellow of *Chr. Ch. Coll. Oxon*.

At *Marlborough, Daniel Emerſon*, Eſq; formerly Deputy Commiſſary of the Forces in *Ireland*.

Mr. *John Miſs*, reputed to have died worth 50,000*l*. he was Pavior to the Royal Palaces, Pavior to the Office of Works, Slater, Cartaker, Thatcher, Scavenger, Foundation-Digger, *&c*. He finiſhed the great Drain in *Pall-Mall*, and ſince the new Road in *Hyde-Park*.

Mr. *Thomas Goodall*, Butler of *Caius College, Cambridge*.

At *Clonin*, (the Seat of the Earl of *Weſtmeath*) in the 100th Year of her Age, the Right Hon. *Mary* Lady *Delvin*, Mother to the ſaid Earl,

At *Colcheſter*, in the 17th Year of his Age, the Hon. *George Paget*, Eſq; younger Son of the Lord *Paget*.

At *Bath*, the Lady *Parker*, Relict of the late Sir *Gilbert Parker* of *Doolan* in the County of *Clare* in *Ireland*.

Mr. *John*, the noted Iron Gate-Maker, ſaid to have died worth 25,000*l*.

Capt. *John Gibbs*, an old experienc'd Officer in the Royal Navy.

Thomas Thompſon, Eſq; a Gentleman poſſeſs'd of a plentiful Eſtate in *Kent*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Joel* preſented to the Rectory of *Carlton, Yorkſhire*.

Mr. *Steven Walſh*, to the Rectory of *Owing, Bucks*.

Mr. *Francis Fitz Edwards*, to the Rectory of *Biſhop's Clive, Glouceſterſhire*.

Mr. *Harby*, Rector of *Cowdenn*, in *Kent*, appointed Chaplain of the *Tower*, in the room of the late Mr. *Hawkins*.

Dr. *Secker*, promoted from the See of *Briſtol* to that of *Oxford*.

Dr. *Gooch* nominated to the See of *Briſtol*.

John Billingsley, M. A. preſented by the Lord Chancellor to the Rectory of *Newington* with the Chapel of *Brightwell*, in the County and Dioceſe of *Oxford*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

PHILIP *Green*, Eſq; made Governor of *Penſylvania*, in the room of the late Col. *Patrick Gordon*.

Duke of *Devonſhire*, made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

Duke of *Dorſet* appointed Lord High Steward of his Majeſty's Houſhold.

Matthew Kendrick, and *John Bird*, Eſqrs; made Commiſſioners of the Stamp Duties.

Duke of *Chandos* made Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, in the room of the Earl of *Aſhburnham*, deceaſed.

George Broom, Eſq; appointed a Capt. in the Reg. late Sir *Adolphus Oughton*'s.

John Manning, Eſq; a Capt. in the Royal Train of Artillery, commanded by the Duke of *Argyll*.

Lord Elchies made one of the Lords of Juſticiary in *Scotland*.

Earl

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Earl of *Granard*, Ambaſſador at the Court of *Turin*.

Mr. *Rob. Greening*, Surveyor of his Majeſty's Roads in the Foreſt of *Windſor*.

Dr. *Banks* elected Phyſician of *Chriſt's Hoſpital*; and Mr. *Holloway* Surgeon of the ſame.

Capt. *Ingram* appointed Col. of a Comp. and Lord *Murray* and Capt. *Obleby* Captains, in the 3d Reg. of Foot Guards.

New Members choſen.

Sir *Edmund Iſham*, Bart. for *Northamptonſhire*, in the Room of his late Brother, Sir *Juſtinian*.

Dr. *Butler*, for *Oxford* Univerſity in the Room of the late Mr. *Bromley*.

Lord *Euſton* and Mr. *Neale* (who lately oppoſ'd each other) for *Coventry*. Mr. *Bird's* Seat in Parl. was vacated by his being made a Commiſſioner of the Stamps; and Mr. *Neale's* former Election was declar'd void.

Lord Viſc. *Andover*, for *Caſtlerising*.

Roger Tuckfield, Eſq; for *Aſhburton*.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *Vanvizor*, of *Weſt Thorock*, *Eſſex*, Victualler.

William Beaumont, of *Biggleſwade*, Chapman.

William Garſorth, of *Cambridge*, Shopkeeper and Chapman.

James Maddocks, of St. *Giles's* in the Fields, Victualler.

William Youngbuſband, of *Rotherhith*, Merchant.

John Petyt, of *Rotherhith*, Mariner and Merchant.

Joſias Oates, of *Wakefield*, Cloth Merchant.

John Boys, of *Chatteris*, in the Iſle of *Ely*, Linen-draper and Chapman.

John Bailman, of *Southwark*, Hop-Factor and Merchant.

Thomas Martyn, of *Chancery Lane*, Broker and Chapman.

Tho. Smith, of *Wendover*, Tallow-Chandler and Grocer.

Elizabeth Bromſall, of *Dover*, Widow and Mercer.

Thomas Roſbotham, of St. *Leonard Shoreditch*, Weaver and Chapman.

Richard Crozer, of *London*, and *William Crozer*, of *Reading*, Hair Merchants and Partners.

Samuel Waſhborne, of *Bengeworth*, in *Worceſterſhire*, Ironmonger.

Michael Hull, of *Ivelcheſter*, in *Somerſetſhire*, Maltſter and Shop-keeper.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	102 21 ¾ a 22 1 ⅞	*Afric.*	14
—*Bonds*	3 6	*Royal Aſſ.*	108 ½
—*Annu.*	118 ¼ a ¾ a ¼	*Lon. ditto*	14 ½
Bank	145 ¼ a ⅛	3 *per C. An.*	105
—*Circ.*	2 *l* 5*s*	*Eng. Copper*	
Mil. Bank	120	*Salt Tallies*	1 ¼ a 3
India	180 ½	*Emp. Loan*	116 ⅛
—*Bonds*	6 *l* 5*s* a 7	*Equiv.*	114

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35	*Bilboa*	41 ⅞ a ¼
D. Sight	34 10	*Leghorn*	50
Rotter.	35 1	*Genoa*	53 a ⅛
Hamb.	34 2 ½	*Venice*	50 ¼
P. Sight	32 5/16	*Liſb.*	5*s* 6*d* a 5 ⅛
Bourdx.	32 ⅛	*Oport.*	5*s* 5*d* 3 a 5 ⅛
Cadiz	41 ½ a ⅞	*Antwo.*	35 2
Madrid	41 ⅞ a ¼	*Dublin*	10 ⅜ a ⅘

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	30 33	*Oates*	12 14
Rye	13 18	*Tares*	22 24
Barley	13 17	*Peaſe*	20 23
H. Beans	20 22	*H. Peaſe*	16 17
P. Malt	20 22	*B. Malt*	16 18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *March* 22 to *Apr.* 26.

Chriſtned	Males 769, Females 801	1570	
Buried	Males 1128, Females 1029	2157	
Died under 2 Years old			803
Between 2 and 5			196
5	10		70
10	20		60
20	30		177
30	40		212
40	50		203
50	60		189
60	70		109
70	80		95
80	90		33
90 and upwards			10
			2157

Hay 42 to 45*s.* a Load.

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AS the Diſgrace of *M. Chauvelin* ſtill occaſions a great deal of Talk, and many various Speculations among the People at *Paris*, we have had many atrocious Crimes laid to his Charge in our News Papers *here*, moſt of which are ſo ridiculous, that 'tis impoſſible to believe a Man of common Senſe would have been guilty of them; becauſe they are ſuch as could not be concealed; and as *M. Chauvelin* is generally allowed to be not only a Man of good Senſe, but a very able Miniſter, it can hardly be ſuppoſed he would have either cheated his Maſter, or plundered the People in ſuch *a bungling Method*, as not to admit either of a Concealment or Excuſe. One of thoſe Crimes laid to his Charge, he may, indeed, very probably have been guilty of, which is, That by his being at the Head of publick Affairs, he had influenced the Riſe and Fall of their Stocks as he thought fit; and had thereby, *in borrowed Names*, made great Advantages by *Stockjobbing*; but if this were a good Reaſon for a Miniſter's Diſgrace, it is to be feared few Miniſters could long hold it in any Country where there are publick Stocks or Funds; and *M. Chauvelin's* Friends begin now to give out that the true Reaſon of his Diſgrace was, That he found he could not bring the *Cardinal* into ſome Meaſures he thought abſolutely neceſſary for the Good of that Kingdom, and was therefore concerting Meaſures with the Family of *Condee*, and ſome other great Men of the Kingdom, to render themſelves independent of the *Cardinal*. What Truth there may be in this we ſhall not pretend to tell; but 'tis probable, his having been a little too diligent in *making the beſt* of the *high Poſt* he was in, was not the only Cauſe of his Diſgrace; for *plundering the People* is never the *ſole Cauſe* of a Miniſter's Diſgrace, in Countries where there are no Parliaments *independent* of the Sovereign; and as in *France* there is no Judicature where a Miniſter can be fairly and impartially tried, *which is a great Misfortune for all honeſt Miniſters*, it is not to be expected we can in this Age determine, whether *M. Chauvelin* be guilty or innocent?

Among others who have ſhared in the Diſgrace of this Miniſter, is the famous *Marquis de Monti*, who acquired ſo much Reputation when Ambaſſador from *France* in *Poland*; and who upon his Return to *France* was honoured with the Order of the *Holy Ghoſt*, and greatly careſſed by the whole Court; but now, it ſeems, it has been found, that he put into his own Pocket ſeveral of thoſe Sums which were ſent him to diſtribute among the Grandees of *Poland*, in order to attach them to the Intereſts of King *Staniſlaus*; which Charge does not ſeem very probable; for by one means or other he engaged the far greateſt Part of that Kingdom in the Intereſt of that unfortunate Monarch; which certainly required very great Addreſs, if not large Sums of Money, conſidering the powerful Intereſt they had againſt them.

The Diſputes between *Spain* and *Portugal* are now entirely adjuſted; ſo that *Spain* ſeems now to be in a perfect Tranquillity, and yet they keep ſtill a great Number of Tranſports in their Service, having diſcharged only ſuch of them as were *Engliſh*, which affords ſome room for Speculation; but if her moſt Catholick Majeſty had any *troubleſome* Deſign in her Head, 'tis probable they are diſappointed, by the *late Change* in the *French* Miniſtry, unleſs that Change be a Sort of *State Politick*, as ſome would have us believe.

We have two very remarkable Accounts lately from *Naples*: One, that his *Neapolitan* Majeſty has reſolved to reduce to 4 *per Cent.* the Intereſt of thoſe *publick Debts* which were before at *ſix* or *eight*; but we do not hear that he offers to *pay off* thoſe who do not incline to take 4 *per Cent.* The other is ſtill more extraordinary, and yet a great deal more juſt, which is, that he has a Deſign to appropriate to the *Uſe* and *Security* of the Kingdom, a great Part of the *Revenues* of the *Church*; and for the future to allow to each Monk, Nun, *&c.* a daily Allowance, ſufficient for the *Support* of *Life*, in that Method in which *by their Profeſſion* they ought to live, tho' not ſufficient for the *Support* of their *uſual Luxury*: And 'tis likewiſe ſaid they are become ſo great *Libertines*, in that Country, that they are going to make a Law for putting it out of the Power of any Man *to ruin his Family* by *leaving* his *Eſtate* to the *Church*.

The *Evangelical Body at Ratiſbon* are every now and then writing Letters to the Emperor ſoliciting the Redreſs of Grievances in Religion, which generally meet with the *uſual Reception*; and even the Revocation of the 4th Article of the Treaty of *Reſwick* ſeems now to be farther off than ever; for the *Emperor* in his Anſwer to the laſt Memorial preſented to him upon that Subject, tells the *Proteſtant Powers*, that they cannot expect the King of *France* ſhould now agree to a Demand he would give no Ear to at the Treaty of *Utrecht*; which ſhews how careful the *Proteſtant Powers* ought to be of their Religion in all the *Treaties of Peace or Alliance* they make; for then is the *only Time* they can expect any Conceſſions in their Favour.

There is ſuch a terrible Famine in ſome Parts of *Poland* that the People are deſtroying and feeding upon one another; and as it is in ſome Places accompanied with a peſtilential Sort of Diſtemper, the People fancy they ſee *Spectres* come out of their Church-yards, who kill every Perſon they touch.

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3. *Leonidas*. A Poem. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 10*s*. 6*d*.

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12. The Hiſtory of the antient *Germans*. By *T. Lediard*, Eſq; Vol. I. 4to. Printed for the Author, and deliver'd by him to Subſcribers.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

MAY, 1737.

To the Author of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

HERE is one Paſſage in the *Roman* Hiſtory which I never reflect on without Surpriſe, nor can I think of it without Indignation. The Paſſage I mean is, the Elevation of *Claudius* to the Throne of that Empire. There is no Paſſage in Hiſtory points out to us more clearly the wretched and contemptible Condition a People may be reduced to by a general Depravity of Manners, and a total Decay of Virtue and publick Spirit. The two preceding Tyrants *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, one would think, might have been ſufficient to have given any People upon Earth a Surfeit of arbitrary and tyrannical Government, and to have raiſed an univerſal Deteſtation of that Family which had ſubverted their Liberties, and produced two Monſters ſo ridiculous and inhuman; but when a People have once loſt all Regard for the publick Welfare, and are directed only by a ſordid and ſelfiſh View of ſome private Advantages, no Example can divert them from what they think their immediate Intereſt, no Thought of any conſequential Danger or Misfortune can get Admittance into their corrupt Minds.

When the *Romans* were ſet free from one of the moſt cruel Tyrannies under which a People ever groaned, by the Death of *Caligula*, who was murdered, or rather moſt juſtly executed, by the Officers of his own Guard, there was not any one Perſon remaining of the *Cæſar* Family who had any Character among the People, or in the Army; nor had the Conſpirators who put an End to the infamous Life of *Caligula*, concerted Meaſures for raiſing any Perſon to the Throne; ſo that the Senate and People were left at full Liberty to reſtore the Commonwealth, and eſtabliſh it in what Manner they thought moſt proper.

This was an Opportunity ſo little expected, an Opportunity ſo much and ſo long wiſhed for, that no Man could imagine it would be neglected, nor was there any one that could entertain the leaſt Hope of ſetting himſelf up in the Room of the Tyrant they had ſo luckily got rid of. Their Conſuls, their Generals, their Gover-

nors of Provinces, in ſhort, all their Magiſtrates were upon ſo equal a Footing, that none of them had any Proſpect of being able to ſubdue the reſt; and the Conduct of the two former Tyrants had prepared the Minds both of the People and Army for a thorough Change in their Form of Government; ſo that every Circumſtance ſeemed to concur in Favour of the People's reſuming their ancient Liberties.

Accordingly the Conſuls and Senate immediately aſſembled in the *Capitol*, with a Deſign, as all of them pretended, to re-eſtabliſh their Government upon its ancient Footing; but from the Event we may conclude, that few or none of the Members of that Aſſembly had a true and diſintereſted Regard for the Happineſs of their Country; for inſtead of coming to any ſpeedy Reſolution, or taking any Meaſures for ſecuring the Army that was incamped without the Walls of the City, both which were extremely neceſſary upon that Occaſion, they ſpent the whole Evening and Night, and a great Part of the next Day, in Conteſts, and Debates, without uniting in any one Reſolution; from whence we may ſuppoſe the real Diſpute among them was not about concerting ſuch Meaſures as were proper for reſtoring their Liberties, but that each Man was endeavouring to bring the Senate into thoſe Meaſures which he thought would contribute moſt to the Advancement of his own Faction or Party; for in an Aſſembly actuated by a publick Spirit, they eaſily agree upon one Meaſure, becauſe they have but one View, but in an Aſſembly where each Man has a ſelfiſh View of his own, 'tis impoſſible they ſhould agree upon one Meaſure, they muſt naturally and neceſſarily break into different Parties and Factions, which always breeds Delay, and generally ends in Ruin.

Claudius, the Uncle of *Caligula*, had always been reckoned, and was really in his Nature, next Degree to an Idiot, which was the Reaſon *Caligula* never ſuſpected any Danger from him, and therefore ſpared his Life. In the Confuſion and Diſorder that of courſe happened in the Palace, when the Emperor was killed, *Claudius* had run and hid himſelf behind the Hangings in one of the Rooms of the Palace; but being diſcovered by a common Soldier belonging to the Army incamped without the City, he was by that Soldier and ſome of his Companions conducted to the Camp, where he paſſed the whole Night without knowing what was to be his Fate. When the Senate heard he was in the Camp they ſent and invited him to their Aſſembly, but he anſwered, *He was detained Priſoner by the Soldiers*; yet the Senate were ſo infatuated that they could not agree upon any proper Meaſures for getting him out of the Hands of the Soldiers, or for compelling them to yield Obedience to the Conſuls, who of courſe had then the Sovereign Power in their Hands, imagining perhaps it was not poſſible the Army could take it into their Heads to make a Man Emperor, who had all his Life been look'd on as an Idiot. But the Senate having ſo long delayed coming to any Reſolution, and having in the mean Time neglected to take any proper Meaſures for preventing a Sedition in the Army, the common Soldiers began to loſe Patience, and at laſt came flocking about *Claudius*, calling out, *They would have but one Governor, and* Claudius *ſhould be the Man*; whereupon he was declared Emperor by the Army, and the Conſuls and Senate being divided amongſt themſelves, they were all obliged to ſubmit.

Thus the *Romans* loſt one of the beſt Opportunities a People could ever have for recovering their Liberties; and conſidering what they had ſuffered from their two former Emperors, conſidering the Character of the Man then choſen Emperor, it is ſurprizing to think that ſuch an Event ſhould happen

happen among a People who were even then famed for Wiſdom, who had formerly carried the Notions of Liberty as high as ever any People did, and who could hardly be ſuppoſed to be at that Time inured to Slavery; for they had loſt their Liberties not a compleat Century before this Event happened. What may ſtill add to this Surprize is, that even the Army had a moſt contemptible Opinion of the preceding Emperor, and ſome of them had been in great Danger of being moſt cruelly uſed by him; for in his Return from the ridiculous Expedition he made towards *Germany* and *Britain*, he took a Reſolution to have had ſeveral Legions cut to Pieces, for no other Reaſon but becauſe thoſe Legions, many Years before, had raiſed a Mutiny againſt his Father *Germanicus*, tho' it could not be ſuppoſed that a twentieth Man was then in either of the Legions who had been in it when the Mutiny was raiſed; and from this Reſolution he was deterred rather by his own Fears, than by any Good-will towards Mankind or towards the Soldiers.

This was publickly known in the Army, this had happened but five or ſix Months before his Death, and the Danger thoſe Legions had been in, which was then freſh in every Man's Memory, one might have Reaſon to think, would have made all thoſe at leaſt who were then of the Army reſolve, never to ſubject themſelves again to the arbitrary Will of any one Man; but the Memory of this Danger, as well as the Fear of thoſe Dangers which were moſt juſtly to be apprehended from inveſting ſuch an Idiot as *Claudius* with arbitrary Sway, were extinguiſhed by the ſelfiſh Views of thoſe who conceived great Hopes from their being the chief Authors of his Advancement to the Throne; and the Cauſe of Mankind, the Cauſe of their Country, and their own future Security and Happineſs were ſacrificed by the Soldiers, for the ſake of a ſmall immediate Reward in ready Money he promiſed to pay to each of them upon his obtaining the imperial Dignity.

Altho' this Emperor was not near ſo whimſically cruel as either of the two former, yet he was in his Nature ſo jealous and fearful, that he cauſed to be put to Death at different Times, ſeveral of his neareſt Relations, *five and thirty* Senators, and above *three Hundred Roman* Knights, all upon Suſpicion of their plotting againſt his Life, which, by the by, was very little worth either taking or defending; for he was ſo indolent, and ſo much under the Direction, or rather Command, of thoſe about him, that he puniſhed, pardoned, granted Honours, and even Generals Commiſſions in the Army, ſolely at the Deſire of his Wife or of his favourite Slaves, which they either ſold to the higheſt Bidder, for ſatisfying their Avarice, or made Preſents of to their Stallions, their Pathicks or Panders, for the Satisfaction of their luſtful Appetites.

From this remarkable Paſſage of the *Roman* Hiſtory, we may make theſe two Remarks, That when the Nobles and Chief-men of any Country are actuated only by private and ſelfiſh Views, it is impoſſible for them to agree upon Meaſures either for Supporting or Reſtoring a free Government; and that when the People find their Nobles and Chief-men have no Regard for Virtue, or the publick Good, they naturally incline to follow the Example of their Betters, and generally at laſt take Refuge in arbitrary Power. While the Repreſentatives of the noble, rich, and antient Families of a Country, continue to act upon noble and generous Principles, and often give Examples of preferring the publick Good to private Intereſt or Safety, the People will not only continue to act upon the ſame Principles, but will preſerve ſuch a Veneration and Eſteem for them, as will render it impoſſible for any ſingle Man, either by Force or Corruption, to eſtabliſh an arbitrary

Government; but when the Nobles and Chief-men begin to act upon different Principles, the Vulgar not only follow their Example, but begin to deſpiſe and hate them, which makes it eaſy for any ambitious cunning Man, to ſet himſelf at the Head of a popular Faction, ſo as to be able at laſt to deſtroy all thoſe noble Families who oppoſe him, and to trample upon the Laws and Liberties of his Country.

As this can never happen till a general Depravity of Manners has ſpread itſelf firſt among the chief Families, and has from thence diffuſed itſelf thro' the whole Body of the People, the ſame Cauſe which produces the Eſtabliſhment of an arbitrary Government, will always prove its Support, unleſs ſome great Genius appears, who by his Birth or Fortune has great Intereſt, and by his Sagacity and Experience knows how to take Advantage of ſome lucky Incident for reſtoring the Virtue and the publick Spirit of the People, which ſeldom or ever can be done but by the Deſtruction of a great Number of the noble and antient Families of the Country; for as arbitrary Governments are ſeldom or ever eſtabliſhed but by ſome popular Faction, ſo they are ſeldom or ever overturned but by the ſame Sort of Faction; becauſe after ſuch a Government has been for ſome Time eſtabliſhed, the antient noble Families that are left, not only ſubmit, but join with the upſtart Families in being its Tools and Supporters. With reſpect therefore to the Ruin that attends the noble Families of a Country by the Eſtabliſhment or Overthrow of arbitrary Power, the only Difference is, That all thoſe who have any Honour or publick Spirit greatly periſh by the former, and all thoſe who are void of both are juſtly ſacrificed to the latter.

Thus the noble and great Families of a Country muſt always ſuffer both by the Eſtabliſhment and Overthrow of arbitrary Power, and while it ſubſiſts, they are of all Sorts of People the moſt expoſed to the Jealouſies, the Reſentments, the Inſults, and the Luſts of deſpotick Sovereigns, whoſe greateſt Favourites and chief Confidents are almoſt always taken from the lower Sort, and ſometimes from the very Dregs of the People. A Man who is not eminent by his Birth or Fortune, and who takes Care, or who has the good Fortune, to have no Poſſeſſion, no Wife, no Son, nor Daughter beautiful enough to attract the covetous and luſtful Eye of an Emperor or imperial Slave, or of any of their Sycophants, may ſteal through Life without meeting with any horrid Piece of Injuſtice or Cruelty, and even without being obliged to make any ſlaviſh Submiſſions; but a Man who is eminent by his Birth or his Fortune, muſt expect to meet either with the one or the other: If he does not make his Court to ſome imperial Slave, he is immediately look'd on as an Enemy, or his Neglect is conſidered as a Contempt, and he is ſure of falling a Sacrifice to their Jealouſy, or their Reſentment: On the other Hand, the very Attempt to make Court to ſuch vile Wretches as thoſe Slaves generally are, is inconſiſtent with the Character of a Man of Quality; and yet that Court cannot be made but by the moſt ſlaviſh Submiſſion, nor without often meeting with the moſt ſhocking Indignities; for of all Maſters a Slave or a Sycophant is the moſt inſolent and intolerable.

But the Loſs of Liberty is not the only Misfortune that attends a Decay of Virtue and publick Spirit among the Nobles and Chief-men of any Country. The Virtue of the Nobles or of the People is never improved or reſtored by arbitrary Sway. Their ſelfiſh and ſlaviſh Spirit becomes every Day more ſordid, more abject and fawning; ſo that at laſt it becomes amazing to obſerve what Indignities, what Inſults, what cruel Oppreſſions, even Men of the firſt Quality will tamely ſubmit to, for the

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ſake of prolonging a moſt wretched Life, or what they call preſerving, a moſt unhappy Family. From hence it is that the Overthrow of Liberty is attended with a yet greater Misfortune, if any greater can be, which is, an Impoſſibility of its being ever reſtored: Even the beſt Opportunity that can offer will be neglected, and the generous Deſigns of the few, if there happens to be any ſuch among ſo unfortunate a People, will certainly be defeated by the private Views of the many. Unleſs, by ſome very rare and very remarkable Piece of Providence the Virtue of the People be reſtored, it will for ever be impoſſible to reſtore their Liberty: They will continue to purſue, each Man his own private Views of ſome immediate Advantage, and to plunder, murder, and make a Prey of one another by turns, till ſome foreign Enemy does them the Favour to make a Prey of them all, and to murder the greateſt Part.

From theſe Obſervations we may ſee, that of all Degrees of Men there are none who have a greater Intereſt in promoting the Principles of Virtue and publick Spirit, than thoſe who have the Honour to repreſent, or to be deſcended of, the noble and antient Families of a Country; and in their Power alone it is, to promote and preſerve ſuch Principles among the People; for Virtue and publick Spirit are in all Countries inculcated by Precept, but Example will always prevail over Precept; the moſt enormous Vice may become general, may come to be openly practiſed and avowed, by being made faſhionable, and Faſhions are always introduced by the Opulent and Powerful; therefore whenever we ſee in any Country a general Decay of Virtue and publick Spirit, when moſt Men are directed by nothing but little ſordid Views of their own, and when true Honour, and a generous Regard for the publick Good, are look'd on as the Effects of Madneſs and Enthuſiaſm, we may aſſure ourſelves the original Cauſe of this fatal Effect proceeded from the noble and chief Families of that Country: Yet upon ſuch a melancholy Occaſion there is nothing more ordinary than to hear thoſe great Men who have been the chief Cauſes of this fatal Effect, who never in their whole Lives ſpoke, voted, or acted, but from ſome private, avaricious, revengeful, or ambitious View, who have made it the Buſineſs of their whole Lives to bribe Men out of their Virtue, and to debauch the Morals of the Vulgar both in publick and private Life, I ſay, there is nothing more ordinary than to hear ſuch Men exclaiming againſt the Wickedneſs and the Depravity of the Age, and giving that as a Reaſon for juſtifying their Conſpiracy againſt the Laws and Liberties of their Country.

The Example of Perſons of Quality and Fortune has ſo remarkable and ſo certain an Influence upon thoſe of inferior Degree, that in a Country bleſſed with Liberty, we may, from the Behaviour of the former, make a tolerable good Judgment how long that Liberty is like to continue; for when, with reſpect to private Life, we obſerve, that the principal Quality and Gentry think of nothing but their Luxury and Pleaſure, entertain no Favourites but ſuch as contribute to their Diverſions, or perhaps to the Satisfaction of their vicious Appetites, and laviſh their Money in the moſt extravagant Manner upon the Luxuries and Vanities of Life, while at the ſame Time they are moſt parſimonious in every Thing that may contribute to the Improvement of their Minds, or to the Support and Welfare of their Country; and when, with reſpect to publick Affairs, we obſerve the moſt of them influenced by nothing but their own private Advantage and Ambition, and even openly boaſting of their corrupt and diſhonourable Conduct; when we obſerve them for ſelfiſh Ends joining in Meaſures which evidently tend to the Deſtruction of their Country, and the Oppreſſion of the People; and when we obſerve them

them in their Aſſemblies ſcreening one another from juſt Puniſhment, and conſidering, not the Merits of the Cauſe, but the Perſon only that applies to them for their Vote, in Matters of private as well as publick Right: I ſay, when we obſerve theſe Things, we may conclude the Liberties of that Country can be of no long Duration; for the Infection will certainly ſpread, if not quickly rooted out, and as ſoon as it becomes general, their Liberties muſt neceſſarily be overturned.

I ſhall not at preſent apply theſe Reflections to any particular Country or Kingdom, but as it is a Subject which highly deſerves the Conſideration of every Man who has the Happineſs to be a free-born Subject of *Great-Britain*, you may perhaps think them worthy of a Place in your Monthly Collection.

I am, SIR,
Your conſtant Reader,
and humble Servant,
PHILELEUTHERIAS.

REASONS *for the Repreſentatives* of the People of *Great Britain* to take Advantage of the *preſent Rate* of *Intereſt*, for the *more ſpeedy Leſſening* the *National Debt*, and *Taking off* the *moſt Burthenſome* of the *Taxes*.

NO more Money ought any Year to be raiſed, or continued at any Time to be raiſed, on the Subject, than is abſolutely neceſſary for the *Well-being* of the *Nation*, and to enable it to make good its *Engagements*.

Whatever Money is raiſed for the *Current Service* of the Year, or *extraordinary* Sum annually paid for *Intereſt Money* to the *Publick Creditors*, ariſeth from *Taxes* on the People of *Great Britain*.

The People of *Great Britain* have a *Right*, and it is but *Juſtice*, that the Money raiſed upon them, by the many and various Taxes, ſhould be managed to the *beſt Advantage*, and moſt for the *Publick Intereſt*.

A *Truſtee* for an *Infant* with a Mortgage on his Eſtate at 4 *per Cent.* would be guilty of a Breach of Truſt, if he could borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* to pay it off, ſhould he refuſe to do it.

Every *Member* of *Parliament* is a *Truſtee* for the *People*, and bound in *Duty* to manage the Publick Affairs for their *greateſt Advantage*.

The *Creditors* of the *Publick* can have no *juſt* Cauſe to complain, if the Parliament act no otherwiſe than in purſuance of their ſeveral *Stipulations* with them.

However inconvenient it may prove to the *Whole* or *any Part* of the Publick Creditors, particularly *Widows* and *Orphans*, to receive 3 *per Cent.* in lieu of 4 *per Cent*; this higher Rate of Intereſt cannot be continued to them whenever ſufficient Money can be borrowed to pay them off, without doing the *higheſt Injuſtice* to the *Subjects in General*, by *continuing* the Payment of *extraordinary* and *unneceſſary Taxes* upon them.

Many of the Taxes lie heavy on the *Poor* and the *Manufacturer*, by being laid on the *Neceſſaries of Life*, of which the *Poor* conſume more than the *Rich*; as the Exciſes on *Malt*, *Beer*, *Ale*, and *Salt*, and alſo the Taxes on *Soap*, *Candles*, *Coals*, and *Leather*.

As nothing but *abſolute Neceſſity* could juſtify the laying ſuch heavy Taxes on the *Neceſſaries of Life*, ſo nothing but *abſolute Neceſſity* can juſtify the *continuing* them. Certain it is, that the *Conveniency* of a *few particular Perſons* can never do it.

All the Money, which the Neceſſities of the Publick require to be raiſed, ought to be raiſed on *Property*, or *Articles of Luxury*; but nothing on the *Neceſſaries of Life* without the moſt *abſolute Neceſſity*.

One *per Cent.* laved on the Publick Debt due to *Foreigners* is ſo much Money, as it ſhall amount to, actual-

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ly ſaved to the Nation, and by One *per Cent.* being ſaved on all the *Redeemable Debts*, ſo much Money as that ſhall amount to, there will be *leſs* to be raiſed by *Taxes* on the People of *Great Britain*.

The Nation is not able to continue to pay the high Rate of Intereſt it does to *Foreigners*; becauſe in Time it will drain the Kingdom of too much Money to be ſpared, or is either *prudent* or *juſt* for it to ſpare.

One per Cent. ſaved out of *Four per Cent.* will in 47 Years, if that *One per Cent.* be conſtantly applied to diſcharge the *Debt*, entirely pay off the ſame.

If the *Debt* ſhould continue at 4 *per Cent.* without paying off any of the Principal, the Nation, at the *End* of 47 Years, will be in the ſame Condition, in reſpect to its *Debt*, as it is *now*, tho' in the mean Time it will pay to *Foreigners*, ſuppoſing their Debt twelve Millions, above *twenty two Millions and a half* of Money. — A Sum too large for this Nation to part with, and yet not be any Thing more out of Debt!

A *large* Debt carrying a *high* Intereſt to *Foreigners*, will be as *certain Ruin* to a Nation, as *high Intereſt* is a *certain Ruin* to any *private Perſon* in his *Eſtate*.

This Nation being then in this *very bad* Situation, is it not *abſolutely neceſſary* for the Peoples *Repreſentatives* in Parliament to uſe their *utmoſt Efforts* to endeavour to get the Nation out of *Debt*, conſiſtent with *Juſtice* and *Parliamentary Faith*?

Whatever *Objections* are made from *Prejudice*, and which are only *ſuggeſted*, not *proved*, that the Lowering of Intereſt will have an ill Effect on all *Sorts* of People, as well *Landholders* and *Tenants*, as *Traders*; they have not in Fact any Thing to do with this Queſtion, becauſe it is not propoſed to lower either the Rate of Intereſt between *Man* and *Man*, or the current Rate of Intereſt of the *Publick Stocks* and *Securities*.

It is evident, that the current Rate of Intereſt of *all the Publick Securities* is under 3 *per Cent.* ſince no *Three per Cent Securities* can be had under a *Premium*; and were the Legiſlature to enact the *Four per Cents.* perpetual unredeemable Annuities, they would ſell at 140 at leaſt; ſo that altho' the Publick would pay 4 *per Cent.* the Rate of Intereſt *at Market* for theſe Annuities would be under 3 *per Cent.*

It is not in the Power of the Legiſlature by a Law to make the Rate of Intereſt either between *particular Perſons*, or in reſpect to the *publick Securities*, higher or lower; both will be governed by *other Cauſes* which are *natural*.

If One *per Cent.* ſhall be ſaved by a Reduction of Intereſt on the publick Debts, and ſome of the *moſt burthenſome* Taxes taken off in *Proportion*, it will be ſo far from lowering the *natural Rate* of *Intereſt* that it will have a Tendency the *other* Way.

It is the Force of Money drawn from *all Parts* of the Country into *one Place*, that has operated ſo ſtrongly to reduce the Rate of Intereſt of the publick Securities; like *Water*, which when collected into a Body, has a Force, which it is deſtitute of when ſpread over a *large Surface*.

A *poor*, *labouring Man*, who has *a Wife*, and a *Number* of *Children* to maintain from the *Sweat* of his *Brow*, is *as much* intitled to *Compaſſion*, as a *Widow* and *Orphans*, who may have the *Conveniencies*, or even the *Neceſſaries* of Life leſſened by a Reduction of Intereſt.

There is *Juſtice* as well as *Compaſſion* on the Side of the *People in general*, and *only Compaſſion* on the Side of the publick Creditors in *particular*.

The publick Debts encourage *Idleneſs*, the *Mother* of *Luxury*, which if paid off, would *encourage*, and even *force* Induſtry in *Trade*, *Manufacture*, and *Improvements of Lands*, by which the Nation muſt *neceſſarily* flouriſh

flouriſh and grow ſtrong, altho' *every Individual* in the Nation ſhould fancy himſelf, for the *preſent*, ſomething affected by this Alteration.

This may be illuſtrated by Money raiſed on *every Subject* in the Kingdom, which although it brings a *preſent Inconvenience*, yet if it be employed to prevent ſome *impending Ruin*, and actually *procures* that *End*, fully repays the *preſent* Inconvenience.

No Nation, which is incumbered with a *great Debt*, and *heavy Taxes*, can, on any *proper* Occaſion, exert itſelf in ſuch a Manner as it could do, if it were free from ſuch Incumbrances.

Every Nation ought, in caſe of a moſt *neceſſary War*, to raiſe as much of the Money as is *poſſible* for the carrying on that War, on the preſent Generation.

If the neceſſary Demand for that *War* be more than can well be raiſed *within the Year*, it is fit and proper to mortgage Taxes to carry it on, for the Benefit of the *preſent* and *future* Generations: But as ſoon as that War is over, it is highly incumbent on the *preſent* Generation to take all *juſt* and *proper* Methods to extricate the Nation from that Load of Debt, which the Neceſſities of former Times had involved it in.

To conſult too much our *preſent Eaſe*, and ſay, that *Poſterity* ought to bear *its Share* of the *Burthen*, becauſe they will reap the *Benefit* of it, proceeds wholly from a *meer ſelfiſh Principle*, and is entirely void of any *true Love* for *our Country*, and *acting* accordingly, may deprive a Nation of the *Means* of defending itſelf in a Time of *as much Danger* as any *former War*, or lay the Legiſlature under a Neceſſity of breaking through *Parliamentary Faith*.

If this Nation had been as much in Debt at the *Beginning*, as at the *Ending* of the *laſt* great War, it had been utterly impoſſible to have carried on that War, either in the *glorious Manner*, or at the *great Expence* it was carried on.

It is the *Plenty* of *Money* that makes the Rate of Intereſt *low*, and *that*, in all Countries, tends to make *Proviſions* of all Kinds *dear*, how therefore can the Lowneſs of *Intereſt* make them *cheap*? If *Proviſions* are *cheaper* ſince the Intereſt on the publick Securities was *leſſened*, it muſt neceſſarily proceed from ſome *other* Cauſes.

If it be ſaid, that the *leſs* People receive from the Publick for Intereſt, the *leſs* they will have to ſpend; to this it is anſwer'd; *Firſt*, that *Foreigners* ſpend not *any Part* of this Intereſt Money in *Proviſions*; *Secondly*, that great Part of what is received by the Subjects of *Great Britain* is not *ſpent*, but *laid out* again in Securities *publick* or *private*; and, *Thirdly*, that if the Taxes ſhall be taken off, or *leſs* raiſed, in Proportion to the Money ſaved by a Reduction of one *per Cent.* the People *in general* will have ſo much *more* to *ſpend*.

But the Argument for the Publick to continue to pay 4 *per Cent.* in order to *keep up* the *Price* of *Proviſions*, if it prove *any Thing*, it will prove *too much*; ſince it will *equally* prove, that the Publick ought to have *continued* to pay 6 *per Cent.* or a *higher* Rate of Intereſt.

The Reaſons *for* the lowering of the Intereſt of the publick redeemable Debts are *plain*, *evident*, and *juſt*; the Reaſons *againſt* the doing it are *unjuſt*, and not capable of being *made out* with any *Clearneſs* and *Certainty*.

Evil ought not to be done, that *Good may come of it*; conſequently, *grievous* and *heavy Taxes* ought not to be *continued* on the *Poor*, to pay *Intereſt Money*, and (if ſome Gentlemen's Arguments are of *any* Weight) to make *Proviſions dear*.

It is deſir'd, on the one Hand, that the *Manufactures* of this Kingdom may be made *cheap*, in order to preſerve to it its *foreign Trade*; and,

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and, on the other, that *Proviſions* may be *dear*, for the ſake of *Rents*. Theſe are Contradictions, ſince *Labour* is generally *low* when *Proviſions* are *cheapeſt*.

Altho' it is ſaid, and, probably, with Truth, that when *Proviſions* are *dear*, the Manufacturers will work more Days in a Week than they will do when *Proviſions* are *cheap*, and from thence argued, that the *Cheapneſs* of *Proviſions* is a *Hindrance* to *Manufactures*; the Argument is fallacious.

For though *ſome* of the People may be idle, and work but little when *Proviſions* are *cheap*, yet it is certain, there are *great Numbers* of laborious People who work *every Day* in the Week, and yet can hardly ſupply a *Wife* and *many Children*, which is often their Lot, with the *bare Neceſſaries* of Life; and, ſurely, *theſe* ought not to be oppreſs'd becauſe *ſome* People will be idle. When the *Dearneſs* of *Proviſions* ariſes from the *Scarcity*, the *poorer Sort* muſt be deſtitute of *ſufficient* of the *Neceſſaries* of Life.

If it be ſaid, that if Proviſions were *always* dear, all the Poor would be forced to make an Offer of working *every Day*, and by that means give the Perſons employing them an Opportunity to *reduce* their *Wages*; it is anſwered, That, in ſuch Caſe, if the *common Plenty* of *Proviſions* continued, and there were no *Multiplication* of *Work*, the *Price* of *Proviſions* would inevitably *fall*; becauſe a very conſiderable Part of the Produce of the Lands of *Great Britain* is conſumed by *working People* and their *Families*.

It is true in *Theory*, that the following Maxim ſtands good, *viz. Take away the Cauſe, and the Effect ceaſes*; but in *Fact* it often happens, that the *Effect* continues when the original *Cauſe* has ceaſed.

The preſent bad Situation of the *Farmers* ſeems to ariſe from the following Cauſes, at leaſt in Part.

The *Landlords* being oppreſſed with the *Land-Tax*, as well as *other Taxes*, during the laſt great War, and ſeeing their Tenants *thrive*, took the Opportunity, many of them, of *raiſing* their *Rents*.

A great Number of People extraordinary being then employed as Seamen and Soldiers, and many of them loſing their Lives yearly, there were others entered and liſted to ſupply their Room, and there being all this Time a *brisk Trade*, which employed the Manufacturers, *common labouring People* became ſcarce, and Proviſions alſo riſing, the Artificers and Labourers of all Kinds took the Opportunity of raiſing their *Wages*.

The War bringing many Calamities on ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, occaſioned, among other Things, a very great Want of *Corn*, which Want was generally ſupplied by large Exportations from this Kingdom, which kept the Price of Proviſions in general pretty high; *one* Article of the *Neceſſaries* of Life having an Influence on *others*: This enabled the *Farmers* to pay their *Rents*, to *advance* the *Wages* of the *Labourers*, and alſo to live in a *better Manner* than before, even notwithſtanding the *new-created Taxes*; and the *People* being generally *employed*, Trade *abroad* very *good*, and many growing *rich* by the *War*, or by *lending* their *Money* to the *Government*, they were enabled to purchaſe Proviſions at an *advanced* Price, as well as to *bear* and *pay* all the *additional* Taxes.

Great Improvements having been made of the *Lands* in almoſt all Parts of *Great Britain* ſince the Peace of *Utrecht*, and the Exportation of *Corn* and the Publick Expence of *Proviſions* much *leſſen'd*, many of the *Farmers* find themſelves in Farms paying greater *Rents* to their *Landlords*, as well as *Wages* to their *Labourers*, than before the laſt great War, and yet *living higher* than they did *formerly*, and being not able to

ſell their Produce at ſo *good* or ſo *certain Prices*, and moreover burthened with *heavier Taxes*, there is hardly any poſſible way for them to pay their *Rents*, and *live*.

It ſeems therefore highly neceſſary for the Publick to begin to think of giving ſome *Relief*, as well to the *Farmers* as other the *uſeful Subjects* of *Great Britain*, before they are entirely ruined and beggared, by taking off ſome of the *moſt burthenſome* Taxes.

If any Perſon ſhould *ſport* himſelf with deſcanting on *this* or *that* particular Tax, and attempt to ſhew how *light* or *inconſiderable* it will be to any Perſon greatly intereſted in the Publick Securities, in Proportion to a Reduction of *One per Cent. per Annum*; it requires no other Anſwer, than to obſerve, That *all the Taxes together* are a *very heavy Burthen* on the People *in general*, how *convenient* ſoever they may be to *particular* Perſons concerned in the *Collection*, or to thoſe who have the *Appointments* of them; and altho' the Parliament cannot give *entire Relief* to the Subject by taking off *all Taxes*, yet this is not any Reaſon why they ſhould not begin to take off ſuch as are *Diſcouragements* to the *Produce*, *Trade*, *Manufacture*, and *Navigation* of *Great Britain*, by which the preſent Burthen of Taxes will be ſo much *lighter*, and the reſt more *chearfully borne*; as it will be an *Evidence* of the *tender Regard* which a *Britiſh Parliament* has for *thoſe* they *repreſent*, and an *Earneſt*, that all the other Taxes on the *Neceſſaries of Life*, will be taken off the firſt *proper* Opportunity.

Upon the Whole, if the *publick Revenues* are *well looked after* and *improved*; if the *Parliament* enters entirely upon *frugal Meaſures*, and ſhall *exert itſelf* on this Occaſion; the preſent great Debt may be annually diſcharging, and the preſent large Payment of Taxes to the Publick will be every Year gradually clearing; which are like ſo many *bloody Iſſues* that emaciate the *Body Politick*, and render it *Hectical* and *Conſumptive*; and if the Debt was diſcharged, or but half diſcharged, the Nation might get rid of that Variety of *new Exciſes* and *high Cuſtoms* which hurt the *foreign Traffick* and interrupt the *domeſtick Trade* of *Great Britain*, and which are more eſpecially ſo heavy a Weight on the *Woollen* and other its *Manufactures*.

When the national Debt is mentioned, it is only ſaid, the Publick is ſo-and-ſo indebted, and at ſuch-and-ſuch an Intereſt. But this is not a true State of the Caſe; for, to ſpeak properly, the publick Funds divide the Nation into two Ranks of Men, of which one are *Creditors*, and the other *Debtors*; the *Creditors* are the *three great Corporations* and others, made up of *Natives* and *Foreigners*; the *Debtors* are the *Land-holders*, the *Merchants*, the *Shop-keepers*, and all *Ranks* and *Degrees* of Men throughout the Kingdom. Thus almoſt all *Great Britain* may not be improperly divided into *Debtors* and *Creditors*: Nor in a long and expenſive War was this wholly to be avoided: But, without doubt, it has not been *true Wiſdom* in *continuing* this *Diſtinction* ſo long; nor can it be *wiſe* and *ſafe* to let this Diſtinction many Years longer continue; for tho' ſuch as *Receive* may like their Condition, yet ſuch as are to *Pay* cannot be ſo well contented. It is true, ſome *modern Politicians* have run upon another Notion, and ſeveral Perſons are weak enough to believe, that the not paying off the publick Debt will engage People the more to preſerve the preſent Government: This Policy indeed of theirs would hold good, if it could be made out that the *publick Creditors* are *ſtronger* and *more in Number* than thoſe concerned in the *Payments* to the *Publick*. But it rather ſeems to hold in Senſe and Reaſon, *that the Throne*

Throne of that Prince, in a free Nation, *must be most firmly eſtabliſhed, whoſe Affairs will permit him to ask, or who deſires to collect, the* fewest *Taxes from his People.*

Common Senſe, April 30. N° 13.

The modern Man of Honour.

A Man of Honour, with the *Beau Monde*, is one who peremptorily affirms himſelf to be ſo, and will cut any body's Throat that queſtions it, tho' upon the beſt Grounds. He is above the Reſtraints which the Laws of God or Man lay upon vulgar Minds, and knows no other Tyes but thoſe of Honour; of which Word he is to be the ſole Expounder. He muſt ſtrictly adhere to a Party Denomination, tho' he may be utterly regardleſs of its Principles. His Expence ſhould exceed his Income conſiderably, not for the Neceſſaries, but Superfluities of Life, that the Debts he contracts may do him *Honour*. There ſhould be a Haughtineſs and Inſolence in his Deportment, which is ſuppos'd to reſult from *conſcious Honour*. If he be Cholerick, and Wrong-headed into the Bargain, with a good deal of animal Courage, he acquires the glorious Character of a Man of nice and jealous Honour. And if all theſe Qualifications are duly ſeaſon'd with the genteeleſt Vices, the Man of Honour is compleat; any Thing his Wife, Children, Servants, or Tradeſmen may think to the contrary, notwithſtanding.

Belville is allow'd to be a Man of the moſt conſummate Honour. The Men are proud of his Acquaintance, and the Women of his Protection; his Party glories in being countenanc'd by him, and his Honour is frequently quoted as a Sanction for their Conduct. But ſome original Letters will beſt explain ſo ſhining a Character.

He had run out a conſiderable Fortune by a Life of Pleaſure, particularly Gaming; and being delicately ſcrupulous in Points of Honour, he writ the following Letter to his Attorney, after an ill Run at Play.

S I R,

'I had a damn'd Tumble laſt Night at Hazard, and muſt raiſe a Thouſand within a Week; get it me upon any Terms, for I would rather ſuffer the greateſt Incumbrance upon my Fortune, than the leaſt Blemiſh upon my Honour. As for thoſe clamorous Raſcals the Tradeſmen, inſiſt upon my Privilege, and keep 'em off as long as poſſible; we may chance to ruin ſome of 'em, before they can bring us to Trial.

Yours, &c. BELVILLE.

To Mr. Tho. Gooſetree, *Attorney, in* Furnival's Inn.

But leſt the Endeavours of Mr. *Gooſetree* ſhould prove ineffectual, *Belville*, from the ſame Principle of Honour, reſolv'd, at all Events, to ſecure that Sum collaterally; and therefore wrote the following Letter to the firſt Miniſter.

S I R,

'I was applied to Yeſterday in your Name by *** to vote for the great Point, which is to come into our Houſe To-morrow; but as it was extremely contrary to my Opinion and Principles, I gave him no explicit Anſwer, but took ſome Time to conſider of it. I have therefore the Honour now to acquaint you, that I am determin'd to give my Concurrence to this Affair; but muſt deſire, at the ſame Time, that you will immediately ſend *** to me, with the 1500*l.* he offer'd me Yeſterday, and for which I have a preſſing Occaſion this Morning. I am perſuaded you know me too well to ſcruple this Payment beforehand, and that you will not be the firſt Perſon that ever queſtion'd the Honour of,

S I R,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

BELVILLE.

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I find another Letter of the ſame Date, to a Lady, who appears to be the Wife of his moſt intimate Friend.

My Dear,

'I have juſt now receiv'd yours, and am very ſorry for the Uneaſineſs your Husband's Behaviour has given you of late; tho' I cannot be of your Opinion, that he ſuſpects our Connexion. We have been bred up together from Children, and have liv'd in the ſtricteſt Friendſhip ever ſince; ſo that I dare ſay he would as ſoon ſuſpect me of a Deſign to murder, as wrong him this Way. And you know it is to that Confidence and Security of his, that I owe the Happineſs I enjoy. However, in all Events, be convinc'd that you are in the Hands of a Man of Honour, who will not ſuffer you to be ill us'd; and ſhould my Friend proceed to any diſagreeable Extremities with you, depend upon't I'll cut the Cuckold's Throat for him.

Yours, moſt tenderly.

The fourth and laſt Letter is to a Friend, who had, probably, as high Notions of Honour as himſelf, by the Nature of the Affair in which he requires his Aſſiſtance.

Dear *Charles*,

'Prithee come to me immediately, to ſerve me in an Affair of Honour. You muſt know, I told a damn'd Lye laſt Night in a mix'd Company, and a formal odd Dog, in a Manner, inſinuated that I did ſo; upon which, I whiſper'd him to be in *Hyde Park* this Morning, and to bring a Friend with him, if he had ſuch a Thing in the World. The Booby was hardly worth my Reſentment; but you know my Delicacy, where Honour is concern'd. *Yours*,

BELVILLE.

It appears from theſe authentick Pieces, that Mr. *Belville*, fill'd with the nobleſt Sentiments of Honour, paid all Debts but his juſt ones; kept his Word ſcrupulouſly in the flagitious Sale of his Conſcience to a Miniſter; was ready to protect, at the Expence of his Friend's Life, his Friend's Wife, whom, by the Opportunities that Friendſhip had given him, he had corrupted; and puniſh'd Truth with Death, when it intimated, however juſtly, the want of it in himſelf

To ſuch Practice, and ſuch Examples in higher Life, may juſtly be imputed the general Corruption and Immorality which prevail thro' this Kingdom. But when ſuch is the Force of Faſhion, and when the Examples of People of the firſt Rank in a Country are ſo prevalent as to dignify Vice and Immorality, in ſpite of all Laws Divine and Human; how popular might they make Virtue, if they would exert their Power in its Cauſe? And how muſt they, in their cooler Moments, reproach themſelves when they come to reflect, that by their fatal Examples, they have begar'd, corrupted, and (it may be) enſlav'd a whole Nation?

Fog's *Journal*, April 30. N° 441.

A Confutation of the Stories about Vampires, *or dead Bodies ſucking the Living, in* Hungary, *&c.* *(See Vol. I. p.* 81.

THERE are two Ways to deſtroy all Opinions of theſe pretended Returners from below-Ground, and to ſhew the Impoſſibility of ſuch Effects as theſe Carcaſſes, utterly void of all Senſibility, are affirmed to produce. The firſt is, to explain the Prodigies of *Vampiriſm* by Phyſical Cauſes. The ſecond is, totally to deny the Verity of theſe Facts. But, as there are People, to whom the Authority of a Certificate ſeems a manifeſt Demonſtration of the Reality of the abſurdeſt Stories, I will for a while admit that a Number of Perſons do really die of a Diſtemper called *Vampiriſm*. I

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I firſt lay down this Principle, that it actually may be, that there are certain dead Bodies which, tho' ſeveral Days inhumed, put forth a Quantity of fluid Blood. I farther allow, that it is eaſy for certain People to imagine they are ſucked by *Vampires*; and alſo that the Fear, wherewith this Fancy inſpires them, cauſes in them a Revolution ſufficiently violent to deprive them even of Life. Being all Day taken up with the Dread of theſe imaginary Strollers from the Grave, is it any extraordinary Thing that, in their Sleep, the Ideas of theſe Phantoms ſhould preſent themſelves to their Imagination, and cauſe in them a Terror ſo violent, as to kill ſome inſtantly, and others in a ſhort Time after? How many have been known to die on the Spot with a ſudden Fright? And has not Exceſs of Joy frequently produced Effects equally fatal? In examining the Recital of the Death of the pretended Martyrs of *Vampiriſm*, I diſcover all Symptoms of a mere epidemical Fanaticiſm.

They who have lived in Towns afflicted with the Peſtilence, know how frequently People have loſt their Lives purely thro' Fear. At *Paris*, a Friend of mine aſſured me, that, being at *Marſeilles* when the Plague raged there, he ſaw a Gentlewoman actually die of the Fear ſhe conceived at a ſlight Indiſpoſition of her Maid's, which ſhe thought to be the Peſtilence. This Woman's Daughter was alſo at Death's Door, on the ſame Account. Two other Perſons, living in the ſame Houſe, took likewiſe to their Beds, ſent for a Phyſician, and affirmed to him, that they were ſeized with the Plague. He preſently viſited the Maid, and all the other Patients, and found not one of them had the leaſt Tincture of Contagion, and thereupon ſtrove to calm their Minds, ordering them to get up and live juſt as they uſed to do before: But all his Care had no Effect upon the Miſtreſs of the Houſe, who died in two Days after having ſo frighten'd herſelf.

I come next to thoſe dead Bodies found full of fluid Blood, with their Hair, Beards and Nails growing. We may, I believe, abate at leaſt a Third of theſe Prodigies, and yet it will be a Complaiſance to abate only ſo ſmall a Portion. All Men of any Diſcernment know how greatly common Report, and even ſeveral Hiſtorians, do ſtretch and inlarge Things which ſeem ever ſo little ſuper-natural; however it is no Impoſſibility to explain the Cauſes thereof phyſically.

Experience teaches us, that there are certain Earths proper to preſerve human Bodies in their whole Freſhneſs. At *Toulouſe*, in a Church, is a Vault, wherein Bodies remain ſo perfectly intire, that there are ſome of more than two Centuries ſtanding, which ſeem actually alive: They are ranged upright along the Wall, and dreſſed in their uſual Apparel. And what is farther remarkable, the Bodies which are placed on the contrary Side of this Vault, do, in two or three Days, become full of Worms.

As to the Growth of the Hair and Nails, the very ſame is obſerved frequently in dead Bodies. While a Carcaſs has any Quantity of Moiſture, there can be nothing ſurprizing in the Caſe, if we ſee, for ſome Time, a viſible Augmentation in ſuch Parts as require not the vital Spirits.

The fluid Blood, flowing thro' the natural Conduits, does indeed ſeem to advance a greater Difficulty: Yet we may be able to produce ſome Phyſical Reaſons for ſuch Flowings. The Heat of the Sun, affording a ſtrong Degree of Warmth to the nitrous and ſulphurous Parts of that Earth, which is proper to keep fleſhly Bodies from conſuming, theſe Parts, being incorporated with the newly interred Bodies, occaſion their fermenting;

menting; and ſo, *uncoagulating* and *unfixing* the curdled or clodded Blood, render it liquid, inabling it to diſtil gradually thro' the Canals. This is the more probable, as it is confirmed by a known Experiment. If we boil in a Veſſel of Glaſs, or Earth, one Portion of Chyle, or of Milk mixed with two Portions of Oil of Tartar, made by Decantation, the Liquor, from white as it was, will become red, or a Sort of Blood. The Juices of Fleſh and of Bones bear a great Reſemblance with Chyle, and Fat and Marrow are the moſt oily Parts of the Chyle. Now all theſe Parts, being in a Ferment, muſt, by the Rules of Experience, be changed into a Sort of Blood: So, beſides that which is *uncoagulated* and *unfixed*, the pretended *Vampires* will alſo void that which is formed from the melting of the Fat and Marrow.

The Bodies of theſe imaginary *Vampires* either do quit their Graves to come and ſuck People, or they do not. If they do ſuck, they ought to be viſible. Now they are not ſeen; for, whenever the Complainants call out for Aſſiſtance, they who run in at the Out-cry never ſee any ſuch Matter. They therefore do not come abroad. If the Bodies come not out, it muſt then be the Soul, and Spirit. Now, can the Soul, or Spirit, compoſed of ſo ſubtile a Matter, can it, I ſay, gather up and contain, as in a Veſſel, a Quantity of ſuch a Liquid as Blood is, and convey into the Body? Really this Spirit is ſent on a very pleaſant Errand. But it would make me bluſh to employ any more Time or Pains about proving the Impoſſibility of *Vampiriſm*. (See ſome Account of theſe Stories, Vol. I. p. 76.)

Weekly Miſcellany, N° 227 and 228.

Proper Remarks upon LEONIDAS. *(See p. 198.)*

Mr. HOOKER,

THE Letter-writer, in *Common Senſe*, has left a wide Field for *Panegyric* on *Leonidas*, by being ſo *exceeding modeſt* in the Author's Praiſes, as to place him only a few Degrees above *Homer*, *Virgil* and *Milton*; we have ſome faint Hints indeed of his ſtill greater Superiority; but I will *ſpeak out* in Defiance of all doting Admirers of *Antiquity*, and aſſert boldly, that the three Names above mention'd, are ſo far from being *equal* to our modern Author, that you cannot degrade him more than to put him in *Competition* with them.

How much the *Ancients* neglected the Rule of *Common Senſe* will be plain by conſidering what they are chiefly eminent for, *viz. Invention*; by this they aſſume to themſelves a Right of *Creation*; give Exiſtence to Beings that have none but in the Regions of *Fancy*; introduce Characters never heard of; fight Battles never fought; raiſe Prodigies, Storms, Whirlwinds, Earthquakes, Lightnings, Hail and Thunder at will: Theſe are all plain Deviations from *Common Senſe*, which our Author has with great Judgment avoided. And as the very Name Ποιητὴς, or *Poet*, is derived from this *Fantaſtic Creatorial* Power, I think it the greateſt Impropriety to apply ſo *ſenſeleſs* a Name to ſo *Senſible*, nay to ſo *Common Senſible* an Author. But what Word can be ſufficiently expreſſive of ſo eminent a Genius? I ſhould even have deſpaired of finding one in the whole Vocabulary had not he himſelf directed me to it in the firſt Page of his Book.

Rehearſe, *O muſe, the glorious deeds and death*
Of that fam'd Spartan ——

What can poſſibly be more *beautifully Simple?* The Verb *Rehearſe* is ſo peculiarly adapted to the Spirit and Genius of the Work, and ſo exactly foretels all we are to meet with in the Sequel, that it is indeed the *Iliad in a Nutſhell*, *Leonidas in Miniature*, the Sum total of the whole nine Books in one Word. So that the Name

Name of *Poem* being rendered obſolete and diſreputable we are no longer at a loſs for one that is perfectly ſuitable, viz. *Rehearſal*, — the *Rehearſal* of *Leonidas*, — how ſenſible an Idea does it give? —— Thrice happy *Britain* that has produc'd a Genius ſo far above the *fabulous* Verſifyers of *Greece* and *Rome*, that their very Languages could have ſcarcely furniſh'd a Name worthy of this our *great Britiſh Rehearſaliſt!*

The *Iliad* is exceedingly faulty in its *Exordium*; 'tis crowded with Images of Death and Horror. Had the Tranſlator been bleſſed with our Author's *cool* and *ſolid* Judgment he would have had *Common Senſe* enough to have drawn a Shade over theſe glaring Faults, and not given us in *Engliſh* all the *poetical, hyperbolical Rhapſody* of the Original.

The wrath of Peleus' ſon, the direful ſpring
Of all the Grecian woes, O goddeſs, ſing;
That wrath, which hurl'd to Pluto's *gloomy reign,*
The ſouls of mighty chiefs untimely ſlain;
Whoſe limbs unburied on the naked ſhore,
Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore.

But the Beauties of the *Exordium* of the *Rehearſal* will appear in their trueſt Light when compar'd with *Virgil*'s.

Arma virumque cano ——

Quite beyond the Bounds of *Common Senſe!* Firſt, *cano*, I ſing, —— how exceedingly abſurd to talk of Singing when it was never ſo much as deſign'd to be ſet to *Muſic? Homer*, indeed, might uſe the Word ἀείδω, becauſe his Poems are ſaid to be only a Pack of *Ballads* ſung up and down the Streets: But when this Cuſtom was laid aſide the Word that was expreſſive of it ought to have ſhared the ſame Fate. Here then is a monſtrous Deviation from *Common Senſe* in the firſt Step. In the next, *Cano arma virumque*, I ſing Arms and the Man, — what Abſurdity? — I ſing *of* or *concerning* Arms would be intelligible.

But leſt I ſhould be thought too partial in *Panegyric*, I muſt of Neceſſity confeſs (what few Commentators care to do) that my admired Author, even in this his admirable *Introduction*, has not quite reached the Tip-top Pinnacle of Perfection, having but too viſibly deviated from *Common Senſe*, by making an *Invocation* to the *Muſe*. I am ſurprized, he could be led into this, ſince he is not in the *leaſt indebted* to her Ideal Goddeſſhip, but drew the whole from his own prolific Genius. It can indeed be aſcribed to nothing but our Author's great Modeſty, who, reviewing the mighty Works of his Heroic Pen, could ſcarce believe himſelf the Author of ſo many Excellencies; at leaſt was aſhamed to aſſume to himſelf and monopolize ſuch prodigious Merit; and therefore call'd in this *imaginary* Dame to take her Share of it.

But I beg leave to recommend this Alteration to our Author in his next Edition. Inſtead of *rehearſe O Muſe*, read, *I will rehearſe*. Upon more mature Conſideration, I find great Reaſon to conclude this to be the original Reading, and the Former a Sophiſticated one crept in by the *Oſcitancy* and *Hallucination* of the Printer, whoſe Fingers were ſo accuſtomed to the Letters M-u-ſ-e at the Beginning of every Thing *called* a Poem, that they went mechanically to the Boxes, and ignorantly and injuriouſly inſerted them in the *Rehearſal*. That this is the Caſe appears evidently from the third Book, where the Author heroically diſclaims the Aſſiſtance of *Phœbus*, and all his *Seraglio*.

Not thee whom rumour's fabling voice delights,
Poetic fancy, to my aid I call;
But thou, hiſtoric truth, *ſupport my* ſong.

I ſhrewdly ſuſpect a Blunder of the Printer alſo in the laſt of theſe Lines. The Author, who in other Places ſo judiciouſly avoids talking of *Singing*, could never be guilty of ſuch a groſs Impropriety as to uſe the word *Song* when he was going to give us a *plain Hiſ-*

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Hiſtorical Liſt of *Xerxes*'s Army. No, no, 'twas unqueſtionably the Abortive Embryo of the Printer's Negligence, and not the mature Conception of the *Rehearſaliſt*'s Judgment, who, I dare ſay, wrote it originally thus.

But thou, hiſtoric truth, report the throng.

That is, give a full and true Account of the Army.

The next Thing that occurs is the *Entrance*, or *Opening* of the Fable; in which the *Rehearſaliſt* has greatly exceelled the three Epic Poets of *Greece*, *Rome*, and *England*. They have got an odd Whim of hurrying us into the Middle of the Action all at once, and we are either engaged in a Quarrel, as in the *Iliad*; ſouſed in a Storm, as in the *Ænead*; or what is worſe than all, plung'd into the midſt of Fire and Brimſtone, as in *Milton*, without knowing why or wherefore. And *Horace* was ſuch an old Dotard as to lay this down for a Pattern to others.

Semper ad eventum feſtinat, & in medias res,
Non ſecus ac notas, auditorem rapit.

Juſt as if a Man was obliged to follow thoſe Architects who make the Door of their Houſes one Story high, and oblige one to go down Stairs to the Ground-Floor. But the *Rehearſal* has ſhewed us a more natural Way of Building. His Entrance is where it ſhould be, *even with the Ground.*

I ſhall here obſerve of the Fable in general, that, as the Epic *Poets* by Adultering theirs with ſuch a deal of *Fiction* and *Romance*, had degraded the very Word *Fable* quite from it's original Signification of *Hiſtory*, the *Rehearſaliſt* has reſtored it to it's former Dignity: Which undoubtedly makes him as ſuperior to them, as *Truth* is to *Falſhood*: So that tho' *Homer* and *Virgil* may poſſibly keep above Ground a little longer, and not be buried quite in Oblivion; at leaſt not till *Leonidas* be tranſlated into *Greek* and *Latin*; yet, as to *Milton*, I expect to find him hereafter in no other Shops but Grocers and Chandlers. Every one knows how monſtrouſly he ſoars beyond all Limits of *Common Senſe*, each Page teems with *ſupernatural* Births and meer Prodigies of the *Imagination*: And what little he has taken from others, is derived from no better Authority, than that antique, obſolete, little read, and leſs regarded Book, the *Bible*.

The Author of *Leonidas* has with a *religious Care* avoided every Thing *Supernatural* or *Marvellous*; an Abſurdity which the Ancients frequently run into. And *Ariſtotle* was ſuch a Blockhead as to call it the *Soul* of *Epic Poetry*. You may gueſs then what Name Mr. *Pope* deſerves who boaſts of it's having been firſt *Breath'd* into it by his favourite *Homer*. But we have now ſeen a *vaſt Genius* who has *choſen a Subject ſo great and ſublime as to be able to do without theſe* ſhining Follies. *To him their Aſſiſtance is not neceſſary; his Force is equal to the hardeſt Undertaking.* [*Common Senſe*, No. 10.]

If there be any Thing that looks like a *Miracle*, it is in the latter End of the fifth Book, where *Leonidas* contrives a Stratagem that does indeed ſeem quite beyond the Reach of a *meer mortal Underſtanding*. Conſcious of this, the Author has with conſummate Judgment awakened our Expectation of ſomething inconceivably great. B. V. L. 694.

Now muſe, *the* wondrous ſtratagem diſplay,
Which Sparta's *hero, whoſe preſiding care*
Mark'd all the great viciſſitudes of fight,
And rul'd the courſe of ſlaughter, had conceiv'd,
To whelm the numerous long reſiſting foe
In hideous death, and ſignalize the day
With horrors new *to war.*

That the Reader may conceive every Part of this *wondrous Stratagem* and take a View of *Horrors* quite new to War; obſerve, that the rocky Mountain that hung perpendicularly over the Streights *near Thermopylæ* was impervious to the *Perſians*, but eaſy,

eaſy of Aſcent to the *Greeks*. The *Perſians* having crowded Part of the Streights with their numerous Troops, and the *Grecians* with Difficulty maining their Ground, *Leonidas*, with a *miraculous never enough to be admired* Preſence of Mind ordered a Party to aſcend the Mountain, get together all the great Stones they could find, fling them down the Precipice and knock all the *Perſians* o'the Head. This undoubtedly was ſuch a Fineſſe in the Art of War, ſuch a Prodigy of Foreſight and Policy as might have been, —— *dignus vindice nodus ut Deus interſit.* To have made indeed a *real* God or Goddeſs deſcend would not have been within the *Bounds of Common Senſe*, as the *premier Commentator* moſt wiſely obſerves, but *Apollo* or *Pallas* might have made him a Viſit in his *Sleep*, for *a Grecian might* dream, *that he ſaw and talked with* ſuch Gentry, *but the Abſurdity would be to ſuppoſe he did it* Waking. [*Common Senſe*, N° 10.] But upon Recollection I find no Occaſion for any of theſe *celeſtial Machines*. The *Hero* of the *Rehearſal is ſuperior to the Gods of other Poets.* [*Common Senſe*, ditto.]

This puts me in Mind of another of his Warriors who had a Spear run quite thro' his *Breaſt* and out at his *Back*, at which being not in the leaſt *ſhock't*, he very *ſedately* drew an Arrow from his Quiver, fitted it to his Bow-ſtring, took exact Aim, and ſhot it with ſuch Force that it paſt thro' the Breaſt-plate, and deep into the Breaſt of one of the firſt Rate Heroes among the *Spartans*. [Book 9. L. 584.] From this therefore we may aſſert, that as his *Hero is ſuperior* to *Virgil* and *Homer*'s Gods, ſo his Soldiers out-do even *Milton*'s *Devils.*

Let us now proceed to his Similies, in which, ſays *Common Senſe*, conſiſts his *particular Merit, particular* ev'n where every Thing is *particularly meritorious.* At firſt Sight I was afraid my Brother had a little overſhot himſelf in aſſerting ſo peremptorily that *there is not ſo much as a ſingle Simile taken from any of the Antients*, for in the next Sentence he ſays, that *he believes there is hardly any Poem in the World that has ſuch Variety of beautiful Compariſons.* Now if he only *believes* this, I at firſt thought there might poſſibly be ſome few Compariſons that he was not acquainted with; and as he was wholly unacquainted with the Author, he could not poſſibly have this Intelligence from him. But upon more mature Deliberation I find the Aſſertion right, and will undertake to prove it almoſt to a Demonſtration, ſuch a one at leaſt as a Negative is capable of, *viz.* by ſhewing that thoſe Similies which may poſſibly ſeem borrowed from the Ancients are really not ſo, but as ſpick and ſpan new as if none of the Ancients had ever learnt their A B C. I will begin with one where *Milton* has had the great good Fortune to ſpeak ſomewhat like our Author. The latter thus compares a ſhort Interval of Joy amidſt a Scene of Grief and Woe. [*Leonidas*, B. 5th L. 108.]

Like wintry clouds which opening for a time,
Tinge their black ſkirts with ſcatter'd beams of day,
Then ſwiftly cloſing on the brows of morn
Condenſe their horrors, and in thickeſt gloom
The ruddy beauty veil.

Milton too, a like Interval of Joy. B. 2. L. 488.

As when from mountain tops, the duſky clouds
Aſcending while the north-wind ſleeps, o'er ſpread
Heav'n's cheerful face, the low'ring element
Scowls o'e the darken'd landſchape ſnow or ſhow'r,
If chance the radiant ſun, with farewel ſweet,
Extend his ev'ning beam, the fields revive,
The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
Atteſt their joy, that hill and valley ring.

Now I think it will be plain to every one that compares theſe two Similies, that tho' the Ground-work of both be pretty much the ſame, yet the Superſtructure being ſo vaſtly different, the Modern can be no more

charg'd with *imitating Milton*, than Sir *Chriſtopher* may with taking his Plan of St. *Paul*'s from the old Cathedral, becauſe he built it upon the ſame Spot. *Milton*'s, a meer *Gothic* Structure, is interſpers'd with a vaſt Variety of Ornaments and Images, whereas the other is *plain*, *ſolid*, and *ſubſtantial*.

What has been ſaid of *Milton*'s Likeneſs to our Author, will hold equally good of him and *Shakeſpear*. *After ſetting down the two Paſſages, he ſays*, ſince I have quoted *Shakeſpear*, I muſt obſerve that I know no other Man but *Homer*, ſo inſufferably guilty of *errant downright Poetry*, ſcarcely ev'n *Virgil* or *Milton*. Several glorious Attempts have, from Time to Time, been made to reduce him to *Common Senſe*. *Tate* and others of the laſt Age deſerve great Applauſe, and our preſent incomparable *Laureat* would undoubtedly have far exceeded his Predeceſſors, had not the *injudicious ſenſeleſs* Town, thro' ſome unaccountable Prejudice to his Perſon, deprived itſelf of that *invaluable* Performance. After him I know no one ſo capable of that great Undertaking as the Author of *Leonidas*.

The next Perſon *he* quotes, who has ſeveral Times fortunately hit upon the ſame Sort of Similies with the Author of *Leonidas*, is *Spenſer*. *And after him he mentions* Virgil *and* Homer, *and gives ſome Inſtances out of them: And then* ſays, I cannot conclude without juſt hinting at the unparallel'd Excellence of our Author, in ſo frequently alluding in his Similies to the Heathen *Mythology*. What a noble Idea does it give one, when his Heroes are compared to *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Æolus*? The following one of *Æolus* is a proper Specimen of all the reſt. B. 4. L. 7.

——— ——— *Obedient to his will*
Th' appointed legions iſſuing from their tents,
With deepning ranks Leon *dan incloſe.*
' *So round the monarch in his ſtormy cave*
' *The winds aſſemble, from his ſable throne*
' *When Æolus ſends forth his dread command,*
' *To ſwell the main, or heav'n with clouds deform,*
' *Or bend the foreſt from the mountain's brow.*

The chief End of Similies is to give us a clearer Idea of the Thing to which they are compared. Now there ſurely never was one which ſo *compleatly* anſwered that End as this of *Æolus*. A Man that had never been upon the Parade, or at a Review in *Hyde-Park*, might have but a confus'd Notion of *deepning Ranks encloſing* the commanding Officer. But as *every Man* living has ſeen *Æolus*'s *Cave* and the Manner of his *marſhalling* his Winds, Rank and File around him, our Ideas are moſt ſurprizingly bright'ned by this Compariſon. *Painting*, they ſay, is nearly ally'd to *Verſification*, and it is evident that the Author received the firſt Hint of this *exquiſitely beautiful* Similitude from that inimitable Print of *Æolus* and his little *puffing Murmidons* in the *Dauphin* Editions of *Virgil*. Sorry am I that I have room for no more of the Heathen Gods, who every one of them in their Turn make ſo *pretty a Figure* in *Leonidas*. I ſhall only obſerve of them in general, that there never was ſince the Days of Pope *Gregory*, ſo *proper a Time* for their *twelve Godſhips* to make their Appearance in *England*; for as a good Part of the Nation ſeem determin'd to turn *Chriſtianity* out o'Doors, and a new *Election* of *Religions* will probably ſoon come on, they will certainly be in the foremoſt Rank of *Candidates*, and will probably be reſtored to their antient Dignities.

Yours, &c.

MISO-MUSAEUS.

Craſtſman, May 7. N° 566.

Of Government, and when it may be ſaid to be Free.

I SHALL not enter into any romantick Enquiries about the *Law of Nature*; or how far our *natural Liberties*

berties ought to extend, under *Society*. Let it ſuffice us to ſay, in Concurrence with the Generality of People at this Time, that all Mankind were naturally *free*, and therefore all Governments ought to be ſo.

But the great Miſtake is, that Governments are commonly divided into two Claſſes only, *viz. arbitrary Governments* and *free Governments*; whereas there are many different Sorts of each. The Governments of *France* and *Spain* are generally call'd *arbitrary*; tho' they differ as much from the Governments of *Turkey* and other *Eaſtern Empires*, where *abſolute Deſpoticiſm* prevails, as they do from the Government of *England* and other *European Nations*, where *Liberty* is ſaid to flouriſh in its fulleſt Perfection. A *Monarchy*, in the ſtrict Senſe of the Word, is *Tyranny*; and a *Commonwealth* is generally ſuppoſed to be more free than a *limited Monarchy*; of which likewiſe there are different Kinds. *Poland* is call'd both a *Kingdom*, and a *Republick*, tho' it ſeems to participate moſt of the *latter*; ſince the *Republick* hath not only a Right to elect their *Kings*, but confine them within very narrow Bounds, when they are choſen. The Government of *Sweden* is ſomewhat of the ſame Nature, with Regard to the Right of electing their *Kings*, and controlling the *Power of the Crown*. But, in one Reſpect, there is an eſſential Difference between them; for whereas the *common People* of *Poland* are abſolute Slaves, in *Sweden* they are perfectly free, and enjoy a Share in the Legiſlature. The Government of *England* differs from *both*, in ſeveral material Articles, and is juſtly eſteem'd the moſt excellent Plan of a *limited Monarchy* in the World; being admirably calculated to make both the *Prince* and the *People* happy, whilſt it is exerciſed with a due Regard to the Rules of the *Conſtitution*.

The diſtinguiſhing Privilege of *Engliſhmen*, is being *govern'd by our own Conſent*, or by *Laws of our own making*; that is, by *our Repreſentatives in Parliament*; and certainly, there cannot be a greater Bleſſing, or Security of *Liberty*, than this Privilege, when enjoy'd in its full Extent. But if the *Repreſentatives of the People* ſhould at any Time hereafter be induced, by *Penſions*, *Places*, or *other Gratuities*, to act directly contrary to the known Senſe and viſible Intereſts of the *People*, as they have formerly done; how can they be ſaid to be *govern'd by their own Conſent*, or by *Laws of their own making*?

It is incumbent on a *wiſe* and a *free People* not to arm the Crown with any Powers, under the *beſt Prince upon Earth*, which may be employ'd by a *bad one* to the Subverſion of their *Liberties*, and the Eſtabliſhment of *his own Will* for *Law*, or converting it into *Law*, whenever he pleaſes.

I am ready to acknowledge, that this is not our Caſe at preſent, and I hope never will; but the *Power of the Crown* is already ſo extenſive, that we ought at leaſt to guard againſt any *farther Growth of it*, unleſs in Caſes of the utmoſt Extremity.

I believe nobody will deny that the *Civil Liſt* is ſufficiently large to anſwer *all the Purpoſes*, for which it was granted; and it is well known that it hath been hitherto punctually apply'd to them; as it will, no doubt, for the future.

Our *Taxes*, God knows, have been carried as far as the *preſent Circumſtances of the People* can well bear; tho' no farther, to be ſure, than the *Neceſſities of the Government*, and the *Welfare of the Nation*, abſolutely required. I cannot explain our Condition, in this Reſpect, better than by comparing it with that of a *neighbouring Kingdom*, which does not enjoy the ſame Bleſſings of *Liberty*.

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The *People* of *France* are generally computed at 20,000,000 and the *Revenue* at 11,000,000 *per Annum*. The *People of England* are computed at 8,000,000 and the *Revenue* at 7,000,000 *l. per Annum*. From whence it appears, according to this Calculation, that if every Individual in *France* were to be tax'd alike, it would amount but to 11 *s.* a Head; whereas if the ſame Method were to be follow'd in *England*, it would amount to about 17 *s.* 6 *d.* a Head. But what is this Difference, in Compariſon to our *Liberties*, which ought to be conſider'd as the *Purchaſe* for our *Taxes*?

It was impoſſible for us to raiſe *ſuch a vaſt yearly Sum*, without having Recourſe to *Exciſes*, and an almoſt infinite Number of *penal Laws*; which Sir *Joſiah Child*, I think, calls the *beſt ſumptuary Laws*, that can be invented; and ſo, indeed, they are; for they not only make all the *Neceſſaries of Life* much dearer in themſelves, by the *Taxes* laid upon them; but likewiſe put us to another extraordinary Expence, by the *Method of Collection*, and thereby have a natural Tendency to check the preſent, reigning Spirit of *Luxury*.

But as *ſuch coercive Laws* are always apt to make the *People* uneaſy, and ſometimes tumultuous, we have been obliged to keep up a *large ſtanding Army*, in Times of Peace, to curb their Inſolence, and put the Law in Execution. Nay, ſo audacious are they grown, eſpecially in *Scotland*, that they ſometimes have the Boldneſs to oppoſe even *theſe ſacred Guardians of our Liberties*, as well as the *civil Power*; which makes it thought neceſſary to extend the *penal Laws* ſtill farther, if not to increaſe the *Army*.

It muſt be confeſs'd that *theſe neceſſary Evils* (for ſo they are) have been chiefly occaſion'd by the vaſt Load of our *Debts*, contracted in the dear Cauſe of *Liberty*, and for the Preſervation of the *Balance of Europe*; the *latter* of which is now ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd, that we have an Opportunity of ſecuring our *Liberties*, by a Reduction of the *publick Expences*, and paying off our *Debts*; which is the only Specifick, in our preſent Caſe.

Common-Senſe, May 7. N° 14.

Of the Intereſt of this Nation, with reſpect to foreign Conqueſts.

ALMOST every Age has its peculiar Spirit, which is commonly the Spirit of the Court. In pacifick Reigns, the Bleſſings of Peace and Plenty are never unprais'd, tho' often unfelt; the Court gives the Word, and the willing Nation echoes it back. Thus, in the pacifick Reign of *Harry* VII. the People, tho' groaning under the unſatiable Exactions of that greedy Monarch, and his rapacious Inſtruments *Empſon* and *Dudley*, moſt chearfully ſung the Song of Peace, and aſcribed to the Wiſdom of their Prince a Tranquillity they only ow'd to his Avarice, and the Diſtruſt of his Title.

On the contrary, in the Reigns of warlike and enterprizing Princes, the *Engliſh* Valour and Glory have been the Topicks of Converſation, and even the Comforts of a People labouring under Taxes and Miſery. It is aſtoniſhing to find with how much more Spirit than Common Senſe, this Nation ſupported the Pretenſions of our *Edwards* and *Henrys* upon *France*, and with what Alacrity they ſpilt their Blood, and ſpent their Treaſure, to make themſelves in reality a Province to, and dependent upon that Nation. This was ſo glaring a Truth, that I can hardly conceive how it could eſcape them; ſince it is obvious, there is no manner of Difference to this Nation, between conquering *France*, and being conquer'd by it. In either Caſe *Paris* would equally have been the Seat of

Empire, and whether a *Valois* or a *Plantagenet* wore the Crown, *England* would only have felt its Weight, but never have seen the Luſtre of it.

Smaller Dominions united to greater, no matter upon what Terms, are ſoon abſorb'd in them, and become dependent upon them. Thus, tho' it was glorious for *Alexander* to have conquer'd *Aſia* with a handful of *Macedonians*, *Macedon* ſoon became a Province to its new Conqueſts. And the beſt it could have hoped for, would have been his intire Oblivion, inſtead of being ſo far remember'd by him, as every now and then to receive from him ſome hungry Deputy to oppreſs and plunder them.

Scotland, tho' united to *England*, not by the Fate of Arms, but by the Succeſſion of their Prince, ſoon felt this Truth; for from the Time of that Union, it has never been the Reſidence of any of their Kings, nor even of that pacifick Monarch whoſe Country it was; and who, from the Time he ſucceeded to the Crown of *England*, thought it properer, and, it may be, pleaſanter to reſide here.

The Strength of this Iſland conſiſts in that Fortification which Nature has provided for it, and with which it is ſurrounded. *England*, upon the ſame Continent with the other Powers of *Europe*, would make an inconſiderable Figure in Compariſon with them; but divided from them by the Sea, it is, or at leaſt might be, free from thoſe Dangers and Diſturbances which their jarring Intereſts perpetually occaſion; and great in its native Strength, might be courted by them all, and interpoſe, when proper, with Weight and Efficacy.

But we muſt loſe all theſe Advantages, if we acquire any Poſſeſſion upon the Continent. If they are more conſiderable than *England*, *England* only catches a Tartar: If they are inconſiderable Scraps of beggarly Territories, they infallibly involve us in Quarrels they are not worth, and in Expences which the Fee-Simple of them, if ſold, would not defray.

This being then always the Caſe, we may, in this Inſtance at leaſt, aſſert, that we are wiſer than our Anceſtors, in avoiding Conqueſts, which they ſo eagerly purſued. We have all of *France* that I hope we ever ſhall have, the Title, and the Arms; the one ſounds very well in the Style of our Kings, and the other looks very well in their Eſcutcheons, but the Reality would ruin us.

I am aware, that ſome diſcontented People may urge all theſe Arguments againſt thoſe Electoral Dominions his Majeſty poſſeſſes in *Germany*, and pretend they are diſadvantageous and burdenſome to this Country; but with Submiſſion to theſe ſhallow Politicians, the Caſe is exactly the contrary, as I ſhall prove.

The Electorate, tho' poſſeſs'd by his Majeſty, is not annex'd to this Kingdom, and we are ſo far from being involv'd in any of the Troubles of the Continent on that Account, that it is expreſly provided againſt by the Act of Limitations; which has been ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd, that ſince the Connexion we have had with thoſe Dominions, *England* has never been ingaged in a War at all.

As to the Country itſelf, tho' an extenſive, and to be ſure a delightful one, yet it is ſo far inferior to *England*, that we can never apprehend that any of our Monarchs will make it the Place of their Reſidence any longer than the Urgency of their Occaſions abſolutely requires. This likewiſe appears to have been the Opinion of the Legiſlature, by their repealing, in the ſecond Year of the late King, that Clauſe in the Act of Limitations, which reſtrain'd his Majeſty from leaving the Kingdom without the Conſent of Parliament; wiſely foreſeeing that *Hanover* could never, by Way of Preference, become the Seat of Empire.

Nor

Nor is it an abſolute Government, and, of Conſequence, can give our Princes neither a Taſte of, nor Reliſh for unlimited Power; the People have Liberties and Privileges, and the better to ſecure them, there are States compoſed of wiſe and grave Perſons, and hitherto, as I am inform'd, uncorrupted.

The late Acquiſitions of *Bremen* and *Verden* give us no ſmall Weight in the *North*, that had we (as we ſhall not) been ingaged in twenty Wars with *Sweden* upon this Account, our Money would ſtill be well ſpent, and our Blood well ſpilt.

Daily Gazatteer, N° 579 and 586.

CIVIL LIBERTY, *its* Extent, *and* Reſtraints.

LIBERTY is little underſtood by thoſe, who think it hard, and a Sort of Slavery, that they cannot ſay and do what they pleaſe in a *free Nation*. It is generally ſaid, That *Words ought to be free*. Yes, innocent Words, ſuch as diſturb not Society, nor injure any of its Members. It is certain, that as private Men may be undone by unbridled Slander, ſo may the Publick be ſhaken, and even overturned, by prevailing Miſrepreſentations, and the unbridled Voice of Sedition.

No Country, therefore, not even this Country, the freeſt of all others, can permit an univerſal Latitude of Speaking and Writing; and the *Liberty of the Preſs*, ſo highly and ſo juſtly valued amongſt us, is and muſt be ſubject to certain Bounds. No Man, I preſume, will contend, that by the *Liberty of the Preſs* any Man ſhould have the Privilege of reviling the Perſon of the King, or of traducing his Government; or of treating the two Houſes of Parliament contumelioufly; or of perſuading the People that they are *oppreſſed and enſlaved*, and *ought to revolt*; or of ſpreading Calumnies at random upon Men and Women of all Ranks, or of any Rank. The *Liberty of the Preſs*, is, therefore, no more, even in *England*, than the reaſonable Liberty of Writing and Publiſhing whatever is not inconſiſtent with the *Engliſh* Laws and Conſtitution.

As I am a perfect Friend to ſuch Liberty, I cannot wiſh it under any new Reſtrictions; for tho' this Liberty is often abuſed, I fear thoſe Reſtrictions would be as much abuſed; and the Abuſe of Penal Laws is generally worſe than the Abuſe of Liberty. The Abuſe of either is very wicked, and muſt be attended with miſchievous Conſequences; and they have much to anſwer for, who commit that Abuſe.

Power unreſtrained is Tyranny; Liberty unreſtrained, does certainly produce Slavery. As all Government ſubſiſts in a great Meaſure, by Reſtraints and Terrors, the Idea of abſolute Liberty utterly excludes the Idea of Government, and conſequently, of Society; which may ſubſiſt, tho' unhappily, under Tyranny, but cannot where there is no Reſtraint at all.

It is even neceſſary to the Exiſtence and Preſervation of Society, that the governing Power ſhould be abſolute, and have the ſovereign Diſpoſal of the Properties and Perſons of all the Individuals. Since whatever, or whoever, has a Latitude to oppoſe it, may deſtroy it; and therefore no Government whatever admits ſuch a Latitude.

Thus the Power of our three Eſtates is as abſolute as that of the Great *Turk*; but as they are themſelves bound and concluded by their own Laws, Individuals are ſecure by being upon the ſame Foot with their Governors: And this general and equal Security, this Certainty of what is allowed and what is forbid, by certain and unvariable Laws, is what we call Liberty.

But every Government whatſoever

ever is inveſted with a ſupreme, uncontrollable Power of preſerving itſelf. For if it could not preſerve itſelf, how could it preſerve its People? Nor is any Government upon Earth, even ſuch Governments as are armed with the moſt ſudden and terrible Powers and Methods of Puniſhment, able to ſtand againſt a Torrent of Sedition unreſtrained. A ſingle, angry, and declaiming Beggar, by ſtanding in the Market-Place of *Conſtantinople*, and animating the Crowd about him againſt the Government, occaſion'd a prodigious Revolution there in a Day or two, made and depoſed Emperors and Miniſters at his Pleaſure, acted the Sovereign in Rags, and gave Laws to that mighty Empire.

It is not a ſufficient Anſwer, to alledge that the People had been firſt greatly oppreſſed, tho' it be true; for under that Sort of Government they are always oppreſſed, and the Change of their Governors is only the Change of Oppreſſors. But it is ſtill very poſſible, by the ſame Means, by continual Invectives and Slander, thrown out without Check, upon any Government whatſoever, to inceníe the People againſt it, to make them believe that they are oppreſſed when they are not, or to fill them with the Preſages and Fears of Oppreſſion, when none is intended: Nay, the very Methods taken to eaſe and relieve them, ſhall be miſconſtrued into Engines of Slavery, and fill them with Terror and Hate, inſtead of Joy and Gratitude. The *Turks* would think you blaſphem'd, if you talk'd to them of reſtraining or qualifying their ſavage Monarchy; and the *Spaniards* would burn you, if you propoſed to ſecure them from being burned, by deſtroying that earthly Hell, the Inquiſition.

What one Act of Oppreſſion, what ſingle Sign of Slavery, excited the Late Rebellion? Yet the People, or a great Part of them, believed that they were undone, or going to be undone, becauſe Incendiaries and Slanderers, void of Conſcience, told them ſo. The Multitude have not the keeping of their own Senſes, whenever they are well heated by Declaimers, or miſled by Deceivers; whatever they are then told, they believe, and not the leſs for its being falſe, or even impoſſible.

Of what Concern was it to the People of *Great Britain*, that the Earl of *Mar*, always reckoned an artful Man, and the Duke of *Ormond*, never eſteemed a very able Man, were removed from their Employments by a Prince, who thought he had more Reaſon to diſmiſs them than to confide in them? Did the King in thus diſmiſſing them, at all ſtrain the Prerogative, or violate any one Law? Yet we all remember what Outrages followed that Diſmiſſion, eſpecially that of the Duke, as if he had been the *Atlas* of the Church, and the Church muſt have fallen with him, inſomuch that to ſave the Church and reſtore her Champion, all the Acts of Fury, Perjury, Irreligion, and Madneſs that could be committed, were committed; the vileſt Calumnies were publiſhed, in defence of the Cauſe of Truth; and a barbarous Rebellion was raiſed by the Advocates for Paſſive Obedience.

SOLON.

Grubſtreet Journal, May 12. N° 385.

A Dialogue *between Capt.* Pet, *Mr.* Littledone, *Don* Roberto, *and Mr.* Sneerwell, *concerning an Epic Poem, intitled*, Jack the Giant-killer. (See p. 238.)

CAPT. *Pet.* By G—d, the beſt Poem in the World.

Mr. *L.* Don *R.* Oh! never was the like.

Mr. *S.* Well, ſhall we examine it.

Don *R.* Oh, Sir, you are a Critic. Pray do you underſtand Mathematics?

Mr. *S.* Mathematics, Sir! Why what

what has Mathematics to do with Poetry?

D. *R.* Only, Sir, this: That no Man ever was a Judge of any Thing without being a Mathematician. What made *Horace* and *Boſſu* Aſſes; *Dacier* an Owl, and *Ariſtotle*——yes *Ariſtotle* had a little Senſe; but nothing, Sir, nothing, depend upon it, to what we have in theſe Days.

Mr. *S.* If you'll give me leave, you ſhall hear the Argument of each Book. [*reads*]

1. A Poetico-hiſtorical Account, how *Jack* went to an old *Witch*, to enquire how to make himſelf glorious. How the old *Witch* told him he muſt be knock'd on the Head at the *Straits of Gibraltar*. How *Jack*, who laugh-ed at all Witchcraft, followed the old *Witch*'s Advice, but firſt took leave of his Wife and Family.

2. How *Jack* travell'd and travell'd, till he came to the *Straits:* How the *Giant* ſent Word to *Jack*, he would eat him up: How *Jack* bid him kiſs his A---e.

3. How the *Giant* brought all the World to fight againſt little *Jack*.

4,5. How *Jack*'s Men fought with the *Giant*'s Men: But neither *Jack*, no the *Giant* did any Thing.

6,7. How Prince *Prettyman* fell in Love: And how Miſs *Airy* kill'd herſelf for the Man ſhe never ſpoke to.

8, 9. How *Jack*, who for a long while, ſay'd nothing, ſay'd his Prayers, went out, and was knock'd on the Head.

——With Submiſſion, our Poem wants Ornament and Greatneſs. Beſides, how are we intereſted in the Subject! what's little *Jack* to us, or we to *Jack*?

Mr. *L.* Intereſted, Sir! why I'll tell you how we are Intereſted. Little *Jack* is——and the *Giant* is—— Now you know, Sir.——Then, here are Lines againſt Bribery and Corruption.

Mr. *S.* Bad Things indeed, but--

Mr. *L.* But, Sir! Why, Sir, if you'll defend ſuch Things as theſe, I muſt tell you——

Mr. *S.* Dear, Mr. *L.* let us now mind our preſent Deſign.

Mr. *L.* I muſt own, that I have been ſo taken up of late in getting my own Speeches by heart, that I have not had Time to read little *Jack*'s as carefully as I ſhould. But the *Poem* ſhall paſs, that's pos.

Sneerwell reads,

The glorious deeds, and glorious death rehearſe,
O muſe, of little glorious Jack *in verſe.*

Pray, Gentlemen, is not this *glorious* Beginning ſomething like the *Cantabo nobile bellum*, which *Horace* objects to?

Don *R.* Z---, Sir: I ſay'd, long ago, *Horace* was an Aſs. We ſtrike out a new Light: We ſcorn the Rules of the Ancients.

Here the Company fell into a very warm Debate, whether *Horace* had any Senſe or no. In the mean while Mr. *Sneerwell* ſlipt out of the Company, and left them all quarrelling among themſelves.

Weekly Miſcellany, May 13. N°. 229.

Some Queries in relation to Ireland: *From a Piece call'd the* Queriſt, *publiſh'd there.*

WHETHER it would not be an horrible Thing to ſee our *Matrons* make *Dreſs* and *Play* their *chief* Concern?

Whether our *Ladies* might not as well *endow Monaſteries, as wear Flanders Lace?* And whether it be not true, that *Popiſh Nuns* are maintained by *Proteſtant Contributions?*

Whether it be not a notorious Truth, that our *Iriſh* Ladies are on a Foot as to *Dreſs*, with thoſe of *three* Times their Fortune in *England?*

Whether it be not even certain, that the Matrons of this forlorn Country ſend out a *greater* Proportion of its Wealth for *fine Apparel*, than any other Females on the whole Surface of the terraqueous Globe?

Whether the *Expence*, great as it is, be the *greateſt* Evil? But whether this *Folly* may not produce *many other* Follies?

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Follies; an entire *Derangement* of *Domeſtic Life*, abſurd *Manners*, *Neglect* of *Duties*, bad *Mothers*, a *general Corruption* in *both* Sexes?

Whether therefore a Tax on all *Gold* and *Silver* in *Apparel*, on all *Foreign Laces* and *Silks*, may not raiſe a Fund for a *Bank*, and at the ſame Time have *other ſalutary Effects* on the Publick?

Whether *bad Management* may not be worſe than Slavery? And whether *any Part* of *Chriſtendom* be in a *more languiſhing* Condition than *Ireland*?

But whether any Kingdom in *Europe* be ſo *good* a Cuſtomer at *Bourdeaux*, as *Ireland*?

Whether the *Iriſh* do not yearly conſume of *French Wines* about 1000 Tuns more than either *Sweden* or *Denmark*; and yet whether thoſe Nations pay *ready Money*, as the *Iriſh* do?

Whether there be not every Year *more Caſh* circulated at the *Card-Tables* of *Dublin*, than at all the *Fairs* of *Ireland*?

Whether it be not evident, that not *Gold*, but *Induſtry*, cauſeth a Country to flouriſh?

Whether it would not be a *filly Project* in any Nation to hope to grow *rich* by *prohibiting* the *Exportation* of Gold and Silver?

Whether there can be a greater Miſtake in Politics, than to meaſure the *Wealth* of a Nation by its *Gold* and *Silver*?

Whether *Gold* and *Silver* be not a *Drug*, where they do not *promote* Induſtry? Whether they be not even the *Bane* and *Undoing* of an *idle People*?

Whether *Gold* will not cauſe either *Induſtry* or *Vice* to flouriſh? And whether a Country, where it flowed in *without Labour*, muſt not be *wretched* and *diſſolute* like an Iſland inhabited by *Buccaneers*?

Whether *Arts* and *Virtue* are not likely to thrive, where Money is made a *Means* to *Induſtry*? But whether Money *without this* would be a Bleſſing to *any* People?

Whether therefore *Miſſiſipi*, *South-Sea*, and ſuch like Schemes, were not calculated for public Ruin?

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THE Gentleman who wrote the following Letter (on his Death Bed,) to an intimate Friend, was a remarkable Example of the Viciſſitudes and Changes of this Life. From the Poſſeſſion of an ample Fortune (of which he was unjuſtly depriv'd) he was hurry'd down to a very mean State, hardly able to purchaſe himſelf the common Neceſſaries of Life; but it prov'd a happy Change for him, for he had now Time to apply himſelf ſeriouſly to the Diſcharge of his Duty, and to ſettle thoſe Accounts which every Man ſooner or later is deſirous of doing. He was never heard once to repine at his Fate, but with patient *Job* acknowledg'd all for the beſt; he found there was no Dependence on the *Children of this World*, and that all was Vanity and Vexation in it. He bore a lingering Illneſs with the greateſt Fortitude, and dy'd a Pattern of Virtue, Piety and Reſignation.

To Mr. *E*—— *K*——.

Dear Sir,

AT laſt my Diſtemper has got the better of the Skill of the Phyſician, and the Care of my dear Attendants. Adieu World and Vanity! Weary of a noiſy tedious Life, I retire to a Place where ſhall no Vexation come. Happy for me that I have laid up Treaſure in Heaven, which will ſtand me in more Stead than all the Pomp and Pageantry of this ſublunary Spot! My dear Friend, one of my greateſt Griefs is to be parted from thee. Thou wert my only Solace of Life: Thou wert

the dear Companion of my moſt ſerious Hours; the Partaker of all my Thoughts. But we are not immortal. The Struggle I am now going thro', you will in a ſmall Space of Time experience yourſelf. Oh! that you may with the ſame Pleaſure ſubmit yourſelf to the Stroke of Fate, with the ſame Reſignation adore the Decrees of Providence, and die with aſſur'd Hope of everlaſting Joys hereafter. Oh! 'tis a Conſummation devoutly to be wiſh'd! *Methinks the nearer I approach the Borders of Eternity, the more elated I ſeem: And as the Springs of Life decay, I am more and more inſpir'd with the Thoughts of my future Happineſs. I have a Thouſand and ten Thouſand Things to ſay, but the grim Meſſenger grows Impatient, and I have only Time, in the laſt Agony of my departing Soul, to wiſh your Welfare; and ſubſcribe myſelf*

Yours in Death,

R—— F—n—n.

Craftſman, May 14. N°. 567.

Obſervations on the Propoſal of a Tax upon Urine, *&c.* *(See p. 209.)*

Mr. D'ANVERS,

I NEITHER intirely approve, nor diſlike your Correſpondent's Scheme, for prohibiting the Uſe of all Liquors, except *plain Water*, and laying a Tax upon *Urine*, in lieu of them. In the firſt Place, the Manner of levying this Tax may be attended with great Difficulties. Hiſtory does not inform us how it was collected amongſt the *Romans*, in the Time of *Veſpaſian*. It is generally ſuppoſed, indeed, that there were publick watering Places in the Streets of *Rome*, where every Body was obliged to ſtop, when they had any Occaſion, and pay a certain Toll for it. But this Method muſt be liable to great Frauds, eſpecially in the Night-Time; and therefore I would humbly propoſe the following Amendments.

1. That all Perſons ſhall be obliged to keep a regular Account of what *Water* they make every Day, as in the Caſe of *Coffee*, *Tea* and *Chocolate*, in a Book deliver'd to them by the *Officers of Exciſe*, for that Purpoſe; which they ſhall likewiſe be obliged to deliver back upon *Oath*, when fill'd up.

2. That all *ſcattering of Water*, or concealing it, may be deem'd *Running*, and liable to the ſame Penalties, as by the late *Smuggling-Act*, and other Statutes.

3. That the *Officers of Exciſe* ſhall have Power to enter any Bed-Chamber, or other Place, where they ſuſpect any Water to be clandeſtinely made, or conceal'd, either by Day or by Night; and any Perſon, or Perſons, obſtructing the Officer, ſhall, for every ſuch Offence, forfeit 100*l.*

4. If the Perſon ſuſpected of any ſuch Concealment ſhould be a *Woman*, it will be proper, that a *female Officer* be appointed to make the Enquiry; and if a Man and his Wife, who cohabit together, ſhould be ſuſpected of combining in the ſame Fraud, it may be lawful for an Officer of each Sex to enter the Room, attended by a Peace-Officer, if in the Night-Time.

Another Objection to this Scheme is, that the *greateſt Peer of the Realm* will not pay more than the *pooreſt Manufacturer*, or *Day-Labourer*; which will render it a more unequal Impoſition than the *Window-Tax*, the *Salt-Duty*, the *Gin Act*, or any of our late Duties upon Commodities.

Beſides, I am apprehenſive that the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentlemen of large Eſtates, in Land, Money, or Places, will never conſent to put themſelves upon a Level with their Inferiors, by drinking of Water only, for the Good of the Publick.

I therefore make a farther Propoſal, either that the Nobility and Gentry ſhould pay for their *Urine*, in ſome Kind of Proportion to their Income;

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Income; or that they may be allow'd the free Uſe of *Wine* and other Liquors, ſubject to *double Duties*, for the Sake of the *Revenue*, which would be no Loſer upon that Account.

I am likewiſe aware that this Scheme will be ſtrongly oppoſed by *three Bodies* of People, who compoſe two thirds *of the Nation*, and have a vaſt Deal of Weight in it.

The firſt are the *Ladies*; who will not eaſily conſent to part with their *Coffee*, *Tea*, and *Chocolate*, as well as now and then a *little*, *quieting Draught*, to which they have been ſo long uſed. But as they are to receive a Benefit from *this Act*, which they never enjoy'd before, it may be preſumed that Time will reconcile them to it.

The ſecond is the *Faculty of Phyſick*, who will be utterly undone if this Scheme of *Water-drinking* ſhould take Place; eſpecially if our Diet ſhould be laid under the ſame prudent Regulations. But if the Nobility and Gentry are excepted out of this Act, according to my Propoſal, the learned Faculty will be ſtill able to pick up a tolerable Livelihood.

The third Sort of People, who will likewiſe oppoſe this Scheme, is the whole Body of *Vintners*, *Inn-holders*, *Alehouſe-keepers*, *Coffee-men*, and *other Publicans*. But as the Wiſdom of this Age hath diſcover'd that they are really a *Nuſance*, and ought not to be encouraged by a *ſober*, *induſtrious*, *trading* Nation, I believe little Regard will be paid to them; who may be allow'd, like the *Diſtillers*, to follow any other Buſineſs, either on the *Highway*, or otherwiſe, as they can beſt diſpoſe of themſelves.

As for the *Army*, if there ſhould be any Difficulty in quartering them, when all the *publick Houſes* are demoliſh'd, it will be eaſy to build *Barracks*; which will keep them more unmix'd with the *ſeditious Populace*, and at no great Expence to the Nation.

But my chief Objection to this Scheme is, that I am afraid it will not intirely make good the *preſent Revenue*; eſpecially that ſacred Part of it, appropriated to the Uſe of the *Civil-Liſt*.

It is almoſt incredible, at firſt Sight, that any Nation ſhould pay *three Millions* a Year for their *Drinkables* only; but when we conſider the Exciſes upon *Beer* and *Ale*, *Mum*, *Cyder* and *Perry*, *Brandy*, *Rum*, *Arrack*, and all *Spirits*, *Coffee*, *Tea* and *Chocolate*, *foreign Wines*, and *home-made Liquors*, which are now to be call'd *Sweets*, your Correſpondent's Computation ſeems to be very moderate; and conſidering the growing Increaſe of many of them, by the happy Prevalence of *Luxury*, I cannot help doubting whether the new Tax, which he propoſes to ſubſtitute in their ſtead, will anſwer the ſame laudable Purpoſes.

I therefore propoſe it to Conſideration, whether the Publick ought not to have a Right to the *Urine* itſelf, as well as to the *Tax* upon it; for great Quantities of this Commodity being made uſe of in *Dying*, *Chymiſtry*, *Allum Works*, and other Manufactures, it would certainly bring in a conſiderable Sum; tho' *Water-drinking* would in a great Meaſure deprive it of thoſe *ſaline* Particles, which render it chiefly valuable.

Let it be alſo conſider'd whether this Tax might not be extended to ſome other *Evacuations*, and collected in the ſame Manner, by inſpecting all *publick Houſes of Eaſe*, and ordering *private Conveniencies* to be ſtamp'd, for the future, like *Dice*, *Cards*, &c.

But if all theſe Propoſals ſhould be judged impracticable, or improper, I have another to offer, directly contrary to your Correſpondent's Scheme, which I apprehend will effectually anſwer the Deſign; that is, by laying a Tax upon *Water* itſelf, inſtead of prohibiting *all other Liquors*; which will either bring in a very

great annual Sum, if the People make Uſe of *Water* only, or drive them to *Beer* and *Ale*, and thereby occaſion a vaſt Increaſe to the *Civil-Liſt*.

I am ſenſible that ſuch a Tax will occaſion great Clamours amongſt the *common People*, and perhaps be compared, by ſome Perſons of an higher Rank, to the *Roman* Puniſhment, *Aquæ & Ignis Interdictio*, or *forbidding the Uſe of* Water *and* Fire; which being neceſſary to the Preſervation of Life, was only another Term for *Baniſhment*. But I hope a due Diſtinction will be made between a *Tax* upon Water and a *total Prohibition* of it. Beſides, it is well known that *Fire* is already tax'd; and why ſhould not *Water* too, for the ſame good Purpoſes of Government?

R. DUDLEY.

Common Senſe, May 14. N° 15.

The Rat *and the* Statue: *A* Chineſe *Allegory*.

HOEN *Kong* ask'd his Miniſter *Koan Tchong*, what was the moſt to be fear'd in a Government? *Koan Tchong* anſwer'd, in my Mind, Sir, nothing is more to be dreaded, than what they call *the Rat in the Statue*. *Hoen Kong* not underſtanding the Allegory, *Koan Tchong* explained it to him. You know, Sir, ſaid he, that it is a common Practice to erect Statues to the Genius of the Place; theſe Statues are of Wood, hollow within, and painted without. If a Rat gets into one of 'em, one does not know how to get him out; one does not dare to make uſe of Fire, for fear of burning the Wood; one can't dip it in Water, for fear of waſhing off the Colours; ſo that the Regard one has for the Statue, ſaves the Rat that's got into it. Such, Sir, are in every Government thoſe, *who, without Virtue or Merit, have gain'd the Favour of their Prince: They ruin every Thing; one ſees it, one laments it, but one does not know how to remedy it.*

I approve of the Moral of the Story, and am very much of *Koan Tchong*'s Mind; but how he came to be of that Mind himſelf, I can't eaſily comprehend; for our Author ſays he was a Miniſter, and conſequently of the *Rat Kind*. But as he does not ſay, that he was firſt, or ſole Miniſter, I am inclin'd to think he was only one of thoſe who have the Name, and Salary of Miniſters, without any of the Power; and who are often glad to give a Slap by the by to the firſt Miniſter, tho' they have not Courage enough openly to attack him.

I cannot ſay this Allegory is ſo apt as I expected from a People ſo much vers'd in that Manner of Inſtruction. The Parallel drawn between the Emperor, and a wooden Statue, is ſo uncourtly, that I could have wiſh'd our Author had inform'd us, how his *Chineſe* Majeſty reliſh'd the Similitude; for, in reality, it was making no Difference between an *anointed Head* and a *wooden one*. A Rat may very well eat his Way into a Statue unſeen, unfelt, and unſmelt: But can a Miniſter, eſpecially ſuch a one as is here deſcrib'd, without Virtue or Merit, nibble himſelf into his Prince's Favour, and the Prince not *ſmell a Rat?* I will admit, that the *Eaſtern* Monarchs have not that Degree of Sagacity, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhes the *European* ones; and I will allow, that they are more likely to be impos'd upon by the Artifices of a deſigning Miniſter; their indolent and retir'd Way of Life, ſoaking in the Arms of their imperial Conſorts, or wantoning in the Embraces of their Concubines, not giving 'em the ſame Opportunities of ſeeing or being inform'd. But ſtill, when this general Ruin is univerſally ſeen and lamented as *Koan Tchong* expreſſes it, the unanimous Voice, and juſt Complaints of a ruin'd and oppreſs'd

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preſs'd People, muſt reach, affect, and rouze his Majeſty, if he be but ever ſo little above a Statue. If not, if ſuch an Impoſſibility could be ſuppos'd, I muſt then confeſs, that the Allegory of the painted Wood is ſo far juſt, as that the *King's Head* would properly be *but the Sign of the Government*.

The Concluſion *Koan Tchong* draws from this Allegory, is no leſs falſe and abſurd. Such tender Regard for the Statue, would much better have become an *Hibernian* Courtier, than a *Chineſe* one; for it is ſaying, in very good *Iriſh*, that the Statue, from the Regard one has for it, ſhall be entirely devour'd, for fear of being a little damag'd or defaced. Whereas, I ſhould rather think, that the beſt Way of ſhowing that Regard for the Statue, would be, by ſaving as much as ever one could of it, from the further Depredations of the Rat; even tho' it were to coſt a Limb or two, as is frequently practiſed upon human Bodies. But to do *Koan Tchong* Juſtice, I don't impute his Way of Reaſoning to his Want of Parts; I rather think it was a Piece of miniſterial Logick, which has been uſed in other Countries beſides *China*. For he ſo cloſely connects the Rat and the Statue, and, conſequently, the King and the Miniſter, that, in effect, he makes them but one Fleſh, and one would think they grew together like the two * *Hungarian* Girls; by this Way of Reaſoning, whoever attack'd this all-devouring Rat, *alias* Miniſter, was an Enemy to the Statue, *alias* King; and, *vice verſa*, thoſe that were Friends to Rat and Miniſter, were Friends to Statue and King.

Let us now conſider the Allegory literally. Theſe *ſacred, painted, tawdry Images*, are erected to the *Genii* of the Place; they are the Productions of Superſtition, and, probably, the Creatures of the Bonzes, who dub 'em Sacred, and exhibit them as Repreſentations (wooden ones, alas!) of the Divinity. Sacrilegious Rats eat their Way into 'em, and endanger their wooden Exiſtence. What's to be done? Why truly they are to devour with Impunity, for fear the Statue ſhould receive ſome ſmall Damage in the Reſcue; as if there were not a thouſand Ways of coming at the Rat with little or no Danger to the Statue. For Inſtance, ſhaking it ſoundly, might probably make his Dwelling ſo uneaſy, that he might be willing to quit it.

There is another obvious Expedient, which is, ſending a Cat up after him; but to this, I own, I have ſome Objection myſelf, becauſe, tho' the Cat would kill the Rat, he would poſſibly remain in his Place, and be as unwilling to quit it. But is it poſſible that the uſeful Art of Rat-catching ſhould be unknown to ſo ingenious a People as the *Chineſe*? If it is, I would adviſe our *Eaſt-India* Company to ſend 'em a Rat-catcher or two next Voyage, for whom they might expect as conſiderable Returns, as *Whittington* is reported to have made by his Cat. Tho' I am very ſorry to ſay it, the Noble Art and Myſtery of Rat-catching has greatly declined even here of late.

But can one ſuppoſe, that the Piety of the Bonzes would ſuffer 'em to remain indifferent Spectators of ſuch ſacrilegious Outrages? And that they who can diſlodge a Devil, can't get out a Rat? Unleſs one has little Charity enough to believe, that the Bonzes, by a Sort of Commutation, are not unwilling to let the Rats take Sanctuary in their Statues, to be rid of 'em themſelves; and ſo, by an intereſted and impious Connivance, give up their Gods, to ſave their Bacon.

To come now to the allegorical

* *Two* Hungarian *Girls, that were ſhewn ſome Years ago as a fine Sight, and who were faſten'd together by the Rump.*

Senſe

Senſe, which *Koan Tchong* has ſuch a Mind to eſtabliſh. A Miniſter without Virtue and Merit, gains the Favour of his Prince, he ruins every Thing; one ſees it, one laments it, but one does not know how to remedy it. To me the Remedy ſeems very eaſy and obvious; take the Miniſter away from him, and prevent the Ruin that threaten'd both him and his Country. I don't doubt, indeed, but the Miniſter would, during the Operation, cry out, like *Koan Tchong*, you attack the King, you deface the King, you wound the King thro' my Sides, and would plead the King, as Women do their Bellies, to reſpite Execution; but ſurely, upon Examination, a Degree of Sagacity much inferior to that of Matrons, would be ſufficient to bring him in not Quick with King, but a diſtinct and ſeparate Body, eaſily mov'd, without the leaſt Danger to the Sovereign.

Old Whig, May 19. N° 115.

Caſe of the City of Edinburgh, *&c.*

SIR,

THE Exiſtence of our Government (as alſo of all others that are free) depends upon a juſt Reverence for the Perſons and Authority of our Governors, on the one Hand; and a due Tenderneſs for the Rights of the People on the other. Whatſoever tends to the Weakening of theſe Principles, either in the Governors or the Governed, doth ſo far tend to the Diſſolution of the Government, and Subverſion of the publick Peace. Offences muſt be animadverted upon, and Malefactors puniſhed; but then the Puniſhment ought always to fall upon the Heads of the Offenders, and upon them only. The mutual Affection between the Prince and the People in their publick politick Capacity, is never to be infringed. No Offence ought, upon any Occaſion, to be ſuppoſed in either of thoſe Parties: Becauſe ſuch a Suppoſition may do great harm, in ſhocking the Frame of the Government; but cannot do good, ſince there is not, nor in the Nature of Politicks can there be, any proper Remedy provided for ſuch Wrongs.

The ſame Reaſoning will hold in proportion, with regard to the Community of any City, or other Part of the Publick. Whatever Offence may have been committed by the Members of ſuch a Body, and however general the Guilt may be, yet the Reſentment of the Magiſtrate is, as in good Politicks it ought to be, pointed againſt the Offenders ſingly, and in their natural Capacity: They are ſevered from the Publick, of which they were Members; and the Affection of the Prince or State towards the City or Community itſelf, is always ſuppoſed and profeſſed to continue.

As the Bill for incapacitating *Alexander Wilſon*, Eſq; *&c.* (ſee p. 220.) is not yet paſs'd into a Law; and as it is a Bill of very great Importance, immediately to one City in the united Kingdom, and conſequentially to all other Cities and infranchiſed Boroughs; I hope an *Old Whig* may, without Offence, offer ſome Thoughts upon it.

What Part my Lord Provoſt may have acted, with reſpect to the late Riot, I cannot ſay: But if I were in the ſame unfortunate Circumſtances, I think I ſhould not trouble either Houſe of Parliament with a Defence of my own Conduct, let the Puniſhment appointed for me be what it would; or incumber, with any Thing relating to myſelf, the Oppoſition to a Bill, that threatned the taking away the Gates and Guard of a Capital City, *to lay it waſte and open, and to reduce it to the Condition of a Country Village. Diſmal Conſequences!* As they are juſtly called by Sir *Robert Sawyer*, in the opening of

of his Argument againſt the City of *London*.

Two great Ends of Magiſtracy are, the protecting of the Innocent, and deterring of Evil-doers: But when a black Note is ſet upon Magiſtracy itſelf, and a City is branded with a Mark of perpetual Infamy; does it not tend greatly to leſſen the Terror of Evil-doers, when they behold their Judges under the ſame Character of puniſhed Criminals, which ought to be a Dread to themſelves? How can the innocent Inhabitants of a populous City be defended, when they are ſtripped of their Fence, and laid as open as the Fields? When their Guard is taken away, and they are left open to the Inſults of every ill-diſpoſed Night-walker!

That the Citizens and Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* have been guilty of the late Diſorders, is hard to ſay; becauſe, if any of them are innocent, ſuch a Cenſure will involve the Innocent in the Puniſhment of the Guilty. *In* the Caſe of the late Riot, above 100 Perſons are fled from Juſtice. Theſe Fugitives, one would think, are very proper Objects of a Bill of Pains and Penalties. And there are numerous Precedents that would juſtify the making a Law, for appointing *them* a Day to ſurrender themſelves, and in default of their Appearance, for puniſhing them with Baniſhment, *&c.* But to let theſe eſcape, and, in their ſtead, to puniſh the innocent Inhabitants, who are already ſuppoſed to be too great Sufferers from the Remiſſneſs of their Magiſtrates, is very hard. And ſuch Puniſhments fall the heavieſt upon the Innocent and the Virtuous; for good Men are always the moſt affected, with any Thing that tends to hurt the Welfare of the Publick.

Some Precedents have been brought to juſtify the Proceeding; but not one that I can hear of that comes up to the Caſe. The Defence and Watch of Towns has always been preſerved intire to them; and whatever Seizures have been made of their Franchiſes, they have generally been reſtored after a very ſhort Time. But this Puniſhment is to be perpetual: Nor is it to be left in his Majeſty's Power to reſtore them either their Gates or their Guard.

The *Scots* had great Reaſon to hope that the Privileges of their Royal Burghs ſhould remain intire, notwithſtanding their ſubmitting all their Rights to the Power of a *Britiſh* Parliament: They having expreſly ſtipulated, *that ſuch Rights ſhould remain intire after the Union, and notwithſtanding thereof*, Art. 21. It is indeed argued, that this Article extends not to the ſeveral Rights of the Individual Burghs, but ſhould be reſtrained to their common Rights as a Body. This is not a very liberal Conſtruction: The Words are very capable of one more generous. Such a Stipulation, where ſo great a Confidence is repoſed, ought not to be confined to the moſt reſtrained Conſtruction.

It is alſo ſaid, that the Parliament may vary the Articles of the *Union*, even ſuch as are not declared to be alterable by the Parliament of *Great Britain*. Undoubtedly they may; they are themſelves the only Guarantees of their own Treaty. But that they never will do it without great Neceſſity, any more than they will violate the Publick Faith in any other Inſtance, where they have given it, I believe, I may venture to aſſert.

It is further urged, that all the Privileges of theſe Boroughs are liable to Judgment of Forfeiture in Courſe of Law, and conſequently, muſt be ſubject to the Diſpoſal of the Legiſlature. That they are left ſubject to the Juriſdiction of the Courts of Law as they were before, is evident from the Words of the Article; but that the Legiſlative Power ſhould not interpoſe againſt them, ſeems to be the very Thing ſtipulated.

It

It has been declared with great Juſtice and Impartiality, in the Name of the Patrons of this Bill, that they would promote a Bill of the ſame Nature againſt any Town in the united Kingdom in the like Caſe. As therefore this Bill will undoubtedly ſtand as a Precedent with Regard to *London*, whenſoever the Behaviour of the Citizens may require ſuch a Proceeding; I ſhall crave a little more of your Patience. I chuſe to name *London*, becauſe *London* and *Edinburgh* are the only Towns in the Kingdom, that I know of, that enjoy, what they call a Royal Privilege, the Immunity of quartering Soldiers. And if we conſider ſome late Inſtances of the Behaviour of the Citizens, we muſt own, that it is owing, as much to the Lenity of the Government, as to the Conduct of the City, that they are not made the firſt Inſtance of a Bill of this Nature. Let us ſuppoſe then, in Reſentment of ſome future Riot, that the Gates of *London*, next to ſuch Part of the Suburbs as the greateſt Number of Soldiers are uſually quartered in, are order'd by Act of Parliament to be taken away, and the Communication directed to be kept open at all Times, as well by Night as by Day. In ſuch caſe the Benefit accruing to the Publick upon all Occaſions, by the Interpoſition of the Military, in Default of the Civil Magiſtrate, may be very great. But, with humble Submiſſion, I ſhould think, the Bill might need ſome Amendments. It would be well that the People were particularly inſtructed, what Deference they were to pay to his Majeſty's Troops upon every Emergency. For otherwiſe, when the Troops are entered the City, ſome Perſons, ignorant of the Intention of the Law, might, thro' Inadvertency, retire to their Houſes, and ſhut their own Doors againſt the Soldiers, tho' they are not permitted to ſhut their City Gates; and thereby incur the Guilt, of obſtructing the wiſe and prudent Meaſures, that might be concerted by the Officers, for ſecuring the Rights, and preſerving the Peace and Liberty of the Town.

I have but one Obſervation more to trouble you with: And that is, That his Majeſty's Royal Progenitors, Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, have been pleaſed to adorn the two Capital Cities with many and ample Privileges, and imagined that in ſo doing they reflected an Honour to the Crown. The Liberties of the People are undoubtedly the true Ornaments of the Royal Diadem. Let the Projectors of this Scheme then, who propoſe the laying open the Walls of a Capital and Royal City, and thereby pointing out the Inhabitants as the Care of the Army, and the Contempt of their Neighbours, conſider, whether by ſuch Meaſures they do not greatly injure his Majeſty, and eclipſe the Luſtre of his Crown.

May 14. 1737. *Yours*, &c. HENOTICUS.

Weekly Miſcellany, May 20. N° 230.

To the Author of LEONIDAS.

SIR,

AFTER my two former Letters, (p. 238) I'm afraid you'll not be over fond of a Correſpondence. The real Motives which engaged me in theſe Remarks, were, *firſt*, the exorbitant Price of your Book. It will undoubtedly be a laſting Honour to the preſent Age, that it rewarded Mr. *Pope*'s Merit with Independence, Affluence and Splendour; as it is the indelible Infamy of a former, that poor *Milton* got but 15*l.* for his *Paradiſe Loſt*. But for a *young Author*, in almoſt his firſt Attempt, to value his Works equal to, nay ev'n above Mr. *Pope*'s, is a Preſumption that ought not to eſcape publick Cenſure. In order to impoſe upon us more effectually, the Imprudence of your Friend

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Friends, (for it certainly is not chargeable upon you) had *puft* the Poem both before and after the Publication, so much beyond all Bounds of Truth and Decency, that nothing less than the Fame of *Milton, Virgil,* and *Homer,* must fall a Sacrifice to yours. Here was another Motive of Resentment. In the next Place, The Honour of the Nation is concern'd. What a Figure must we make among Foreigners of Learning, when, instead of *Spenser, Shakespear, Milton, Dryden, Otway, Pope, Leonidas* is put into their Hands as the best Poem that *England* has produced? Your *Puffers,* not content with enhancing your real Beauties, have bestowed their highest Encomiums upon your greatest Faults; the *flat, dispirited, prosaical* Diction, which disgraces the very Name of Poetry, is entitled by them *Correctness, Perspicuity, Easiness, Common-Sense.* If this be established, the true, bold, nervous *Oriental, Grecian, Roman, British* Genius will degenerate into the *insipid Purity* of a Neighbouring Nation, and we may become very pretty poetical *Petit Maitres.*

For my Part, I have much wondered, what could induce so many Men of Letters to expose their Judgments so monstrously as they have done on this Occasion. Some say, 'tis *Party*; but I profess the Book appears to me perfectly *Inoffensive.* I rather therefore believe it a *Similitude* of *Genius* in some: In others, Sir, it may arise from some personal known good Qualities in yourself. This Consideration would have prevented that Air of Banter and Ridicule which appear in my former Letters, had not the vast Applauses given to *Leonidas,* when I first had Thoughts of writing against it, rendered any other Method of Opposition impracticable, and that ill-judg'd, absurd Puff in *Common Sense* given you a strong Title to it. The Sneer is meant more against that Letter-Writer than you.

I dare say, I should have more Readers should I proceed in Banter. But the chief Reason, Sir, why I quit it, is, to have the Satisfaction of displaying your Beauties as well as Faults. You'll think, I believe, the Contempt express'd in my former Letters inconsistent with any Degree of Esteem for you; but you'll please to observe, that tho' I hold you exceedingly cheap in comparison of *Homer, Virgil, Shakespear, Milton, Pope,* &c. Nay tho' I think your Fame as a Poet not a very long lived one, unless you greatly improve its Constitution; yet with Regard to myself and the vulgar Run of Mankind, who were none of us ever so much as *born* to Fame at all, but are and always shall be in a State of perfect Nonexistence, I own your Superiority; and subscribe myself,

Your frequent Admirer, and
Unknown humble Servant,
PHILOMUSAEUS.

§. *Continuation of the Remarks on* LEONIDAS.

The Generality have either no Idea at all, or a very lax one of Poetry itself, and till we can agree upon that, we shall certainly not agree whether *Leonidas* be such or no. And here we find but little Satisfaction from the *positive Definitions* of Poetry given by either the antient or modern Critics. We may perhaps with much less Difficulty, describe it *negatively,* that is, shew what is not Poetry; and this will be sufficient for a Comment on a Work, whose grand Fault will appear, I believe, to be the Want of it.

First then; A Man must have a very low Idea of Poetry, who thinks it to consist in *Metre* alone; or which is the same Thing, that *Common Sense* put into *Metre* will become Poetry.

Neither, *2dly,* Is a well chose History, interspersed with Variety of

moving Incidents ſufficient to raiſe *Metre* into Poetry. I have heard Men of Senſe much out in this Particular, who have thought, that whatever in *Metre* affected their Paſſions and engaged their Attention, muſt of courſe be good Poetry. But a tolerably well writ Novel will do this as well or better than the beſt Poem in the World.

Thirdly, Neither will even great Sentiments joined with the Allurements of Hiſtory and the Harmony of *Metre* denominate the Poet. If they would; Poetry would differ in nothing but the *Metre* from Hiſtory and Oratory, whereas the ſublimeſt and moſt truly poetical Expreſſions would be quite abſurd in thoſe Sciences. In ſhort, Poetry has a Manner and Stile peculiar to itſelf. Things ſenſeleſs and inanimate are endued with all the Paſſions of Life. The Spear *thirſts*, and the Sword is *ſatiate* and *made drunk* with Blood. Virtues, Vices, *&c.* are rendered corporeal and viſible. All the Compaſs of Nature, all Arts and Sciences, all Cuſtoms, antient or modern, muſt furniſh Materials for the Diction alone, where-ever the Idea can be ſtrengthened by an Alluſion to any of them. As from Agriculture in the Pſalms, *The Ploughers ploughed upon my Back, and made long their Furrows.* Or from Weights and Meaſures in *Iſaiah. Who hath meaſured the Waters in the Hollow of his Hand, and meted out the Heavens with a Span, and comprehended the Duſt of the Earth in a Meaſure, and weigh'd the Mountains in Scales, and the Hills in a Balance?* Or from natural Images as in *Job*; *My Root was ſpread out by the Waters, and the Dew lay all Night upon my Branch.* I have quoted theſe Paſſages to ſhew that *Metre* is ſo far from being the Whole of Poetry, that it is not ev'n eſſential to it. *Horace* is the firſt, I believe, who directs to direct Poetry of its *Metre*, in order to try whether it be Sterling or no: I ſhall therefore put *Leonidas* into the Furnace, and ſee whether the Gold that remains after the Trial will weigh down the Half-guinea we pay'd for it.

Leonidas, B. 1. L. 1.] 'O Muſe! Rehearſe the Deeds and *the* glorious Death of that fam'd *Spartan*, who near *Thermopylæ*, withſtood *Xerxes*'s Power and fell to ſave his Country. When the *Perſian* King had paſs'd the *Helleſpont* from the Coaſt of *Aſia*, with half the Globe *that was then* peopled, and his boundleſs Camp was now ſpread in *Thrace*, &c.'

Beſides the proſaical Flatneſs of the Diction, the Method of this Introduction is quite poor and unpoetical; to begin with an Invocation to the Muſe, and then drop into an hiſtorical Narration with a *when* Xerxes *had paſſed the* Helleſpont; is like a Man, who pretending to dance a Minuet, ſhould ſet out with a *Coupee*, and immediately fall into a common Walk. The epick Poets not only with a noble Enthuſiaſm, immediately ſhew the Effects of the Inſpiration they pray for, but as Mr, *Pope* obſerves from *Euſtathius*, they actually vaniſh from our View. The Muſe herſelf catches the Narration, and relates the whole. As *Milton* has both imitated and equalled *Homer*, and perhaps excelled *Virgil* in this particular, a Quotation from him alone will be ſufficient.

——— Say firſt what cauſe
Mov'd our grand parents, &c.
Who firſt ſeduc'd them to that foul revolt?

The Muſe herſelf anſwers,

Th' infernal ſerpent! he it was, whoſe guile
Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd
The mother of mankind; what time his pride
Had caſt him out from heav'n, with all his hoſt
Of rebel angels: by whoſe aid aſpiring
To ſet himſelf in glor' above his peers,
He truſted to have equal'd the moſt High
If he oppoſ'd, and with ambitious aim
Againſt the throne and monarchy of God
Rais'd impious war in heav'n, and battle proud
With vain attempt. Him the almighty pow'r
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal ſky,
With hideous ruin and combuſtion down
To bottomleſs perdition: there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire,

How

How are we at once wrapt into the Subject of the Poem! The Plainness of the Language, in the three or four first Lines of the Narration, only serves as a Shade to the strong Light of those that follow. His Fancy, as Mr. *Pope* observes of *Homer*, is every where vigorous, but is not discovered immediately at the Beginning of his Poem in its fullest Splendor; it grows in the Progress upon himself and others, and becomes on fire like a Chariot-Wheel by its own Rapidity.

Daily Gazetteer, May 21. N° 596.

To the Author of Common Sense, *&c.*

SIR, *May* 16, 1737.

THO' it has been thought, that there are several Writers of *Common Sense*, divided into *Political*, *Epick*, and *Miscellaneous*; yet as you have not thought proper to be distinguished, a Correspondent can only separate you in his Mind: I therefore take this Opportunity to declare, that it is not to the *Epick*, or *Patron* of *Leonidas*, who has entred himself an *Idiot* upon Record; nor to the *Miscellaneous*, or *Treater* upon *general Heads*, with whom, indeed, as a Man not only of Common but Fine Sense, I should chuse to converse; but to the *political Sneerer*, to whom I address this Letter.

You seem surprized that our Ancestors, in the Times of our *Edwards* and *Henrys*, should have so little *Politicks*, as to spill their Blood and Treasure to conquer a Kingdom for their Prince, that must make *their own Country* a Province to it. You might with more Reason be surprised, that every Age should have a particular *Genius* or *Character* of its own, than at the Effects of such a *Character! Heroism* and *martial Spirit* was the *Common Sense* of those Days; the *Politicks*, the *Ultimatum*, of *Prince*, *Ministers*, and *People's* Views.

But to shew that this was not absolutely a *Romantick Heroism*, a Quixotism of Bravery, but the *soundest Politicks* that could be pursued then, I shall lay down as a Fact deducible from History, that this *Spirit of Conquest* not being confined to our *English* Princes, but almost universal, in those Days, it was quite owing to the *manifested* Superiority of the *English* Valour, in the very Heart of *France*, that *England* did not become a *Province* to the other by *Conquest*.

Had *England* set down contented with maintaining the Balance within itself, between Power and Liberty, and no ways concerned itself abroad, it had sunk into Remissness, Luxury, and Effeminacy; and become an easy Conquest to the first warlike Prince on the Continent; which the constant exercising them in offensive Acts abroad prevented. This, our wiser and braver *Edwards* and *Henrys*, saw, and the *Character* of the Age favouring the Disposition necessary to be inculcated in the People, the *English* Youth were trained up in habitual Notions of Conquest against *France*.

It will result then from this short Apology for our *Edwards* and *Henrys* that *Politicks* must be different in *one* Age, from what it would be in *another*. *France* was constantly stirring up the *Scotch*, as well as *acting overtly* herself against *England*; and without, as I observed before, the spirited Bravery of the *English*, would have made this latter a *Païs Conquis*: So that the Difference between *conquering France*, and being *conquer'd* by *her*, was as great as that between *Liberty* and *Slavery*. And to shew the Falsity of your Observation still more, after *Henry* V. had conquer'd *France*, *Paris* was so far from being the Seat of Empire, that the whole Kingdom was governed, for many Years, by a Regent from *England*; while the Prince made *England* his constant Residence. (See p. 244.)

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Fog's *Journal*, May. 21. N° 444.

Of the Engliſh *Laws, Lawyers, and Debtors.*

THE *Engliſh* Manner of adminiſtering Juſtice *(ſays a foreign Author)* is, in itſelf, wiſe, prudent, and worthy the Imitation of all Mankind. When any Propoſal made to the Legiſlature is judged beneficial to the State, they forthwith paſs it into a Law; and, while it continues unrepealed, follow it exactly, according to the Letter: But if, by the Conſequences, they find it hurtful, they ſeek not to elude it by vain Explanations, but annul it at once. So wiſe and provident, in this important Matter, are theſe Iſlanders, that, thro' Fear of leaving their Judges at Liberty to follow their own Caprices, they are ſo far from admitting either them, or any other Magiſtrates, to the leaſt Share of Deſpotiſm, that they ſuffer even their Kings to be only the Law's Protectors, not its Tyrants.

But tho' *England* is, in this and ſome other Reſpects, happier than moſt Nations, yet are its People, thro' the horrible Abuſe of diverſe wholeſome Laws and Ordinances, more miſerably oppreſſed, than any other People upon Earth. The moſt notorious among their crying Grievances (whereof the true Source is, the enormous Multitude of Lawyers, with their ſhameful Impunity, againſt whoſe Knaveries, nay glaring Villanies, there is no Remedy, but what is worſe than the Diſeaſe) is the deplorable State of Debtors, which is here incomparably worſe than in any other Country on the Face of the Globe: And not merely ſuch as actually are Debtors, but even thoſe who are either fraudulently or maliciouſly charged with being ſo; and this lamentable Grievance proceeds from the too great Lenity in correcting what truly merits the moſt rigorous Puniſhments, I mean Perjury, or giving falſe Evidence, and from the over-great Facility of finding ſubtil, greedy Attorneys who will readily undertake, for Lucre, to defend the unjuſteſt Cauſes, and daringly affirm, in the Face of Juſtice, White to be Black, and Black White. How abundantly better and juſter is that general Uſage, practiſed in *Turky*, and all *Mohammedan* Countries, (where they have no Lawyers nor Court-Fees to pay, but Plaintifs and Defendants plead their own Cauſes, or get Friends to do it) where they admit not as Evidences any who, if called upon, cannot produce Perſons of known Credit to give them a Character, and where whoſoever aſſerts a Falſity before a *Cadhi*, or any other Magiſtrate, is ſure of a ſubſtantial Drubbing, on the very Spot, and is alſo ſoundly fined, if in Circumſtances ſo to do? Here, a Perſon charged with a Debt, real or pretended, juſt or unjuſt, is arreſted by inſidious Varlets, who go about their iniquitous Occupation in all Diſguiſes. They ſeldom go ſingle, but there is at leaſt a Pair of them; one a Sweetner, the other a Sourer, Oil and Vinegar, Rough and Smooth. Except the Priſoner inſiſts on going inſtantly to Jail (which many dread worſe than Death, from the Horror of the diſmal Abode, where, if low in Caſh, they muſt herd with Felons, or worſe) they drag him to a Spunging-Houſe, where if he will not, or cannot comply with all the extortionate Demands made upon him, while he is negociating his Affair, he is perpetually bullied and threaten'd with the loathed Jail, and this to all the Unfortunate indiſcriminately. If the Party bails himſelf out, and chuſes to ſtand Trial at Law (which it is Lawyers Buſineſs always to promote) then the Attornies on both Sides go to work ding-dong, and, whoſoever gets the Better, are ſure to be the Gainers.

I was mightily delighted with the

Whim I was ſhewed on a Sign at a Village not far from this Capital; tho' it is too ſerious a Truth to excite one's Riſibility. On one Side is painted a Man, ſtark naked, with this Motto; *I am the Man who went to Law, and loſt my Cauſe.* On the Reverſe is a Fellow, all in Tatters, looking moſt diſmally, and this Motto, *I am the Man who went to Law, and got my Cauſe.* This brings to my Mind a Paſſage reported of their *Scotiſh* King, *James* I, who, ſoon after his Acceſſion to the *Engliſh* Throne, would needs be preſent in Court while a notable Cauſe was pleading. Thoſe on the Plaintif's Side having finiſhed what they had to ſay, it proved ſo much to the King's Satisfaction, that he cried out, *'Tis a plain Caſe,* and was going: When ſome Body ſay'd to him, *Pleaſe to ſtay,* Sir, *and hear t'other Side.* He did ſo; and the Defendant's Party made their *Caſe* no leſs *plain* to his Majeſty's Conception; Whereupon the Monarch departed in a Paſſion, crying, *Rogues all! Rogues all!* The late renowned Czar, *Peter the Great,* being in *England,* in Term Time, and ſeeing Multitudes ſwarming about the Great Hall wherein are held the three ſuperior Courts of Judicature, is reported to have asked ſome about him, *Who all thoſe buſy People were, and what they were about?* Being anſwered, *They are Lawyers, Sir.* —— *Lawyers!* returned he, *why, I have but two in my whole Dominions, and I deſign to hang one of them the Moment I get home!*

But I would not be miſunderſtood ſo far as to have you imagine, that all of this Profeſſion are intitled to theſe ſevere Cenſures. No; there are certainly, among that learned and numerous Body, Gentlemen of exemplary Worth and Probity, Men of Figure and Fortune, who would ſcorn to ſoil their Hands with dirty Work. Nevertheleſs, at leaſt nine in ten might be extremely well ſpared; and Pity it is they are not obliged to betake themſelves to other Callings.

Common Senſe, May 21. N° 16.

To the Author of the Gazetteer *of* May 7.

SIR,

THO' the Paper you have attacked me in be ſo little read, that ſhould you print a Libel in it, you could ſcarce be ſaid to have publiſhed it; yet, as you ſtyle yourſelf an *Adventurer in Politicks,* and as I know a certain Perſon whom that Appellation will exactly fit, I ſhall take a little Notice of what you have advanced. This I undertake, not with Regard of what is written, but out of Reſpect to the Perſon whom I ſuppoſe the Author. And here, if I ſhould happen to miſtake you, I hope I ſhall not offend: For my Lord *Shaftsbury* well obſerves, that a judicious Beggar, when he addreſſes himſelf to a Coach, always ſuppoſeth that there is a Lord in it; ſeeing, that ſhould there be no Lord there, a private Gentleman will never be offended by the Title.

You ſet out, Sir, with a pretty Panegyrick on the Lenity of the Adminiſtration, whence you draw this Concluſion, that it is ungenerous to attack it, becauſe it will not cruſh you for ſo doing. *To abuſe the Lenity of Power, when Men know it will not hurt them* (ſay you) *is like talking Obſcenity to a Woman who will not defend herſelf, and muſt bear it.* The Compariſon between the Attack of a Miniſtry, and that of a Woman, might afford ſome pleaſant Remarks; I ſhall only ſay, I ſuppoſe you do not mean an old Woman, ſeeing, that to talk a little ſmuttily to ſuch, would be no great Inſult, if the common Saying be true, which however I do not believe, that all old Women love B——y.

You are pleaſed to ſay, Sir, that

no Argument whatever can be alledged to ſupport the bringing of Politicks on the Stage. If you mean by Politicks, thoſe Secrets of Government which, like the *Myſteries* of the *Bona Dea*, are improper to be beheld by vulgar Eyes, ſuch as ſecret Service, *&c.* I muſt anſwer, your Caution is unneceſſary, at leaſt to me, who cannot expoſe to others, what I have not found out myſelf. But if by your Politicks, you mean a general Corruption, I cannot think ſuch Politicks too ſacred to be expoſed. But *Paſquin* was not (as you inſinuate) the firſt Introducer of Things of this Kind; we have ſeveral Political Plays now extant: And had you ever read *Ariſtophanes*, you would know that the graveſt Matters have been try'd this Way. A Method which a great Writer (I think Mr. *Bayle*) ſeems to approve; where he repreſents Ridicule as a Kind of fiery Trial, by which Truth is moſt certainly diſcovered from Impoſture. Indeed, I believe, there are no Inſtances of bringing Politicks on the Stage *in thoſe neighbouring Nations* where, you ſay, that *we may ſee diſguiſed Informers in almoſt every publick Place, with blank* Lettres de Cachet, *ready to fill up with the Names of ſuch as dare barely inquire, in a Manner different from the Senſe of the Court, into the State of Affairs*, and a Baſtile *always open to receive them:* Nor where you tell us, that *a holy Inquiſition, and the Gallies, offer their Service to the* State, *as well as to Religion.*

But pray, Sir, what do you intend by mentioning theſe? I hope not to threaten us, nor to inſinuate that any Thing will make it *neceſſary* to introduce ſuch damned Engines of Tyranny among us.

The *Hiſtorical Regiſter*, and *Eurydice biſi'd*, being now publiſh'd, ſhall anſwer for themſelves againſt what you ſay concerning them; but as you aſſert, that I have inſinuated that all Government is a *Farce*, and perhaps a damn'd one too, I ſhall quote the Lines on which you ground your Aſſertion; and, I hope, then you will be ſo good as to retract it.

A ——Wooſey's *ſelf, that mighty miniſter,*
In the full height and zenith of his power,
Amid a crowd of ſycophants and ſlaves,
Was but (perhaps) the author of a farce,
Perhaps, a damn'd one too.

I am far from aſſerting that all Government is a *Farce*, but I affirm that however the very Name of Power may frighten the Vulgar, it will never be honoured by the Philoſopher, or the Man of Senſe, unleſs accompany'd with Dignity. On the contrary, nothing can be more Burleſque than Greatneſs in mean Hands. Mr. *Penkethman* never was ſo ridiculous a Figure, as when he became * *Penkethman the Great.* Ridicule, like *Ward*'s Pill, paſſes innocently thro' a ſound Conſtitution; but when it meets with a Complication of foul Diſtempers in a groſs corrupt Carcaſe, it is apt to give a terrible Shock, to work the poor Patient moſt immoderately; in the Courſe of which Working, it is ten to one but he beſ—ts his Breeches. I am, *&c.*

PASQUIN.

§. *Another Writer in this Paper, mentions the Inconveniences ariſing from the Want of publick Regiſters for Eſtates in almoſt all the Counties in* England.

But the Conſequences to the Publick *(ſays he)* are ſtill worſe, for by this Means a neceſſitous Man, and a bad Œconomiſt, by the Reputation of a larger Eſtate than he has, and an Expence proportion'd to his reputed Eſtate, often keeps up an Intereſt in the Country, in order to gain a Seat in Parliament, and by that Means retrieve his Affairs, or, at leaſt, ſhelter himſelf from his Creditors; this Expence renders him ſtill more neceſ-

* *In the Burleſque of* Alexander,

ſitous,

ſitous, and more eaſy to be corrupted; and if he ſucceeds by it, as is moſt likely he will, for few rich Men, with no other View than to ſerve the Publick, will out-ſpend a Man of this Character; the Publick is like to be faithfully ſerv'd by a Man whoſe bad Œconomy has ruin'd his own Eſtate, and render'd him liable to be corrupted by thoſe who can pay him beſt for his Vote and Intereſt. By a Law now in being, every Member of Parliament muſt be qualify'd by an Eſtate of 300*l. per Annum*, Free-hold or Copy-hold, for his own Life, or by ſome greater Eſtate, either in Law or Equity, to and for his own Uſe and Benefit, of or in Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, over and above what will ſatisfy and clear all Incumbrances that may affect the ſame, lying or being in *Great Britain*, *Wales*, or *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; or by being Heir apparent to a Lord of Parliament, or a Perſon qualify'd to be a Knight of a Shire, who muſt have an Eſtate of the like Kind of 600*l. per Annum*, excepting ſuch as are choſen by the Univerſities.

By this Law, it is plain the Legiſlature intended that Members of Parliament ſhould be choſen out of ſuch as were Perſons of undoubted Property of the moſt durable Kind, which might deeply intereſt them in the publick Weal; to which this Method of publick Regiſters would add greater Certainty, and prevent thoſe Colluſions which are with too much Reaſon ſuſpected.

Craftſman, May 28. N° 569.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq*;

SIR,

ABOUT two Years ago, I ſent you ſome Remarks on a *Bill*, for the better Regulation of *Play-houſes*; which ſeem'd calculated to deſtroy a numerous Body of Men, call'd *Strollers*, both *theatrical* and *political*; between whom I drew a ſhort Parallel, and endeavour'd to do Juſtice to a *certain eminent Stroller*, who hath done his Country as much Service in the *Cabinet*, as the Duke of *Marlborough* did in the *Field*. I therefore propoſed that the *old Treaty-Houſe* at *Uxbridge*, with a competent Eſtate about it, ſhould be bought and rebuilt, at the publick Expence, like the *Caſtle of Blenheim*, and ſettled by Parliament upon him and his Poſterity forever. Though *this Scheme* hath not yet taken Effect, I have often conſider'd of a *proper Statue* to be erected in the Garden, or Front of the Houſe, for the Honour of *this great Man*.

I had ſome Thoughts of having him exalted in the Attitude of *Cicero ſpeaking*; but was obliged to lay aſide that Deſign, becauſe it would look too much like purloining from his *Brother*, who is already ſet up in that Poſture, at his *Country Palace*, enveloped with large flowing Robes, which intirely hide his *goodly Pert*, and ſhew nothing of the *Orator* but in the Eaſineſs of the Garment.

I then thought of exhibiting him to the Publick, under the Figure of *Mercury*, the God of *Trade*, with *Baſſo Relievo*'s on the Pedeſtals, repreſenting the Introduction of *Don Carlos* into *Italy* on one Side, and the Reſtitution of our Ships taken by the *Spaniards*, on another. The *Spitbead Expedition*, and the Honour of the *Britiſh Flag*, were to have fill'd up the other two. But as I have long waited for the Effects of our Negotiations with *Spain*, which were to have been the Subject of my *ſecond Baſſo Relievo*, I do not think proper to purſue that Deſign any farther. Beſides, *Mercury* ought to be a *clean*, *nimble-body'd Fellow*, with Wings to his *Head*, as well as his *Heels*; by which the Malicious might object that I intended to denote his *Lightneſs of Head*, as well as of *Foot*. Beſides, he muſt have the *Caduceus* in his Hand, by which he lull'd People aſleep, or ſtupify'd them in ſuch a Manner, that they did not know he had pick'd their Pockets; tho' he commonly carry'd a *Bag* in his Hand, as a Mark of the beſt Part of his Employment.

Whilſt I was under theſe Difficulties, I had the Satisfaction of reading ſome *pious* and *eloquent Addreſſes*, particularly from the Aſſembly in *Scotland* and the City of *York*, upon a late happy Occaſion; in which they return'd his Majeſty Thanks, at the ſame Time, for giving them *Peace* and *Plenty*; which alludes, no Doubt, to the Effects of our *late wiſe Negotiations*; and every Body knows to *whom* we are obliged, upon that Account. I have therefore ſome Thoughts of diſplaying him in the Habit of a *Roman Emperor*, ſcattering *Peace* and *Plenty* over the World.

What particularly ſpurr'd me on to this Undertaking, was the ill Treatment, my *Hon. Friend* hath lately received from ſeveral Authors; (and I wiſh you was not one of the Number) who have not only uſed him very ſcurvily, but wounded the Noble Profeſſion of

Ambaſſa-

Ambaſſadorſhip and *Negotiation* thro' his Sides. They began this Outrage in *Pamphlets*, *Poems*, *Journals*, and other *Libels*; but have ſince proſtituted the *Stage* to the ſame infamous Purpoſe, and made him the Laughing-ſtock of crowded Audiences, for ſeveral Weeks together. Nay, they proceeded ſo far at laſt, that a *Farce* was actually in Rehearſal, at one of our Theatres, in which the *ſame excellent Perſon* was to have been introduced upon the Stage, as we are inform'd, with a *Pair of Scales* in one Hand, to ſcandalize his *Office*, and *lugging up his Breeches* with the other, to reflect upon his *Politeneſs*. But *this abominable Deſign* was happily diſcover'd by the Vigilance of *another great Perſonage*, nearly related to him, who hath not only prevented the Execution of it, but is determined to take ample Vengeance upon all *ſuch audacious Authors* and *Players*, by putting an effectual Reſtraint upon the *Stage*.

We had ſome Intimations of *ſuch a Deſign*, in one of the *Gazetteers*, a Week or two ago; but it is now publickly declared, and we are told in all the News-Papers, 'that a *Bill* is 'order'd into Parliament, for ſuppreſſing the 'great Number of *Playhouſes*, or *Players of Interludes*, ſo juſtly complain'd of; by 'which no Perſons will be allow'd, for the 'future, to act any *Play*, &c. without firſt 'obtaining a Licence from the *Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold*, for the Time 'being; and all Perſons acting without *ſuch* 'a *Licence* are to be deem'd *Vagrants*, and 'puniſh'd as ſuch, according to the Act of 'the 12th of Q. *Anne*.

This, I ſay, will effectually keep the *Stage* within due Bounds, and remedy the Evil, *ſo juſtly complain'd of*; for it is not to be ſuppoſed that *ſo great and near an Officer of the Crown*, who is to have the abſolute Power of *licenſing Playhouſes*, will ever ſuffer any Thing to be brought upon the *Stage*, which is not intirely agreeable to the *Court*; much leſs ſuch obnoxious Performances as the *Beggar's Opera*, *Paſquin*, the *Hiſtorical Regiſter*, and other Pieces of the like Kind.

I am ſenſible that the *Patrons of the Stage*, who include moſt People of *Wit* and *Taſte*, as well as Multitudes of *good Senſe* and *exemplary Virtue*, may ſtart ſeveral plauſible Objections againſt *ſuch a Law*, and repreſent it as an Infringment of *Britiſh Liberty*.

They will obſerve, perhaps, that one of the great and original Ends of *dramatical Entertainments* was to expoſe *Vice* and *Folly*, in all Ranks of People; eſpecially *thoſe*, whoſe Riches or Power put them out of the Reach and Cognizance of the *Law*; that the chief Characters of *Tragedy* are drawn from the Hiſtory of *ambitious Princes*, who endeavour'd to make themſelves *abſolute*; or of *weak ones*, who have been ruin'd by *wicked Miniſters* and *Favourites*; nay, that even our *beſt and moſt celebrated modern Comedies* conſiſt, in a great Meaſure, of what is call'd the *upper Walk*; that is, in ridiculing the Vices and Foibles of People in *high Life*. From whence it may be inferr'd that to reſtrain the *Stage*, in this Particular, would be encouraging *publick Vice*, by taking off this Check upon it, and diſcountenancing *publick Virtue*, at the ſame Time.

It may likewiſe be ſaid, that the Liberty of laſhing *wicked Men*, *in Power*, was always allow'd under *wiſe* and *free Governments*, particularly thoſe of *Greece* and *Rome*; where the *higheſt Magiſtrates* were obliged to ſubmit to this publick Cenſure of their Actions; and it was never taken away in *England*, ſince the firſt Inſtitution of the *Stage*, excepting the Times of the *civil War* and *Cromwell's* Uſurpation. But it revived at the Reſtoration of K. *Charles* II. and the *Plays of thoſe Times* abound with the ſharpeſt Reflections upon *Princes* and *Miniſters*; even thoſe of *Dryden* himſelf, whilſt he was *Poet-Laureat*, and a *ſtrenuous Advocate for the Court*. It may therefore be aſk'd, what a *good Government*, ſuch as the preſent, can poſſibly apprehend from the Continuance of *this Privilege*; or whether laying it under a much greater Reſtraint than was ever attempted before, may not give Room to ſome injurious Reflections, and be compared, in ſome Meaſure, to putting the *Preſs* under the ſame Reſtraint of a *Licenſer*.

To this it may be farther added, that if *two* or *three dramatick Writers* have extended *this Privilege* too far, or even to a Degree of *Licentiouſneſs*; it is not reaſonable that *all of them* ſhould ſuffer for *their Fault*; or that the *Theatre* ſhould be made a *meer Tool of the Court*, by the Abolition of *Patents*, which have been declared *legal*, and converting them into *temporary Licenſes*, *during Pleaſure*. The *Lord Chamberlain* hath already a Power of prohibiting all *offenſive Plays*, and of interdicting the *Players*, when they tranſgreſs their Bounds. At leaſt, he aſſumes to himſelf the Exerciſe of *ſuch a Power*, whether ſtrictly *legal* or not; as we formerly ſaw in the Caſe of Sir *Richard Steele*, and ſince in that of an old Play, call'd the *Fall of Mortimer*, and the *ſecond Part of the Beggar's Opera*. What Occaſion therefore is there for the *Legiſlature* to interpoſe in this Caſe; or to put all *dramatick Writers* and *Entertainments*, however innocent and uſeful, under the abſolute Power of an *Officer of the Crown?* Indeed, were we ſure of being always bleſs'd with a *Chamberlain*, of the ſame impartial Spirit and excellent Judgment as the *preſent*, to ſuperintend and govern the *Stage*, we need be under no Apprehenſions from ſuch a Power being lodged in his Hands. But as all Men are mortal, and God only knows who may ſucceed him, at ſome Time hereafter, it may be thought a dangerous Truſt, and capable of being turn'd to very bad Uſes.

Laſtly,

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Lastly, it may be judged a little hard to lay all *Wit* and *polite Learning*, of the *dramatick Kind*, under such a Discouragement, for the Sake only of *one* or *two Men*, who have render'd themselves the Objects of it; especially as no other Reasons have been yet given for it than what are founded upon an *obscure Piece*, which was never exhibited upon the Stage, and pretended to be suppress'd; so that it may have been written on Purpose, for ought we know, and with such a particular Design. But whether it was so or not, it will be said, no doubt, that the *Stage* ought not to be subjected to an *Imprimatur*, upon such a frivolous Account.

I will own to you very freely, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that I formerly reason'd in this Manner myself, particularly when I wrote my last Letter to you, and I wish that nothing had since alter'd my Opinion; but *desperate Diseases* require *desperate Remedies*, and I am afraid there is no other, in the present Case, but *Amputation*; for we have now a much greater Authority than *Ovid's*, that

——— *immedicabile Vulnus*
Ense rescindendum.

I am, SIR, &c.

Common Sense, May 28. N° 17.

A new Plan of Government for the Corsicans.

IF I were a *Corsican*, I should certainly be a Rebel; that is, I should hazard my Life and Estate to recover my Liberty. But if after all I must submit to be a Slave, I would be a Slave to Baron *Newhoff*, or even to a *Russian Bojar*, rather than to my old Task-Masters of *Genoa*.

The *Corsican* Chiefs, if they would be advised by me, should form the Plan of their future Government even while their Affairs are low, and the Event uncertain. Were I to preside in the Direction of this Affair, I would not make Choice of any Form of Government which is now administred in the World. A King, indeed, I would have, and a King with a Crown on his Head, and a Scepter in his Hand; to whom shou'd be given the Title of Royal, or Imperial Majesty. But my King should not be a Tyrant. He should be even incapable of committing any Acts of Violence, or Oppression. He should be entirely free from Pride, Lust, Avarice, and Ambition. In a Word, I would have such a King as *Jupiter* first gave to the Frogs; who, by the Way, possess'd his Empire by Divine Right. However, I would not have a plain unfashioned Log. My Prince should be made of the Heart of Oak, and wrought into the Shape and Figure of a Man by the most skilful Artists in *Europe*.

To speak intelligibly, I would have an Image or Statue as big as the Life, well shaped, and finely painted; with a Diadem on his Head, a royal Mantle on his Shoulders, and a Scepter in his Right Hand. He should be placed under a rich Canopy, and seated on a magnificent Throne. A Guard of an Hundred Halberdeers should be appointed to attend him, not so much for the Security of his Person, as to serve for Pomp and Shew at the Audience of Ambassadors. His Subjects of all Degrees and Orders should approach him with the greatest Reverence. Those who were introduced to him for a Confirmation of their Privileges and Employments, should be obliged to prostrate themselves, and kiss the Hem of his Garment. No Person should presume to sit, or spit, or cough, or be covered in his Presence; unless it might hereafter be thought proper, as a Reward for great Merit and Services, to create a Class of *Grandees*.

If any Person should propose in Writing, or Conversation, to abolish the present Form of Government, by deposing his wooden Majesty, and substituting in his stead a Monarch of Flesh and Blood, whether Man, Woman, or Beast, the Offender shall be guilty of high Treason.

I prefer the Oak to all other Timber, on account of its Duration; and because that Tree, considered only as a simple Vegetable, bears some Analogy to a Crown'd Head; it having been held sacred in all Countries and Ages of the World. The ancient *Druids* paid a greater Veneration to the Oak, than to the most Illustrious of the Sons of *Adam*. And even among us *Englishmen*, in a very inquisitive and polite Age, I mean about the middle of the last Century, this Tree obtained the Title of *Royal*. The *Greeks* and *Romans* had so great a Reverence for this Tree, as to imagine, that every Oak was the Habitation of a Divinity; and there was an Oaken Grove within one of the Gates of *Rome*, called, for that Reason, *Porta Querquetulana*; where all the Trees were worshipped as so many Nymphs and Goddesses.

I must submit it to the Consideration of the *Corsican* Senate, whether they will be at the Charge of a Queen. If they are inclin'd to marry their King for any political Reason, I propose they would marry him to the *Corsican* Sea, with the same Ceremonies as are observed when his Brother of *Venice* espouses the *Adriatick* Gulf.

Happy had it been for the World, if the long Catalogue of *Roman* Emperors (3 or 4 only excepted) had been of the Wooden *Species!* And they themselves think so now, if they are sensible in what Manner they are treated by Posterity.

Reason, which is the distinguishing Excellence of human Nature, can only prove a Blessing to those, whether Princes or private Persons, who are Men of Honour and Virtue.

Castalio's *Letter is too particular to be inserted.*

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On the ASCENSION.

——— —— ——— *ſic itur ad Aſtra.*

HARK! how the flocks deplore their parting ſwain,
While vocal hills repeat the mournful ſtrain.
The *Sylvan* ſhades with murm'ring noiſe reſound,
And *Woodland* dales with doleful ſighs abound.
See bleating lambs with rav'nous beaſts incloſe'd,
See thirſty flocks to ſultry heats expos'd.
On *Carmel*'s top the hungry tyger roves,
And ſeeks his prey in *Sharon*'s ſpicy groves.
The greedy wolf the tender lamb purſues,
And in his gore his griſtly tuſks imbrues.
For why? alas! their guardian care is gone,
And quits for better ſeats this earthly dome.
Damon, the loveliеſt youth e'er trod the plain,
The faireſt he of all the ſhepherds train,
Leaving his fleecy care, in bright array
Aloft in fleeting air he wings his way.
See how the lovely ſwain, advanc'd on high,
With radiant ſplendour fills the azure ſky.
Ye heav'nly lights with brighter luſtre ſhine,
Confeſs him hallow'd, pow'rful and divine!
Sink down ye ſkies, receive your welcome God,
And hail him joyful to his bleſt abode!
Ye ſtarry hoſts, ye planets homage pay,
Diſperſe ye clouds, ye rapid winds give way!
Some equipage divine, ſome heavenly train,
Aloft in air attend the pious ſwain.
Y' angelick hoſts in throngings crouds advance,
And fill with glitt'ring robes the wide expanſe!
Ye timbrels, pipes and trumpets ſweetly play,
And through the balmy air conduct his way.
Below a diff'rent ſcene! -- the gazing crowd,
With mournful grief bewail their parting Lord!
Nor future joy, nor hopes their grief allay,
With deep regret they ſtill their Lord ſurvey.
While pleaſing raptures fill the empty ſpace,
The poles ſubmiſſive to their God give place.
And now the bending ſkies receive him high,
No further penetrates the piercing eye!
No more the trembling clouds their God ſurvey,
While through each higher vault he waſts his way.
Lo! to the heav'n of heav'ns he now is gone
And ſits ſupreme on his ſeraphic throne.
Both heav'n and earth his regal ſcepter ſways,
And heav'n and earth his holy word obeys.
The praiſe of their Meſſiah rends the ſkies,
While hymns on hymns inceſſantly ariſe.

I. M. B.

The WISH.

WOU'D but indulgent fortune ſend
To me a kind and faithful friend;
One who to virtue's laws is true,
And does her niceſt rules purſue;
One pious, lib'ral, juſt, and brave,
And to his paſſions not a ſlave;
Who full of honour, void of pride,
Will freely praiſe and freely chide;
But not indulge the ſmalleſt fault,
Nor entertain a ſlighting thought;
Who ſtill the ſame will ever prove,
Will ſtill inſtruct, and ſtill will love;
In whom I ſafely may confide,
And with him all my cares divide;
Who has a large capacious mind,
Join'd with a knowledge unconfin'd;
A reaſon bright, a judgment true,
A wit both quick and ſolid too;
Who can of all things talk with eaſe,
And whoſe converſe will ever pleaſe;
Who charm'd with wit and inward graces,
Deſpiſes fools with tempting faces,
And ſtill a beauteous mind does prize
Above the moſt enchanting eyes:
I wou'd not envy kings their ſtate,
Nor once deſire a happier fate.

New-Caſtle upon Tine. PHILAXIOS.

To CELIA, *at* Birmingham.

FAIN would I ſing! aſſiſt me, all ye *nine*;
A taſk ſo great, requires a pen divine:
Ye guardian powers, in bright array deſcend,
And let *Apollo*'s ſhining train attend;
Support my muſe in your protecting arms,
To ſing my *Celia*'s ſoft, endearing charms.
Her lovely looks, artleſs and unconfin'd,
Point out ſuperior beauties of the mind;
Diſcloſe the ſecrets of a ſoul at eaſe,
Whoſe witty turns, have always power to pleaſe: [mien,
Her beauteous ſhape, her dear enchanting
Can ne'er be juſtly told, nor ſafely ſeen;
Her ſprightly wit, juſt thoughts, and ever new, [gers to!
Have power to charm, — her ſex are ſtran-
Each look darts forth a ſoft ſuperior grace,
Which *Titian*'s pencil never yet could trace:
Peace, love, and friendſhip fill her glowing breaſt,
And ſteady virtue brightens all the reſt.
In vain the youth of longing hope partakes,
Whilſt every *ſetting ſun* a conqueſt makes.
Wild, bluſhing nature, ſtands amaz'd to ſee
Unrival'd beauty center all in thee.
Celia! my joys, my expectations crown,
Leave ſhady groves, *my dear!* and bleſs the town.
When will my *Celia* at the *ball* appear?
The *court*, the *park*, the *play*, all wiſh thee here. [ways,
Thy beauties charm the ſoul ten thouſand
— But ſilent admiration beſt can praiſe.

EUGENIO.

To the W—ſh—pful the J—ſt—ces of P—ce, C—m—ſſ—ners for repairing the High-Ways, and other Gentlemen of the County of ———, and to all others whom it may concern.

TO your W—ſh—ps aforeſaid, at your next general meeting, [greeting.
A trav'ler from *N—w—rk*, thus humbly ſends

May

May your w–rſh–ps be d–m'd, or (for a ſtill greater curſe,) [cart-horſe;
May you each be transform'd to a wretched
And b' eternally doom'd to travel theſe roads,
With a cart at your ar—e and on your backs heavy loads; [your fate,
Be the devil your driver, conſtant whipping
No reſt be allowed you to piſs or to bait.
Let him ne'er ſpare his flogging, tho' your w–rſh–ps ſhould tire, [mire.
Or at each ſtep loſe a leg, in *Long B–ll–ng–n*
Still let him whip on, and ſhew you no mercy,
Tho' you'd all broken-winds, ſpavins, ſplinters, and fercy, [due-work,
Or glaunders or gripes; let him keep you to
From *N– w–rk* to *Gr–nth–m*, and from *Gr–nth–m* to *N–w–rk*. [*o—m–ſſion*,
Then (too late) you'd lament, that while in
You left the high-ways in ſuch curſed condition.
Then, a poſt horſe, tho' tired, would poſt on with good heart, [tugging a cart
When he ſaw your d–m'd w–rſh–ps, each Stage coachmen and carmen, and carriers too, [has his due,
Would cry with one voice, the de'el now
And would help him to drive ſuch fine cattle as you.
And trav'lers fatigued, mighty comfort would take, [make:
By obſerving the figure your w–rſh–ps wou'd
Tho' the roads were much worſe, with pleaſure I'd go,
To ſee you trot on to the devil's *gee, bo.*

The Pump-room Bull. A SONG.

THE fire of the gods, as old poets have ſung,
Fell in love with an heifer both milk-white and young; [odd is,
But ſtill what more true, and likewiſe more I ſing how a bull fell in love with a goddeſs.
Derry down, &c.

This bull, as he was but an overgrown calf,
Came to *Bath* to be roaſted — but firſt let us laugh.
He call'd at the pump-room to viſit the fair,
For thoſe who wore horns he found might come there. *Derry down, &c.*
A doctor ſtarts up in a damnable fright,
Quoth the pumper, ne'er ſtir, ſir, we're two — let us fight;
As it is not the pope's bull, the doctor reply'd,
I'm not bound to bait him — ye dog ſtand aſide.
Derry down, &c.

The ladies all ſcreaming he left in the lurch,
He found 'twas high time to take care of the church;
Then bequeathing the bull in his own ſtead among 'em; [one.
His ſhort leg, 'tis ſaid, ran away from his long
Derry down, &c.

An *Oxonian*, who chanc'd to be drinking *ibidem*,
Cry'd out, maſter doctor, ho! *ſiſte per fidem:*
Quoth he, who is ſafeſt has reaſon to grin moſt,
I'll take care of one; ſo the de'el take the hindmoſt. *Derry down, &c.*
Cry'd doctor *C–n–r*, in a tone moſt ſonorous,
This bull is horn-mad, tho' the ſun's not in *Taurus:*
As he's *Ch–ſh–r*'s patient, and feeds upon graſs,
If I don't do his buſineſs, d'ye ſee, I'm an aſs,
Derry down, &c.

Lady *Mary* our bull ſingled out from the reſt,
For beauty can tame the moſt unruly beaſt;
Then reſpectfully ſtopp'd, and ſeem'd to obſerve her, [her.
As tho' he was proud, he was a bull to ſerve
Derry down, &c.

But tho' our divine in this dreadful quandary,
Permitted the bull to attack lady *Mary*;
Yet, doctor, you ſtill have great reaſon to fear,
That next when you meet, you'll be baited by her. *Derry down, &c.*
But after all this, let me ſtill crave the favour
To commend the bold doctor's courageous behaviour;
Since the hero, whom *Homer* took ſo much delight in, [his fighting.
Was renown'd for his running, as much as
Derry down, &c.
When the battle, quoth *Hudibras*, turns to a chaſe,
'Tis he wins the day, who wins but the race;
Hence, doctor, the proof is ſubſtantial and full,
Tho' you did run away, that you ſtill beat the bull. *Derry down, &c.*

EPILOGUE *to the* EUNUCH *of* TERENCE, *made and ſpoken at the* CHARTERHOUSE, *by a young Gentleman of thirteen Years of Age, in the Character of* PYTHIAS *(a Chamber-maid.)*

Ladies,

BECAUSE it is a thing in vogue,
Pythias appears to ſpeak an *epilogue*.
Terence, 'tis true, has drawn me ſaucy, bold,
To nought accuſtom'd but to rail and ſcold.
Indeed my part is out of faſhion now,
That was the mode two thouſand years ago
But *Abigails* are now fantaſtick creatures,
Take ſnuff, drink tea, and paint — to mend their features,
Liſp, pretty ſouls! are ſubject to the vapours,
Foot it in balls, and cut *Italian* capers.
At filthy weed * turn up their dainty noſe,
And uſe their ladies airs — as well as cloaths,
Receive gallants, torment the anxious lover;
For *Nabby*, like the world, apes all above her.
Be not ſevere, nor judge with too much haſte,
If *Terence* pleaſes not the modern taſte.
Theſe things were never heard of in his days,
He wrote for *Roman*, not *Cibberian* bays.

* *Tobacco.*

In *Rome* 'twas ſtrange, if chamber-maids ſhould dance;
But what is *Rome* to us? we learn of *France*.
Eunuchs were never known to warble there;
To guard the women, was their chiefeſt care;
There, *Seneſino*'s did the table ſpread,
And *Farinelli*'s learnt — to make a bed.
But we with vaſt expence theſe eunuchs hire,
Die on their ſtrains, at every note expire.
Here they continue, bleſt with boundleſs ſtore,
Fleece us of thouſands, ask for thouſands more.
If *Britons* thus for *air* their ſubſtance give,
Britons may ſoon be brought on *air* to live.
But if, with *Terence*' ſenſe, we fail to pleaſe,
What can be hop'd from ſuch poor lines as theſe?
The ſtender offspring of a ſchool-boy's brain,
If void of beauty, born without much pain;
Then, gentlemen and ladies, pray be mild,
And ſmile upon it, for 'tis *Pythias*' child.

ACROSTICK.

To a Gentleman, conſtantly attending Tunbridge Wells.

R eſolv'd at laſt, in friendly flowing verſe,
O nce I'll attempt thy praiſes to rehearſe.
B right genius! whoſe inſtructive pleaſing lays
E ngage attention, and demand our praiſe.
R ound the fair ſex thou often doſt impart
T hy morning's * labour, with a chearful heart.

M ild as the gentle dawn of blooming love,
A ttend the fair, and ſilently approve.
R eady to ſerve, thou mak'ſt the ſex thy friend,
T oo apt to pleaſe, and cautious to offend;
I ntent on good, — to ſerve is thy deſire,
N one can diſlike thee, but thy wit admire.

A. Z.

The FADING FLOWER.

O Lack, O lay! O well-a-day!
O ſad and doleful ditty!
Great grief to tell, that has befel
Poor, young, unhappy *K—y!*
Of virgin bloom, bereav'd too ſoon;
Alas the more the pity!
Her merry vein is crack'd in twain;
Ah! poor, unhappy *K—y.*
Mourn her, ye hills, ye rocks and rills;
Mourn her ye flocks that feed a;
Mourn her ye plains, ye nymphs and ſwains,
Mourn your deflower'd M—d *a.*
O cruel fate! to violate
The charms of one ſo pretty!
So fair, ſo young, ſo ſweet a tongue,
So ſprightly, gay, and witty!
Of all poſſeſt, that cou'd be bleſt;
Or cou'd be fancy'd pretty;
But now no more, thoſe charms in ſtore!
Ah! poor unhappy *K—y!*
Fade all ye trees, ſigh ev'ry breeze!
Ye murm'ring ſtreams deplore a!
The charms of *M—d* by fate decreed,
Are charms alas! no more a!

J. A. Heſſe.

The Kiſs repaid. By the ſame.

AS *Delia* paſs'd to milk her cow,
Daphnis Stood in the vale below;
With fawning air, ſhe chuck'd his chin,
And ſtroak'd, and chuck'd, and — kiſs'd the ſwain.
With bluſhing face, and modeſt grace,
The ſhepherd bow'd, and kiſs'd again.

The GOOSE QUILL.

By the Author of Quintilian's Complaint. (Vol. IV. p. 40.)

LET other *bards* of more ambitious views,
Extend their thoughts, and grander ſubjects chuſe.
For me, I meditate no lofty pitch,
Nor aim at *quarry* far above my reach.
My theme to ev'ry *bard* may well belong,
Yet is forgot, and ſtill remains unſung.
Frogs, mice, and gnats, their battles and their praiſe
Have been recorded in immortal lays.
A ſplended ſhilling in poetic lines [ſhines,
Improves it's worth, and with more luſtre
Hoops, buckets, pigmies, puppets, locks and fans,
Have been commended, by no vulgar pens.
But I no trivial argument rehearſe, [verſe.
The *grey goſſe-quill* ſhall grace my humble
Who do's not plainly ſee the various aid
The *quill* imparts to men of ev'ry trade?
What art, what buſineſs can you take in hand,
That do's not her aſſiſtances demand?
From the high *ſtateſman*, to the loweſt *clown*,
All her peculiar benefits muſt own;
But *ſcholars* moſt of all (good *ſcholars!*) will
For ever ſpeak in raptures of the *quill*.
The *ſwans* of old, for ſome miſtaken cauſe,
The poets always mention with applauſe.
Mæander's banks were honour'd with their ſongs [longs.
They thar'd that praiſe that now to *geeſe* be-
To *geeſe* the haughty *ſwans* wou'd give no place
For *inter auſeres* was a diſgrace.
But leſt I partial ſeem to judge the fray,
Hear what the *feather'd orators* can ſay.
Thou ſcreamer, ſays the *ſwan*, of gaggling race,
Amongſt us *ſwans* how durſt thou ſhow thy face?
Our praiſes dwell on ev'ry poet's tongue,
Renown'd for beauty, and renown'd for ſong.

* *His poetic Compoſitions.*

The

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The greateſt geniuſes of *Rome* and *Greece*,
Ex-olling *ſwans* have meanly ſpoke of *geeſe*.
Ev'n to a proverb, in contempt's your name,
For *goeſe* and *fool* now ſignify the ſame.
Vain bird! replies the *goeſe*, I ſcorn thy ways,
To be ſo fond of falſe and fulſome praiſe.
Beyond decorum you aſſert your right,
Is nothing *beautiful*, but what is *white*?
Do poets ſay you ſing? what's more abſur'd?
And yet you take the flatt'ring poets word.
Weak, ſilly minds by *flatt'ry* are betray'd,
Of *wiſdom* then let not your boaſt be made.
But we, whom you deſpiſe, with juſt pretence
May claim the patronage of men of ſenſe.
Do's not antiquity our worth extol?
Manlius, and we preſerv'd *Rome*'s capitol.
Our wings ſupport old *Homer*'s deathleſs name,
And aided *Milton* in his riſe to fame.
Upon our pinions bold *Hiſtorians* ſoar,
And *Nat'raliſts* abſtruſeſt things explore.
Self-praiſe ſometimes befits a modeſt tongue,
When calumny and ſpite have done us wrong.
My quills have toil'd to gain a *merchant wealth*,
And wrote a thouſand *recipes* for health.
What *parchment-ſkins* have they not copy'd o'er
To make mens rights and properties ſecure?
In *pious writings* they no pains refuſe,
But trace the paths to long celeſtial joys.
By them the virtuous *lover* does impart
The ſoft, engaging dictates of his heart.
By them the yielding *nymph* replies again,
And without bluſhing owns her faithful ſwain.
Theſe favours, tho' ſhe do's not dying ſing,
The *goeſe* contributes from her uſeful wing.
Nor do's ſhe beg the boon of flatt'ring verſe,
Her real worth, and merit to reheaſe. [days,
From *Chaucer*'s times to theſe our preſent
The *grey goeſe-quill* was ever held in praiſe.
And, if that verſe eternity can give,
Its name and honours ſhall for ever live.

The earneſt Intreaty; or, mild Expoſtulation: An Epiſtle, to Miſs B—rb—r, *of* Ch——.

BE not,—good, dear *Eliza!*—ſo chagrin'd,
Tho' (as you're pleas'd to term it,) * *magazin'd*.
Can ſimple, harmleſs, inoffenſive verſe
A well-eſtabliſh'd character aſperſe?—
Can it your fame, in any wiſe, affect?
Does it imply unfriendly diſreſpect?—
Some, who their worthleſs names can barely write,
Perhaps,—or out of complaiſance, or ſpite,—
May a cenſorious ſentence freely paſs;
And call the publiſher,—*abuſive aſs*:
Nay,—a ſtill more vindictive verdict give,
And ſay,—*your brother is not fit to live!*
But why ſhou'd you to their opinion truſt,
That always ſtrive to *aggravate* diſguſt?—
Why, take that perſon for your beſt of friends,
Who true reſpect, but *outwardly pretends*?
Others, perhaps,—neglected and forlorn,—
Toſs up their noſes, with an air of ſcorn;
Thro' black'ning envy, and with breath impure,
My dear *Maria*'s brightneſs wou'd obſcure.
But, O! how vain are all their wild remarks!
In vain each brainleſs, brutiſh creature barks.
For, tho' delirious dames, with leſ'ning lips,
Wou'd fain her glorious excellence eclipſe;—
Tho' ſuch bright worth each *fuſty female* vex,
Yet ſtill *Maria* ſhines, and tow'rs *above her ſex*.
Sublime *Maria!*—lovely, charming wife!
Much envy'd comfort of my crazy life!
Still ſing, and ſhine, and ſoar above the ſkies:
Still charm, with ſplendid verſe, the wondring eyes,
And raviſh'd hearts, of all the good and wiſe.
As for *my own* raw, dull, advent'rous rhyme;—
Why ſhou'd it, pray, be judg'd ſo great a crime?
Why, why, *(Eliza!)* are you ſo ſevere,
'Cauſe I in ſuch good company appear?
You'll grant,—my *Poll*'s free, eaſy, artleſs lays,
When ſeen in private, may deſerve ſome praiſe;
But wonder, how I raſhly cou'd ſubjoin,
That haſty, home-ſpun, hobbling ſtuff of *mine!*—
No ſoil, I own, does bright *Maria* need:
Yet, hence (I hope,) no diff'rence can proceed.
Nor can it, ſure, the leaſt diſpleaſure cauſe,
Tho' I ſtill ſhare her juſtly-gain'd applauſe.
For mayn't the *huſband* to himſelf apply
The *wife*'s deſert, and taſte of ev'ry joy?
O! may he not, with equal juſtice, claim
Her *portion*, *parts*,—her *fortune*, and her *fame*?
As mutual comfort, what ſo fit and meet?
Proſperity, when ſhar'd, becomes more ſweet.
Why, then, *Eliza* ſhou'd it angry make,
That of *Maria*'s fame I thus partake? [ſhare
You'll own, no doubt,—my ſcanty, ſlender
Her luſtre cannot, in the leaſt, impair.
And I (with ſhame, alas!) myſelf muſt own,
My mean attempts were better ſeen alone.
While your ſweet, charming *ſiſter* is in ſight,
In me, 'tis vain preſumption, then, to write.
All this may well be true, I frankly own;
Yet may, ſometimes, ſome ſmall regard be ſhewn
For *vulgar* things:—thus, when the ſetting *ſun*
His daily, glorious taſk has newly done,
Still, ſtill, th' unweary'd traveller purſues
Th' unconſtant path; nor does with ſcorn refuſe
The help of *meaner lights*, but onwards bend
His chequer'd courſe, till at his journey's end.
If, from my ſhining ſpouſe, I therefore ſtrive
A middling ſort of merit to derive,
And, by good chance, her beauteous beams reflect,—
Muſt I, for this, incur your diſreſpect?
Sure, ſure, *Eliza!* this can ne'er be right:—
Shall mortals bear the glim'ring *moon* a ſpite,
Becauſe ſhe only ſhines with *borrow'd light*?

* *See* London Magazine, *Vol. V. p.* 635.

Per-

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Perhaps, you'll, only—with *a piſh!*—reply,
And, to my ſorrow, ſay,—when ſimple I,
Thus, to my aid, *ſun, moon,* and *ſtars,* invoke,
I but the more my injur'd friend provoke: —
That, in whatever *light* the thing is ſet,
You've ſtill abundant cauſe to fume and fret;
Ah me! the killing thought!—O dire diſgrace! —
If this ſhou'd prove my diſmal, deſp'rate caſe.—
But (ſure!) *Eliza* can't be ſo unkind!
Dwells ſuch reſentment in a lady's mind?
Yet, after all, —if you'll be angry ſtill,
Of ſatisfaction take your utmoſt fill. [*done:*
I thought no harm, I'm ſure;—nor harm have
Tho' ſtill, perhaps, I'm but where I begun.
Yet, why ſhou'd I think ſo?—why thus deſpair? —
Your *ſex* is *fav'rable,* as well as *fair.*
And, more than this, —*you* nearly are *ally'd*
To my ſweet, dear, meek, mild, forgiving *bride:*
You are, in part, *Maria*'s fleſh and blood;
And will, at length, (I hope!)—nay, cannot
but be — *good.*

R. D.

We hope our Correſpondent will excuſe the Liberty we have taken of contracting this Poem, ſince we find long Performances diſagreeable to the Generality of our Readers; on which Account we are at laſt oblig'd (contrary to our Intention) to omit the Sturdy Beggar.

To the AUTHOR *of* COMMON SENSE.

IF *vulgar* ſenſe is *common* ſenſe,
As all learn'd criticks have agreed,
Thine to its title has pretence;
And thine is *common* ſenſe indeed!
Comxion and *proſtitute* agree,
Whoe'er bids moſt, when put to ſale,
Is ſure to buy both her and thee;
The *patriot*'s head, and *ſtrumpet*'s tail.
Whate'er is *common* we deſpiſe;
Our wives and wine, if common, ſlight:
Change then thy ſtyle, if thou art wiſe,
And *proper* ſenſe, for *common,* write.
Yet ſure thy *common ſenſe* was wrong,
The dregs of *D'Anvers* to refine!
To hope the venom of that tongue,
Which ſtain'd his fame, ſhould brighten thine!
But, ah! at laſt, the *droll* give o'er,
For prudence, wicked ſatire quit:
One page of wiſdom will be more
Thy friend, than fifty ſheets of wit.
But if reſolv'd, each week to blend
The *pert* and *vain,* dear ſtateſman, know,
Thy ſenſe too mean to gain a friend,
And malice, to provoke a foe!
Would'ſt thou the patriot's fame dilate,
— In rage and oppoſition riſe!
Too fooliſh to deſerve their hate,
Thy foes can only yet deſpiſe!
Yet, ev'n from theſe, thy heart may meet
Something that may its cares begeile:
At thy dear, fav'rite, weekly ſheet
They laugh — whilſt thou canſt only ſmile.
How great thy weakneſs, or thy pride!
Hoping that ſtateſman's heart to fright;
Who can even *St. J—n*'s pen deride,
And ſhake his ſides at *B—n—d*'s ſpite.
Fair freedom's lov'd and glorious cauſe
Shall he deſert, and meanly quit;
Give up his country's loud applauſe!
In dread of *S——p*'s frown or wit.
Shall he bribe *L—tt——n*'s pert pen,
Wiſh it more friendly, or leſs keen,
Or beg him not to print again,
Who laughs each day at *P——y*'s ſpleen?
Each pigmy patriot ſhould deſiſt,
Viewing his giant-brothers ſlain;
Nor hope to conquer with a ſiſt,
Where ſwords have puſh'd ſo oft in vain.
Whether it goes by land or barge,
Henceforth thy *Perſian* packet *frank;*
For *Britiſh* lies, to pay the charge
Each month, may break thy *Muley*'s bank.
Had he th' alternative to chuſe,
To want the gift, or pay the coſt,
Thy *Muſſulman* would rather loſe
The wit, than ſatisfy the poſt.
The next learn'd letter that you ſend,
Ah, kindly with your *Perſian* deal!
And, writing to your *Aſian* friend,
Direct it always *free.* ——

T. L.

Epitaph on the Grave-Stone of John Sprong, *Carpenter to the late Lord Chancellor* King, *Baron of* Ockham.

John Sprong
Died *November* xvii.
M.D.CCXXXVI.
Aged LX.

Who many *a ſturdy oak* has laid along,
Fell'd by death's ſurer hatchet, here lies *Sprong;*
Poſts oft he made, yet ne'er a place cou'd get,
And liv'd by *railing,* tho' he was no wit;
Old ſaws he had, altho' *no antiquarian,*
And *ſtiles corrected,* yet was *no grammarian.*
Long liv'd he *Ockham*'s premier architect,
And lafting as his fame, a tomb t' erect,
In vain we ſeek *an artiſt* ſuch as he,
Whoſe *pales* and *gates* were for eternity;
So here he reſts, from all life's toils and follies,
Oh ſpare, kind heav'n, his fellow lab'rer *Hollis.* *

HORACE, *Ode* 10th. *Book* 2d.

Rectius vivet, Licini, &c.

THE way, my friend, to live at eaſe
Is not to dare th' uncertain ſeas,

* *Bricklayer to his Lordſhip.*

Not

Nor yet, left mounting billows roar,
To ſteer too nigh the ſhelvy ſhore.
Thrice happy he, the golden mien,
Whoſe bleſt ambition ſtrives to gain:
Modeſt in wiſh, not proudly great,
He ſhuns high grandeur's envy'd ſeat;
Nor meanly humble, is ſet free
From dreaded ſhameful poverty.
Its height does the tall pine expoſe
To blaſting winds and chilling ſnows.
The loftier the proud mountains riſe,
The more they feel th' inclement ſkies.
The man, my friend, that's truly great,
Bravely ſubmits to either ſtate;
Fate's ſmiles or frowns with calmneſs bears,
Nor raſhly hopes, nor vainly fears.
Tho' winter now in icy chains
Confin'd th' impriſon'd earth detains;
Wiſh'd ſpring will ſoon return again,
And bleſs us with its milder reign.
Phœbus his darts not alway plies;
Sometimes his bow neglected lies,
Whilſt the gay god ſerenely ſings,
And artful ſtrikes his ſounding ſtrings.
Does wav'ring fortune prove unkind?
Arm with content your ſteady mind.
Does ſhe now ſend a proſp'rous gale? [ſail.
With care contract your too-much-ſwelling

FIDELIO.

On reading Leonidas.

WHEN great *Leonidas* the nine implor'd
With his laſt breath * his labours to record,
Why did they fail thoſe glories to rehearſe
For twice ten hundred years in epick verſe?
They bade their hero for a *Glover* ſtay,
And with large int'reſt paid the long delay.

D.

On reading a ſevere Criticiſm on Leonidas *in the* Weekly Miſcellany.

HOW has poor *Glover* wak'd the clergy's ire?
He makes a prieſt † for liberty expire!
Then by his foes it ſure muſt be conſeſs'd,
One miracle at leaſt his work has grac'd.

D.

The SPIRITUAL BREWERS.

THE *Pope*'s head tavern all the trade had got,
Martin and *Jack* deſpis'd a drawer's lot:
How muſt their pride and peeviſhneſs be laid?
The *Pope* would take no partners in the trade.
They ſwear his liquors are not worth a louſe,
And join to ruin his well cuſtom'd houſe;
His dear bad wine they juſtly both cry down,
And get away his cuſtomers in town,
But vent for good the *brewings of their own*.
Both of a trade, they quickly diſagree; [he:
Each ſwears he ſells neat port, and none but
Martin ſo proud, he made the motion firſt,
At *Jack*'s good trade is ready juſt to burſt;
Harangues the mayor, on ev'ry market day,
That his wine-licence may be took away:
And fires the mob, to have his rival kick'd
Out of the town, for ſelling wine ſo prick'd.
Jack, in *bye houſe*, for buſineſs makes a puſh,
And quotes the proverb, *Good wine needs no buſh*:
Slily pretending his wine more fin'd down,
Contends with *Martin* to ſerve all the town:
Blames his ill way of hanging up a ſign,
And making of his bar, like *Peter*'s, fine.
Diſcord betwixt theſe wine-reforming men,
Makes the *Pope*'s tavern bravely fill again.
Would lay-ſots, for themſelves, but dare to taſte;
Their frauds and Impoſitions could not laſt:
Chriſtians, their wine, imported neat from far,
To take pure from the keys ſhou'd make their care;
Peter, *Jack*, *Martin*, only *coopers* are.

On one of a general curſory Knowledge. To Attilus. *Martial*, *Epig.* 8. *L.* 4.

PRETTY you *plead*, and *pretty* you *rehearſe*,
You *pretty biſt'ries* write, and *pretty verſe*;
With *pretty* art you *pantomime* compoſe,
With *pretty* turns your *epigrams* you cloſe;
A *pretty* good *grammarian* you are known,
A *pretty* good *aſtrologer* you're grown;
Pretty you *dance*, and you as *pretty ſing*,
With *pretty* air you touch the *fiddle-ſtring*;
You talk with *pretty* knowledge of the *ſtate*,
With *pretty* knowledge tell an *op'ra*'s fate;
Of things *divine* you *prettily* diſpute,
And have a *pretty* taſte to chuſe a *ſuit*;
You're vers'd in *Newton prettily* enough,
And *prettily* are vers'd to take your *ſnuff*:
When you a *gen'ral knowledge* thus amaſs,
Do all things *pretty*, yet in nought *ſurpaſs*;
—Shall I ſay what you are?—*a pretty* aſs.

The Happineſs *of a* COUNTRY LIFE.

THRICE happy man! who in ſome lone retreat
Far from the buſy world and lordly great,
Contentedly reſolves to ſpend his days,
Smit with the charms of unmoleſted eaſe.
Whoſe own poſſeſſions gratefully afford
Fit entertainment for an humble board;
Whoſe fertile grounds in each revolving year,
Return large tribute of unpurchas'd fare.
What tho' his houſe no *Attick* order ſhows,
No laviſh coſt of uſeleſs portico's?
No gay feſtoons, no fluted colonade,
Or carv'd pilaſter in the front diſplay'd.
No long arcades t' invite the chilling air,
And make a winter in the vernal year.
No narrow lights t'exclude the welcom ſun,
As if we liv'd beneath the torrid zone.
What tho' no foreign tap'ſtry hide the wall,
Where frightful images confus'dly ſprawl?
Or rooms with *Turky* carpets cover'd o'er,
Leſt the rude ſhoe offend the nicer floor.

* *P.* 279. † *Magiſtias, Leon p.* 339.

What tho' no mutilated busts are shown
Of gods or heroes cut in *Parian* stone? [lay
Redeem'd from rubbish, where they mouldring
Till prying antiqu'ry summon'd them to day.
Yet he enjoys a pleasant rural seat
Adapted to his station and estate:
Where true contentment join'd with innocence,
Diffuse around their friendly influence;
Where easy quiet calms each ruder thought
And makes his life unconscious of a fault.
Here injur'd justice fix'd her latest stand,
Lingring awhile, before she left the land.
He to whom heav'n designs this kind supply,
Is truly rich in humble poverty:
To him all nature opens all her store,
Nor leaves a thought to wish or ask for more.
But lest the bounteous smiles of providence
Should cause supinity or indolence;
His own affairs demand his watchful eyes
Each day's appointed labour to revise:
He takes his morning walks, the fields surveys,
And promis'd hopes of future harvest sees.
Whilst to compleat the happy scene of life,
At home a chast, good-natur'd, prudent wife,
With chearful glee acts in her proper sphere,
And takes her burthen of domestick care:
A good œconomist, manages with ease,
And all her study is her spouse to please.
Mute when he rages, soothes when he complains,
And shares by sympathy his joys or pains.
O happy pair! whose thoughts thus will the same,
One common object of their wishes frame;
With easy chains the willing captives bind,
An union both of body and of mind.
Each coming day their passion but improves,
And adds new blessings of connubial loves.
Let pamper'd nobles irksom pass away
A useless life in lazy apathy:
Their sole employ in each *Lethæan* draught
To kill those foes to pleasure time and thought.
The rural lord esteems the goods of heav'n,
For different ends and wiser causes giv'n.
Hence by his work the poor are cloth'd and fed,
Hence helpless infants eat their daily bread.
Successive labours opportune supply
The circling orb with sweet variety. [year,
When first bright *Phœbus* warms the coming
The yeaning ewes and lambkins are his care;
Then yellow harvest next imbrowns the fields,
And all his treasures fruitful autumn yields.
His woods affording their alternate aid,
In winter fire, and in summer shade.
Blest man! who ev'ry hour of life can find
Some fit amusement for the thoughtful mind.
Nor only business all his time employs,
He sometimes gives a loose to other joys,
Whilst every season of the year supplies
Grateful vicissitude of exercise.
Sweet recreation! which at once combin'd,
Refresh the body and regale the mind.
When *Phœbus* turning from the wintry signs
In *Aries* and *Taurus* gaily shines:
And with more genial heat and fruitful show'rs
Raises the vernal bloom and pregnant flow'rs.
He rises at the early dawn of day
And to the distant fields directs his way;
Where the pure stream in wild *Mæanders* lead
Its murm'ring waters thro' the verdant meads:
Under some friendly shade he takes his stand,
And eyes the dancing quill and trembling wand.
The scaly herd with fury gorge the bait,
And in one greedy morsel meet their fate.
[*To be continued.*]

The humble Petition of the School-Master of Br—ton *in the Parish of* Pr—ston, Lancashire, *to the Trustees.*

GOOD folks! 'tis necessity makes me complain,
And necessity has no law all men maintain.
Be pleas'd to attend, while I tell my condition,
And you'll find I've just reason to write a petition. [master been
Be it known to you then, I've your school-
From the year of our lord seven hundred fix-
teen; [ers]
And taxes *(still counted the nation's heart-break-*
For my sake, were never yet lay'd on your acres. [worse is,
Nor yet for repairs, which a thing not much
Did you ever untie the stiff strings of your purses. [tain,
A school like a palace, thou'd grandeur main-
Where the master in state like a monarch should reign;
His desk like a throne shou'd a terror convey,
And his rod wav'd on high like a sceptre shou'd sway.
Τον δ' ἀτομεζόμενον never shou'd fall,
When roll'd off his tongue, on adirty clay wall,
But to rouse the lethargick young pupils to wonder, [thunder.
Shou'd rebound from a wainscot, and rattle like
Thus the puny *republick* wou'd still be kept meek,
For who can withstand a loud volly of *Greek*;
But alas! no such furniture falls to my share,
Instead of a desk, I've a lame oaken chair,
Whose creacking sings prognosticate dismal disaster,
That at last it will shrink with the weight of its master. [down,
Thus the statelieſt structures with age tumble
And ruins extend to a sceptre and crown.
Where a wainscot shou'd shine with rich paint cover'd o'er, [all tore;
There appears a dead wall with the plaistering
Then how can there be of complaint a forbearance? [appearance.
When the school is reduc'd to such pye-ball'd
At *Preston* not so; (if I may be allow'd
In comparison great things with smaller to crowd)
There sash'd in the front rises full to the eye,
A stately proud edifice three stories high,
Where each lofty room with fine wainscot or plaister
Proclaim a munificent town to the master.

Here

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Here taught by ſam'd *Smith* is the uſe of the ſtandiſh, [diſh:
And here the ſmart birch *a triumvirate* bran-
Here *D—is* of ſize liliputian ſtruts grander
Than e'er did the tutor of great *Alexander*;
For if we may credit what old ſages talk,
He ſo far from a *ſtrut* had a *ſtoop* in his walk:
Of the *Stagyrite* tho' one account that we have is [*D—is*
He was *fully as learn'd* as our rev'rend *Will.*
But ſuch mighty favours I ne'er expect from ye,
Nor won'd ſuch extravagant methods become ye.
Conſider that he is a man of the gown,
And collegians of courſe are careſs'd by the town.
If a caſſock and wig but bedeck the out ſkin,
Some are ſure that abundance of wit lurks within: [ſpoken)
But caſſocks and wigs are (believe the word
As of grace ſo of learning not always the token; [cloth,
Tho' to give commendation that's due to the
Let a *Peploe* ſtep forward, and then you ſee both.
I aſk no magnificent buildings, nor crave
But what an induſtrious teacher ſhou'd have;
That you'd pleaſe where you ſee a large chaſm in the thatch,
To place there a barley, or oaten ſtraw patch.
For why ſhou'd not *thatching* be ſmooth, and compleat as
A *rhetorical ſentence*, without an *hiatus*.
Thro' the window where *Phœbus* pours in too much day [ray;
Let a glazier contrive to refract the ſtrong
For tho' I cou'd bear with his godſhip's bright luſtre, [ter.
Yet I care not ſo much for ſharp *Boreas*' bluſ-
As with ſuitors 'tas been ſtill the politick trade
Faſt to gain ſmaller boons, then to greater perſuade;
So I, yet with prudent regard to what's paſt,
Have forbore to reveal the great want to the laſt.
The boys by continual ſcratchings condole
The want of two ſav'rites, *Schrivelius*, and
Cole; [lumn
For here every word with the ſenſe in the co-
Is found in a trice in each magical volume;
So that ſhou'd not the meaning by ſtudy come pat in
Of a claſſical author in *Greek* or in *Latin*,
Theſe wou'd by a glance of the eye in a moment [ment.
Of the knotticſt ſentences give them a com-
The words rang'd in order, a tip of the thumb
Make at once to the view the moſt difficult come;
As *Fauſtus* was ſaid by a touch of his wand
To make the books fly from the ſhelves to his hand.
But deprive'd of theſe helps you may ſee e'ery lad
Inſtead of a ſmile, wear a countenance ſad;
And unleſs I reſolve by my ſkill their hard caſes
(As I am by profeſſion a *pick luck of phraſes*)
They ſtill might be poring, and poring in vain,
And as ſoon as their *Flaccus* the *Sybils* explain.
Pray, what is an artiſt, his tools thrown away?
Can a potter have power, except he has clay?
Can muſick be ſtruck from an uniform'd ſhell?
For want of a clapper how dull ſounds the bell?
The parſon is apt without notes to miſcarry,
Much more the poor ſchool-boys without dictionary.
Relieve us, and quickly; our grievance I've told,
The books are at *Hopkins*'s ſhop to be ſold;
The prices but trivial, much leſs than a pound,
And we'll pray for you ſtill, as in duty we're bound.

Claudian. *De Raptu Proſerpinæ.* Book 2d.

The Deſcription of Proſerpine *weaving.*

O'ER all the rooms a pleaſing ſilence reigns
Attentive to the nymph's melodious ſtrains
Whilſt for her mother ſhe in vain deſigns
A curious gift, where in its luſtre ſhines
Her greateſt ſkill.—firſt with the needle's trace,
She mark'd each element its proper place;
Show'd how, when all things dark confuſion hid,
From *Chaos* order roſe, as nature bid.
Here tow'rds their centres various atoms tend,
The heavier ſink, the lighter ſwift aſcend:
The æther look'd inflam'd with glowing heat;
Below, the waves in murmuring ſurges beat;
There the earth hung ſelf-balanced in its ſeat.
Nor was one colour thro the tapeſtry ſeen,
The ſtars were gold, the waters flow'd in green;
Gems grac'd the coaſt for rocks: her thread ſo well
She plac'd, the billows ſeem to foam and ſwell;
You'd think you heard them with an echo-ing roar
Daſh the ſea-weed againſt the founding ſhore,
And murm'ring o'er the ſands their current pour. [pleat,
Five zones ſhe adds to make the work com-
The middle raging with the dog-ſtar's heat:
By too much ſun, (ſuch was her wond'rous art,)
The loom look'd parch'd and dry'd in every part.
On either ſide the temperate zones appear,
Where milder ſeaſons grace the circling year.
Near the web's utmoſt bounds you might behold
The regions curſt with everlaſting cold:
There winter reign'd in all its horrors dreſt,
And e'en the threads a frozen hue expreſt.
Next hell's grim tyrant's gloomy court ſhe drew,
And brought his hid dominions forth to view:
When a foreboding prodigy enſu'd:
For ſudden tears her beauteous cheeks bedew'd.
Now round the borders of the web began
The waves to flow, and cloſe the deſtin'd plan:
When the three goddeſſes approach'd the room,
Whom the nymph ſeeing roſe, and left her loom;
Surpriz'd at gueſts divine, a purple red,
The ſign of modeſty, her cheeks beſpred;
With ſuch a bluſh no ivory can vie,
By *Lydian* virgins ſtain'd with *Tyrian* dye.

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THE
Monthly Chronologer.

WEDNESDAY, *May* 4.

THE great Cauſe between the Cordwainers and Curriers came on at the Sittings of the Court of *Common Pleas* at *Weſtminſter*, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Willes*; when, after a Trial which laſted above ſeven Hours, the Court and Jury were of Opinion, that the Curriers had no Right to cut Leather, and ſell it, and that it was an Infringement on the Trade of a Cordwainer, who obtained a Verdict accordingly.

WEDNESDAY, 11.

This Day was taken up at the Stern of a Ship near *Iron-gate*, the Body of *Euſtace Budgell*, Eſq; who threw himſelf out of a Boat a Week before, and was drown'd. On ſearching his Pockets there was found a gold Watch and ſome Money; as alſo a Paper with theſe Words, *The Bearer hereof*, Euſtace Budgell, *Eſq; is my Secretary*, and ſign'd *Orrery*. The Coroner's Inqueſt ſate the next Day on his Body, and brought in their Verdict *Lunacy*. He appeared very much diſordered for a Day or two before he drowned himſelf: His Servant Maid, the Night before, hid his Sword, which uſed to lie under his Pillow, to prevent his attempting his Life. When he went out, he ſaid he ſhould not come home any more, and talked very wildly. His Maid, who watch'd him, ſaw him take Coach in *Hatton Garden*, and took the Number of the Coach; when he came to *Holbourn*, he diſcharged that Coach, and took another, in which he drove to *Dorſet Stairs*, where he was ſeen ſtooping ſeveral Times, in order, as appear'd afterwards, to fill his Pockets with Stones; and then took Water for *Greenwich*, as he ſaid, but would needs ſit in the Stern when he came near the Bridge, leaving his Sword upon the Seat. The Waterman objected to his ſitting there; but he ſaid, it was cooleſt, and what he choſe. When the Boat was under the Bridge, he threw himſelf into the Water, as above mention'd, and ſunk inſtantly. 'Twas ſaid he expected an Execution to enter his Houſe the next Day; and that he had a Cauſe to come on at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, which gave him great Uneaſineſs. He left in his Eſcritore a ſhort Scrap of a Will, wrote a Day or two before, importing, that he left to his natural Daughter *Anne Euſtace* (a Child of about 11 Years of Age) all his Perſonal Eſtate. He was the Author of divers Pieces, and particularly of ſeveral *Spectators*; of the Hiſtory of the *Boyles* Earls of *Orrery*; of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*; of the Weekly Pamphlet call'd the *Bee*, and ſeveral Poetical Pieces. He was Executor, *&c.* of the Will of the late noted Dr. *Matthew Tindall*, and had Poſſeſſion of all his Papers. The abovemention'd Cauſe was ſaid to be in relation to the Dr's Will.

THURSDAY, 12.

A Load of Wheat belonging to Farmer *Waters* of *Britford* near *Sarum*, going to *Red-Bridge* for Exportation, was ſtopped near *White* Pariſh, by about threeſcore People, who firſt knocked down the Fore-Horſe, then cut the Waggon and Wheels to Pieces, cut the Sacks, and ſtrew'd the Corn about, and declared they would ſerve all Perſons after that Manner they ſhould meet with, who ſhould offer to carry any more Wheat for Exportation. The ſame Perſons afterwards ſtopped ſeveral other Waggons, ſome of which were loaded with Malt, which, after Examination, they let paſs.

FRIDAY, 13.

There were Accounts from *Ludlow*, *Biſhop's Caſtle*, and ſeveral other Places in *Shropſhire*, that on this Day in the Morning, while the Inhabitants were in their Beds, they felt an Earthquake, which continued ſome Minutes.

SATURDAY, 14.

This Day, being the Market Day, paſt ſix in the Evening, the Seſſions and Market-Houſe at *Namptwich* in *Cheſhire* fell down; by which unhappy Accident nine Perſons were kill'd, and ſeveral hurt and wounded. 'Tis obſerved the Buildings had not been erected more than 16 Years, and that ſix Months ago, at a Quarter-Seſſions, it gave evident Signs that it would ſoon tumble.

TUESDAY, 17.

The Coroner's Jury, having ſate ſeveral Times on the Body of Corporal *Cluff*, whoſe Death was ſaid to be occaſion'd by ſeveral Blows and Bruiſes on his Breaſt, given him by a Colonel in the firſt Regiment of Foot Guards, with the But End of a Muſket; after examining a great Number of Witneſſes, brought in their Verdict, *Wilful Murder*, againſt the ſaid Colonel.

At *Oxford*, Dr. *Radcliffe's* Truſtees laid the Foundation-Stone of his Library, between St. *Mary's* Church and the publick Schools, attended by the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, Maſters, *&c.* of the Univerſity. The Orator made a Speech on this Occaſion; and all the Truſtees had the Degree of Doctor of Law conferred on them, except Lord *Noel Somerſet*, who had been preſented with it before.

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SUNDAY, 22.

The noted Highwayman, *Turpin* the Butcher, (who lately kill'd a Man who endeavour'd to take him on *Epping* Foreſt) this Night robbed ſeveral Gentlemen in their Coaches and Chaiſes, at *Holloway*, and the back Lanes at *Iſlington*, and took from them ſeveral Sums of Money. One of the Gentlemen ſignified to him, that he had reigned a long Time; *Turpin* reply'd, *'Tis no matter for that, I am not afraid of being taken by you; therefore don't ſtand beſitating, but give me the Cole.*

TUESDAY, 24.

A Meſſage was ſent by his Majeſty, to deſire the Commons would ſettle a Jointure of 50000 *l. per Annum* on her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales*, in caſe ſhe ſurvives the Prince; or to enable his Majeſty to make the ſame Proviſion. A Bill was unanimouſly ordered in accordingly.

WEDNESDAY, 25.

A Man was brought from *Portſmouth* under a ſtrong Guard of Dragoons to the *Marſhalſea*, for being concern'd with *Richard Coyle* in the Murder of Capt. *Berj. Hartley*, for which *Coyle* was executed the 14th of *March* laſt. (See p. 164.)

The Claim of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Burlington* to the Barony of *Clifford*, was heard in the Houſe of Lords; when his Lordſhip proving himſelf deſcended from *Elizabeth* the Daughter of Lord *Clifford*, ſo created 3 *Car.* I. and afterwards Earl of *Cumberland*, the Barony was adjudg'd to his Lordſhip by the Houſe of Peers.

MONDAY, 30.

The Birth-Day of their Royal Highneſſes the Princeſs *Amelia* and *Caroline*, was celebrated, when the former enter'd into the 27th and the latter into the 25th Year of their Ages.

The Following is the Scheme of the intended Lottery, conſiſting of 70000 Tickets, at 10 *l.* each.

Diſtribution of Blanks and Prizes.

N°		*l.*		*l.*
1	of	10000	is	10000
2	— — —	5000	— — —	10000
3	— — —	3000	— — —	9000
6	— — —	2000	— — —	12000
18	— — —	1000	— — —	18000
30	— — —	500	— — —	15000
90	— — —	100	— — —	9000
200	— — —	50	— — —	10000
6650	— — —	20	— — —	133000
7000	Prizes, amounting to		— —	226000
	Firſt Drawn		— —	500
	Laſt Drawn		— —	1000
63000	Blanks at 7 *l.* 10 *s.* each			472500
70000	Tickets at 10 *l.* each		— —	700000

14 *l. per Cent.* is to be deducted out of the Blanks and Prizes, when drawn, for building a Bridge at *Weſtminſter*; and a Premium of 3 *l. per Cent.* allowed to the Subſcribers of 50 Tickets, and upwards.

If any Tickets remain unſubſcribed, the Commiſſioners have Power to lock up ſuch Tickets for Account and Riſque of the Bridge.

That thoſe Perſons who have ſubſcribed to the former Lottery, ſhall have the ſame Advantages as the new Subſcribers: And if the whole Number of Tickets is not ſubſcribed for or accepted of by the Commiſſioners, for Account and Riſque of the Bridge, the Subſcribers ſhall have their Money returned on Demand.

The Blanks and Prizes to be paid at the Bank forty Days after the Drawing is finiſhed.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

RICHARD *Greenville*, Eſq; Nephew to the Lord Viſcount *Cobham*, and Member of Parl. for *Buckingham*, to Miſs *Chambers*, ſecond Daughter of *Tho. Chambers*, late of *Hanworth*, *Middleſex*, Eſq;

Mr. *Pauncefort* of *Hanover-Square*, to Miſs *Dodd*, of *Denmark-ſtreet*.

Francis Gwynn, of *Devonſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Lora Pitt*.

Stephen Curtis, of *Cirencester*, Eſq; to Miſs *Middleton*, of *Chelſea*.

Rev. Dr. *Creſſet*, Dean of *Hereford*, to Miſs *Pelham* of *Lewes*, *Suſſex*.

Edward Thompſon, Eſq; Member for *York*, to Miſs *Moor*, of *Oſſetkirk*, *Yorkſhire*.

Mr. *Glover*, Author of *Leonidas*, to Miſs *Nunn*, a Lady of 12,000*l.* Fortune.

Mr. *Yate*, an eminent Attorney near *Great Budworth* in *Cheſhire*, to Mrs. *Jones*, a rich Widow of *Cheſter*.

Harbord Harbord, Eſq; late Knight of the Shire for *Norfolk*, to Mrs. *Marcon*, Relict of ——— *Marcon*, Eſq; and Daughter of Sir *Benjamin Wrench*, Knt.

Mr. *Pulteney*, Son to General *Pulteney*, to Brigadier *Otway*'s Daughter.

William Riggs, Eſq; of *Hants*, to Miſs *Webb*, a 40000 *l.* Fortune.

The Lady of the Hon. Mr. *Fitzmaurice*, ſecond Son to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Kerry*, ſafely deliver'd, at *Dublin*, of a Son.

DEATHS.

COunſellor *Croſts*, of *Lincoln's-Inn*.

Sir *John Sedley*, Bart.

Rev. Dr. *Burrell*, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty.

Sir *Nathaniel Trimnel*, Bart.

George Anneſley, Eſq; Senior Bencher of the *Temple*, aged 104.

Capt. *George Hill*, ſeveral Years Commander of one of the *S. S.* Company's Snows.

Rev. Mr. *Tho. Corniſh*, Rector of *Wheatfield*, and Vicar of *Great Milton* in *Oxfordſhire*.

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At the *Bath*, aged 95, the Hon. *James Johnſton*, of *Twickenham* in *Middleſex*, Eſq; Son of the Lord *Warriſton*, beheaded in *Scotland* in 1663. He was Envoy to the Elector of *Brandenburgh* (afterwards King of *Pruſſia*) in the Reign of K. *William*, and alſo Secretary of State to that Prince, and Lord Regiſter of *Scotland* in the Reign of Q. *Anne*.

Rev. Dr. *Hugh*, Rector of *Newington*, and St. *George*, *Southwark*.

Humphry Sydenham, Eſq; at *Sandwich*, *Kent*.

Rev. Mr. *Frederick Daniel Bougart*, Miniſter of the *Dutch* Church in *Auſtin-Fryars*.

Chriſtopher Hopkins, Bookſeller at *Lancaſter*, a Perſon remarkable for having never drank any ſtrong Liquors. He was well ſkill'd in *Greek* and *Latin*, and moſt of the modern Languages. His Zeal for the preſent Eſtabliſhment appear'd in a ſingular Inſtance, of his buying up all the Gunpowder in *Lancaſter*, and ſinking it in a Well, to prevent its falling into the Hands of the *Scotch* Rebels.

Townſhend Andrews, Eſq; Deputy Pay-Maſter of the Forces, and Memb. of Parl. for *Boſſiney* in *Cornwall*.

Mrs. *Nicholls*, Mother of the late Sir *Gunter Nichols*, Knight of the *Bath*.

Capt. *Edmund Williamſon*, who was abroad in the Wars with K. *William*, and ſometime Serjeant at Arms to the Hon. Houſe of Commons.

George Venable, Eſq; in *Glouceſter-ſtreet*.

Mr. *Smith*, Common-Council Man of *Alderſgate* Ward.

Sir *William Chapman*, Knt. and Bart. Son of Sir *John Chapman*, Knt. who was Lord Mayor of *London* at the Revolution. He was Governor of the Hoſpitals of *Chriſt-Church* and St. *Bartholomew's*, and ſucceeded the late Hon. Mr. Auditor *Harley* as Chairman of the Society of Treaſurers and Truſtees of all the Charity-Schools in the Bills of Mortality and Parts adjacent. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his eldeſt Son, now Sir *John Chapman*, Bart.

At his Lodgings in the *Hay-Market*, *Alexander Cunningham*, Eſq;

At *Turnham-Green*, Capt. *Jonas Hanway*, of *York-Buildings*.

At *Staines*, *Middleſex*, *Daniel Lawſon*, Eſq;

Mr. *John Spencer*, Maſter of the Pay-Office to the *Eaſt-India* Company.

In *Grofvenor-ſquare*, Lady *Mary Sanderſon*.

The Lady of Sir *Thomas Aſton*, Bart. Member for St. *Alban's*.

Sir *George Godfrey*, Knt. who was employed in ſeveral Stations by K. *William* III.

Rev. Mr. *Fiſhenden*, Rector of *Newenden*, and Vicar of *Rolvenden*, *Kent*.

Doctor *Bennet*, a Phyſician.

At *Tamworth*, the Rev. Mr. *Worthington*.

David Warburton, Eſq; a Gentleman poſſeſt of an Eſtate of 2000 *l. per Annum* in *Eſſex*.

Samuel Porten, Eſq; only Son of Sir *Francis Porten*, Knt. deceaſed, late Alderman of *Aldgate* Ward.

In *Rupert-Street*, *Goodman's Fields*, ——— *Hill*, Eſq; an eminent Brewer, in which Trade he acquired a large Fortune, and died worth 100000 *l.* It was annually his Cuſtom, every *Chriſtmaſs-Day*, to give to 150 poor Houſe-keepers of *Whitechapel*, a Quartern Loaf, half a Crown, and a Piece of Beef: He has left 100 *l.* to the Workhouſe of *Whitechapel* Pariſh.

David Joyce, Eſq; a Gentleman of a large Eſtate in *Suſſex*, which he has left to his two Nieces.

Philip Somerfield, Eſq; a young Gentleman of a very plentiful Eſtate at *Eaſtwell* in *Kent*.

At *Paddington*, *John Heathcot*, Eſq; a young Gentleman of 4000 *l. per Ann.* Eſtate.

Stephen Burry, Eſq; poſſeſs'd of an Eſtate of 2000 *l. per Ann.* in *Wiltſhire*, and in the Commiſſion of the Peace for that County.

John Conduitt, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Southampton*, and Maſter and Worker of his Majeſty's *Mint* in the *Tower* of *London*; in which Office he ſucceeded the great Sir *Iſaac Newton*.

Hon. Miſs *Jane Gower*, Siſter to her Grace the Dutcheſs of *Bedford*.

Tho. Bird, Eſq; Secretary to the *Hudſon's Bay* Company.

Mr. *Deneve*, an eminent *French* Merchant of this City.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

WILLIAM *Johnſon*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Thorpe Juxta Haddiſcoe*, *Norfolk*. *William Kay*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Nunnington*, in the Dioceſe of *York*. *Samuel Finton*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Throwley*, *Devonſhire*. Mr. *Smith*, to the Vicarage of *Eaſt-Tilbury*, *Eſſex*. Mr. *Gibſon*, preſented by his Father, the Bp. of *London*, to the Rectory of the United Pariſhes of St. *Matthew*, *Friday-ſtreet*, and St. *Peter*, *Cheap*. Mr. *Edward Chamberlayne* to the Rectory of *Bodney*, *Norfolk*. Mr *Thomas Walters* to the Rectory of *Portinion*, *Glamorganſhire*. Mr. *Thomas Pocklington* to the Vicarage of St. *Mary's* Church in *Leiceſter*. Mr *William Murray* to the Vicarage of *Stallingborough*, in *Lincolnſhire*. Mr. *Robert Prowze*, Miniſter of *Dawliſh*, *Devon*, inſtalled a Prebendary of *Exeter*; and Mr. *Hawtry*, Sub-Dean of St *Peter's*, inſtalled a Canon of the ſame; both in the Room of the Rev. Mr. *Canonworth*, who died lately at *Bath*. Mr. *Stephenſon*, one of the Fellows of *Clare-Hall*, *Cambridge*, appointed a Chaplain to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

RIGHT Hon. *Auguſtus*, Earl of *Berkley*, appointed Lord Lieutenant of the County

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ty of *Gloucester*, and also Constable of the Castle of St. *Briwal's* in the Forest of *Dean*, in the Room of the late Earl his Father. The Right Hon. the Lord *Delawar* appointed Governor of *Virginia*, in the Room of the late Earl of *Orkney*. Lieutenant *Denison* appointed Commander of the *Oxford* Man of War, of 50 Guns. Colonel *Filliot* made Colonel of the Regiment of Foot, lately commanded by *Brigadier*-General *Kane*. *John Morgan*, Esq; made a Captain in the Regiment of Foot late General *Tatton's*: Colonel *Frampton* appointed first Major of the first Regiment of Foot Guards; and Colonel *Merrick* appointed second Major in his Room. *Charles Mason*, Esq; made Deputy Pay-Master of his Majesty's Forces, in the Room of *Townshend Andrews*, Esq; deceas'd. *Daniel Knowles*, Esq; appointed Governor of *West-Tilbury*, in the Room of the late General *Tatton*. His Majesty granted unto *Henry Adams*, Esq; the Office of Serjeant at Arms in Ordinary, to attend upon his Majesty's Royal Person, in the room of *Benj. Hall*, Esq; deceas'd. Lieut. Gen. *Pearce* made Governor of *Londonderry* and *Culmore* Fort, *Ireland*, in the room of the late Lieut. Gen. *Wynne*. Brig. Gen. *Cope* made Col. of the late Gen. *Tatton's* Reg. of Foot. E. of *Crawfurd*, succeeds the Brig. Gen. in the Command of his Reg. on the *Irish* Estab. And Capt. *Ogle* succeeds his Lordship as Col. of a Comp. in the second Reg. of Guards.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN Newton, late of *Silver-Street*, *London*, Merchant. *Benjamin Bradley*, of *London-Street*, *London*, Broker and Chapman. *William Hill*, of *Bridgwater*, Malster. *John Swan*, of *Grantham*, *Lincolnshire*, Linen-Draper and Chapman. *John Buckle*, of *New Market*, *Suffolk*, Linen-Draper and Chapman. *William Bealey*, of *Horncastle*, *Lincolnsh.* Mercer. *William Rutter*, late of *Worksop*, *Nottingham*, Mercer. *James Hail*, of *Wickham-Market*, *Suffolk*. Mercer and Chapman. *James Longstaff*, of St. *Paul Shadwell*, *Middlesex*, Distiller. *Robert King*, of *Northampton*, Draper. *Thomas Satchwell*, of St. *Leonard Shoreditch*, Clothworker. *John Haill*, of *Blaxhall*, *Suffolk*, Merchant. *William Creak*, late of *Henly upon Thames*, Linen-draper and Chapman. *Thomas Coleman*, of *Southwark*, *Surrey*, Upholsterer and Chapman. *Walter Lacy*, late of *Swithin's Alley*, near the *Royal-Exchange*, Periwig-maker. *Benjamin Young*, late of *Brinkworth*, *Wilts*, Yarn-maker. *Robert Thompson*, late of *Yarm*, *York*, Grocer. *Thomas Horabin*, late of *Watling-Street*, *London*, but now of the *Poultry*, Carpenter and Chapman. *Thomas Little*, of the Parish of *Stroud*, *Gloucester*, Baker. *John Duell*, late of the Parish of St. *Clement Danes*, *Middlesex*, Chapman. *William Palmore*, of *Christian-Malford*, *Wilts*, Horse-dealer and Chapman.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	103 1/2 a 1/8	*Afric.*	14
—*Bonds*	4 2	*Royal Ass.*	112 1/4
—*Annu.*	112 1/4	*Lon. ditto*	14 7/8
Bank	147 1/4	3 *per C. An.*	106 1/4
—*Circ.*	3*l*	*Eng. Copper*	
Mil. Bank	121	*Salt Tallies*	1 a 4 1/2
India	181 1/2	*Emp. Loan*	116 1/8
—*Bonds*	7*l* 2*s*	*Equiv.*	114

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst.	35 2	*Bilboa*	
D. Sight	34 9	*Leghorn*	49 7/8
Rotter.	35 1	*Genoa*	52 7/8
Hamb.	34 2 1/4	*Venice*	50
P. Sight	32 7/16 a 1/8	*Lisb.*	5*l* 6*d*
Bourdx.	32 1/4 a 1/8	*Oport.*	5*l* 5*d* 1/2 a 1/8
Cadiz	41 1/2 40 1/4	*Antw.*	35 2
Madrid		*Dublin*	10 1/8

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	31 35	*Oates*	12 14
Rye	13 17	*Tares*	22 24
Barley	12 18	*Pease*	20 22
H. Beans	20 23	*H. Pease*	15 16
P. Malt	20 21	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *April* 26 to *May* 24.

Christned	Males 601, Females 608		1209
Buried	Males 972, Females 959		1931
Died under 2 Years old			724
Between	2 and 5		197
	5	10	73
	10	20	56
	20	30	162
	30	40	173
	40	50	182
	50	60	155
	60	70	99
	70	80	68
	80	90	33
	90 and upwards		9
			1931

Hay 5*l* to 5*l*. a Load.

Not-

NOtwithstanding the arbitrary Government and severe Laws established in *France* and *Spain*, they are not, it seems, without their Mobs and Tumults; for in *France*, there have lately been two, one at *Montargis*, on account of a Priest who was much esteemed by the People, but, perhaps for that very Reason, was recalled by his Superiors, and a new one sent in his Room, upon which Occasion the Mob rose to a great Height, and continued several Days, but were at last dispersed by the Authority of the Intendant, assisted by the prevailing Oratory of some regular Troops; and another in *Piccardy*, about *Abbeville* and *Boulogne*, on account of the Exportation of Corn, which was suppressed by the same salutary Methods. In *Spain* likewise, even in their capital City, *Madrid*, there has lately been a great Tumult, occasioned by the Scarcity of Corn in that Country; for the Bakers in that City being, it seems, confined not to take above the Statute Price for their Bread, and the Price of Corn having lately rose so high that they could not afford their Bread at that Price, they therefore shut up their Shops and refused to sell any; upon which the Mob rose, broke open several of their Shops, and not only took their Bread but gave them nothing for it but Blows: This Tumult was suppressed likewise by the same Sort of Oratory; and upon examining into the Complaints of Bakers, they were allowed to sell their Bread a fourth Part higher than the usual Statute Price, which Regulation, if seasonably made, would have prevented the Tumult; for there is seldom or ever a Tumult happens in any Country without some Fault or Neglect in the Magistrate: It is remarkable that in neither of these Kingdoms the Soldiers took the Liberty to fire upon the Mob; they only made use of their Swords or screwed Bayonets, by which they could hurt none but those that were really guilty.

One of their little under Officers of Justice at *Paris*, who had the Care of taking up and punishing Beggars, has been lately convicted of taking Money from such poor Creatures, for letting them escape Punishment, by which 'tis said, he made near 300*l.* Sterling a Year; for which Crime he has been condemned to stand three Market Days in the Pillory, to be whipt each Day, to be marked the last Day with a hot Iron, and to be from thence conducted to the Galleys, where he is to tug at an Oar for three Years. If the Raisers of such Contributions were in all Countries as severely punished, we should neither have such a Multitude of Magistrates, nor such a Multitude of Criminals.

Count *D'Ublefeldt*, the Imperial Minister at the *Hague*, has of late strongly solicited the States General, for their Permissions to borrow three Millions of Florins in that Country, for the Service of the Emperor, at an Interest of five *per Cent*, upon a Mortgage of some of the Revenues of *Bohemia*, and under the Guaranty of their High Mightinesses; but they have absolutely refused either their Permission or Guaranty, and with a great deal of Reason; for as it is the Interest of every Country, to have Money at a low Interest, and all employed in Trade by their own Subjects, all publick Loans, but especially foreign Loans, are inconsistent with the Welfare of any Society, and ought therefore never to be set up or permitted in any Country but in Cases of the extremest Necessity.

The famous *Theodore*, King of *Corsica*, having some Time since come, incognito, into *Holland*, in order to buy warlike Stores for his Subjects, was arrested at *Amsterdam* for Debts he had contracted there when a private Gentleman. Upon his being arrested, he was conducted to Prison as a common Debtor, and was there detained for about a Week; but as soon as the States General were informed of this Incident, they wisely considered it might be attended with troublesome Consequences to their Republick, and likewise, they probably considered that the *Corsicans* are now in the same Situation they themselves were in not two hundred Years ago, therefore they made proper Application to the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, who declared the Arrest void, and discharged him with a great deal of Respect; whereupon he went out of Town; but 'tis thought he returned privately, and will continue there till he has furnished his People with Materials necessary for ridding them of their old Masters the *Genoese*.

About the End of last Month his *Portuguese* Majesty declared in a full Assembly of his Ministers of State and Nobility, that the Difference he had with the King of *Spain* was adjusted, and their Reconcilation completed. It is said that the Sojourn of the *English* Fleet at *Lisbon* has cost his *Portuguese* Majesty a Million of Cruzadoes; but whether this Sum has been applied towards relieving this Nation from the Expence of maintaining that Fleet we do not know.

The Dispute about the Succession to the Dutchies of *Bergues* and *Juliers* seems not as yet to be in any Method of being amicably settled; and the Death of the Duke of *Courland*, who died on the 6th Instant, N.S. in the 82d Year of his Age, will probably occasion another Dispute about the Succession to that Dutchy; the Diet of *Poland* having in the Reign of the late *Augustus* resolved, that the Dutchy of *Courland* should, upon the Death of the Duke now deceased, be divided into Palatinates, and reunited to the Crown and Kingdom of *Poland*, of which it is a Fief; which Resolution will certainly be opposed by *Muscovy*, *Sweden*, and *Prussia*.

The

DIALLING *and* SURVEYING.

1. PRACTICAL Surveying improv'd; or, Land-Measuring, according to the moſt correct Method, with the ſeveral Inſtruments of modern Practice. By *William Gardiner.* Sold by Meſſ. *Bettesworth* and *Hitch*, 8vo, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

2. Mechanick Dialling; or, the new Art of Shadows; freed from the many Obſcurities, Superfluities and Errors of former Writers upon this Subject. By *Charles Leadbetter.* Printed for *E. Wickſteed*, 8vo, price 4*s.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

3. The Equity and Reaſonableneſs of the Divine Conduct, in pardoning Sinners upon their Repentance, exemplified: Or a Diſcourſe on the Parable of the Prodigal Son. In which thoſe Doctrines, *viz.* that Men are rendered acceptable to God, and that Sinners are recommended to his Mercy, either by the perfect Obedience, or the meritorious Sufferings, or the prevailing Interceſſion of Chriſt, or by one, or other, or all of theſe, are particularly conſidered, and refuted. Occaſioned by Dr. *Butler*'s late Book, entitled, *The Analogy of Religion natural and revealed, to the Conſtitution and Courſe of Nature.* Offered to the Conſideration of the Clergy, among all Denominations of Chriſtians. To which are added two Diſſertations, *viz.* 1. Concerning the Senſe and Meaning of St. *Paul*'s Words, *Titus* iii. 10, 11. 2. Concerning the Time for keeping a Sabbath. Offered to the Conſideration of the Sabbatarians. In a Letter to Mr. *Ekwall.* To which is likewiſe added, the Caſe of pecuniary Mulcts, with Regard to Diſſenters, particularly conſidered. In a ſecond Letter to the Rev. Dr. *Stebbing.* By *Thomas Chubb.* Printed for *T. Cox*, pr. 1*s.* 6*d.*

4. The Duke of *Newcaſtle*'s Horſemanſhip; with a large Number of Cuts work'd off from the original Plates. Printed for *J. Brindley*, Folio, price neatly bound 5*l.* 5*s.*

5. The Firſt Part of the Works of Mr. *Pope* in Proſe; conſiſting of an authentick Edition of his Letters; are deliver'd to Subſcribers by Meſſ. *Knapton*, *Gilliver*, *Brindley* and *Dodſley.*

6. The Miſcellaneous Works of Mr. *John Greaves*, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in the Univerſity of *Oxford.* Publiſhed by *Thomas Birch*, M. A. F. R. S. Printed for *J. Brindley* and *C. Corbet.* In 2 Vols. 8vo, price 12*s.*

7. A Propoſal for giving Badges to the Beggars in all the Pariſhes of *Dublin.* By the Dean of St. *Patrick*'s. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

8. Gilberti Buchanani, de Medio Templo, Logica; in uſum Juventutis Philoſophiam Studentis. Sold by *T. Waller*, price 2*s.*

9. An Examination of a Book lately printed by the Quakers, entitled, A brief Account of many of the Proſecutions of the People call'd Quakers, *&c.* Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JUNE, 1737.

BEFORE we begin our *Journal* of the PROCEEDINGS *and* DEBATES *of the laſt* SESSION *of* PARLIAMENT, we ſhall give our Readers the following Proteſt, *viz.*

The LORDS PROTEST

On the Motion to Addreſs his Majeſty to ſettle 100,000*l.* per Ann. *on the Prince of* Wales.

Die Martis 25 *Februarii* 1736.

THE Houſe being moved, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to expreſs the juſt Senſe of this Houſe, of his Majeſty's great Goodneſs and tender Regard for the laſting Welfare and Happineſs of his People, in the Marriage of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*; and as this Houſe cannot omit any Opportunity of ſhewing their Zeal and Regard for his Majeſty's Honour, and the Proſperity of his Family, humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, That in Conſideration of the high Rank and Dignity of their Royal Highneſſes, the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales*, and their many eminent Virtues and Merits, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſettle 100,000*l.* a Year on the Prince of *Wales*, out of the Revenues of *Wales*, out of the Revenues chearfully granted to his Majeſty (for the Expences of his Civil Government, and better ſupporting the Dignity of the Crown, and for enabling his Majeſty to make an honourable Proviſion for his Family) in the ſame Manner his Majeſty enjoy'd it before his happy Acceſſion to the Throne: And alſo humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, to ſettle the like Jointure on her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales*, as her Majeſty had, when ſhe was Princeſs of *Wales*; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that this Houſe will be ready to do every Thing on their Part, to perform the ſame, as nothing will more conduce to the ſtrengthening of his Majeſty's Government, than honourably ſupporting the Dignity of their Royal Highneſſes, from whom we hope to ſee a numerous Iſſue, to deliver down the Bleſſings of his Majeſty's Reign to the lateſt Poſterity.

The Duke of *Newcaſtle*, by his Majeſty's Command, made the like

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Signification to the Houſe of the Meſſage ſent by his Majeſty in Writing to the Prince of *Wales*, and of the Report of his Royal Highneſs's verbal Anſwer, as is printed in the Votes of the Houſe of Commons of the 22d Inſtant. *(See the next* Page*)*

And the ſame being read by the Lord Chancellor,

After long Debate upon the foregoing Motion,

The Queſtion was put, Whether ſuch an Addreſs ſhall be preſented to his Majeſty?

It was reſolv'd in the Negative.

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Diſſentient.

1. Becauſe that this Houſe has an undoubted Right to offer, in an humble Addreſs to his Majeſty, their Senſe, upon all Subjects in which this Houſe ſhall conceive that the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation are concerned.

2. Becauſe the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, Crown, and Royal Family, can be concerned in nothing more, than in having a due and independent Proviſion made for the Firſt-born Son, and Heir apparent to the Crown.

3. Becauſe, in the late King's Reign, 100,000 *l.* a Year, clear of all Deductions whatſoever, was ſettled upon his preſent Majeſty when Prince of *Wales*, out of a Civil Liſt not exceeding 700,000 *l.* a Year.

4. Becauſe his preſent Majeſty had granted him by Parliament, ſeveral Funds to compoſe a Civil Liſt of 800,000 *l.* a Year, which we have very good Reaſon to believe bring in at leaſt 900,000 *l.* and are more likely to increaſe than to diminiſh.

5. Becauſe out of this extraordinary and growing Civil Liſt, we humbly conceive his Majeſty may be able to make an honourable Proviſion for the reſt of his Royal Family, without any Neceſſity of leſſening that Revenue which, in his own Caſe, when he was Prince of *Wales*, the Wiſdom of Parliament adjudged to be a proper Maintenance for the Firſt-born Son, and Heir apparent of the Crown.

6. Becauſe it is the undoubted Right of Parliament to explain the Intention of their own Acts, and to offer their Advice in Purſuance thereof. And tho', in the inferior Courts of *Weſtminſter-hall*, the Judges can only conſider an Act of Parliament according to the Letter and expreſs Words of the Act, the Parliament itſelf may proceed in a higher Way, by declaring what was their Senſe in paſſing it, and on what Grounds, eſpecially in a Matter recent, and within the Memory of many in the Houſe, as well as out of it.

7. Becauſe there were many obvious and good Reaſons, why the Sum of 100,000 *l. per Annum* for the Prince, was not ſpecified in the Act paſſed at that Time, particularly his being a Minor, and unmarried. But we do apprehend, that it is obvious, that the Parliament would not have granted to his Majeſty ſo great a Revenue above that of the late King, but with an Intention that 100,000 *l.* a Year ſhould at a proper Time be ſettled on the Prince, in the ſame Manner as it was enjoyed by his Royal Father when he was Prince of *Wales:* And his Royal Highneſs being now thirty Years old, and moſt happily married, we apprehend it can no longer be delayed, without Prejudice to the Honour of the Family, the Right of the Prince, and Intention of the Parliament. And as in many Caſes the Crown is known to ſtand as Truſtee for the Publick, upon Grants in Parliament; ſo we humbly conceive, that in this Caſe, according to the Intention of Parliament, the Crown ſtands as Truſtee for the Prince, for the aforeſaid Sum.

8. Becauſe we do conceive, that the preſent Princeſs of *Wales* ought

to have the like Jointure that her preſent Majeſty had when ſhe was Princeſs of *Wales*, and that it would be for the Honour of the Crown, that no Diſtinction whatſoever ſhould be made between Perſons of equal Rank and Dignity.

9. Becauſe we apprehend, that it has always been the Policy of this Country, and Care of Parliament, that a ſuitable Proviſion, independent of the Crown, ſhould be made for the Heir Apparent, that by ſhewing him early the Eaſe and Dignity of Independence, he may learn by his own Experience, how a great and free People ſhould be govern'd. And as we are convinc'd in our Conſciences, that if this Queſtion had been paſſed in the Affirmative, it would have prevented all future Uneaſineſs that may unhappily riſe upon this Subject, by removing the Cauſe of ſuch Uneaſineſs, and giving his Royal Highneſs what we apprehend to be his Right; we make uſe of the Privileges inherent in Members of this Houſe, to clear ourſelves to all Poſterity from being concerned in laying it aſide.

10. Laſtly, We thought it more incumbent upon us to inſiſt upon this Motion, for the ſake of this Royal Family, under which alone we are fully convinced we can live *Free*, and under the Royal Family we are fully determined we *will live Free*.

Winchelſea and *Nottingham*	*Cardigan*	*Weymouth*
	Marlborough	*Bathurſt*
Berkſhire	*Carteret*	*Coventry*
Cobham	*Bridgwater*	*Ker*
Cholmondeley	*Bedford*	*Suffolk*

His Majeſty's Meſſage to the Prince of Wales, *by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Preſident, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, Dukes of* Richmond, Argyle, Newcaſtle, *Earls of* Pembroke, Scarborough, *and Lord* Harrington; *which being in Writing, was as follows*, viz.

HIS Majeſty has commanded us to acquaint your Royal Highneſs, in his Name, That, upon your Royal Highneſs's Marriage, he immediately took into his Royal Conſideration the ſettling a proper Jointure upon the Princeſs of *Wales*; but his ſudden going abroad, and his late Indiſpoſition ſince his Return, had hitherto retarded the Execution of theſe his gracious Intentions; from which ſhort Delay his Majeſty did not apprehend any Inconveniencies could ariſe, eſpecially ſince no Application had, in any Manner been made to him upon this Subject by your Royal Highneſs: And that his Majeſty hath now given Orders for ſettling a Jointure upon the Princeſs of *Wales*, as far as he is enabled by Law, ſuitable to her high Rank and Dignity; which he will, in proper Time, lay before his Parliament, in order to be rendered certain and effectual, for the Benefit of her Royal Highneſs.

The King has further commanded us to acquaint your Royal Highneſs that, although your Royal Highneſs has not thought fit, by any Application to his Majeſty, to deſire that your Allowance of Fifty thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, which is now paid you by monthly Payments, at the Choice of your Royal Highneſs, preferably to quarterly Payments, might, by his Majeſty's further Grace and Favour, be rendered leſs precarious. His Majeſty, to prevent the bad Conſequences, which, he apprehends, may follow from the undutiful Meaſures, which, his Majeſty is informed, your Royal Highneſs has been adviſed to purſue, will grant to your Royal Highneſs, for his Majeſty's Life, the ſaid Fifty thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, to be iſſuing out of his Majeſty's Civil Liſt Revenues, over and above your Royal Highneſs's Revenues ariſing from the Dutchy of *Cornwall*; which his Majeſty thinks a very competent Allowance, conſidering his numerous Iſſue, and the great Expences which do and

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muſt neceſſarily attend an honourable Proviſion for his whole Royal Family.

And to this Meſſage his Royal Highneſs the Prince returned a verbal Anſwer, which, according to the beſt Recollection and Remembrance of the Lords, was in Subſtance as follows, *viz.*

That his Royal Highneſs deſired the Lords to lay him, with all Humility, at his Majeſty's Feet; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that he had, and ever ſhould retain the utmoſt Duty for his Royal Perſon; that his Royal Highneſs was very thankful for any Inſtance of his Majeſty's Goodneſs to him, or the Princeſs, and particularly for his Majeſty's gracious Intention of ſettling a Jointure upon her Royal Highneſs; but that, as to the Meſſage, the Affair was now out of his Hands, and therefore he could give no Anſwer to it.

After which, his Royal Highneſs uſed many dutiful Expreſſions, towards his Majeſty, and then added, 'Indeed my Lords, it is in other 'Hands; I am ſorry for it.' Or to Effect.

His Royal Highneſs concluded with earneſtly deſiring the Lords, to repreſent his Anſwer to his Majeſty in the moſt reſpectful and dutiful Manner.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES of the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT, being the *third* of the preſent PARLIAMENT.

IN our *Magazine* for *Feb.* laſt, *(ſee p. 104, 105.)* we gave his Majeſty's Speech, as delivered by the Lord High Chancellor, one of the Commiſſioners appointed for that Purpoſe, at the Opening of the Seſſion, with the Addreſs of both Houſes, and his Majeſty's Anſwer to each. As theſe Addreſſes were agreed to without any Debate or Diviſion, the firſt remarkable Affair that happened in either Houſe, was on *Thurſday* the 10th of *February*, in the Houſe of L—ds, when that Houſe, according to Order, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe for taking his Majeſty's Speech into Conſideration; upon which Occaſion there was not properly any formed Debate upon any one Point, and therefore we ſhall give the Heads of ſome of the moſt remarkable Speeches that were made.

The L—d *D*——*r* having taken the Chair, the Lord *C*——*t* ſtood up and ſpoke to the following Effect, *viz.*

My Lords, his Majeſty in his Speech delivered to us by his Commiſſioners, moſt juſtly took Notice of the many Riots and Tumults that have lately happened in this Kingdom; and as his Majeſty moſt wiſely thought it an Affair of ſuch Conſequence as to deſerve being mentioned by him to his Parliament, I expected that this Houſe would have immediately reſolved upon taking that Part of his Majeſty's Speech into Conſideration; but as a Motion for that Purpoſe would have come more properly from ſome other Lords, I delayed for ſome Days taking Notice of it, or making any Motion for our taking that Affair into our Conſideration. This, my Lords, was my Reaſon for allowing ſome of the firſt Days of the Seſſion to paſs over without taking the leaſt Notice of what his Majeſty had ſo wiſely and ſo neceſſarily mentioned in his Speech; but upon finding no Step made towards it by any other Lord, as I thought it an Affair which ought not to be delayed, I took the Liberty to move your Lordſhips for the Committee you are now in; and as I moved for your going into this Com-

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Committee, I think it incumbent upon me now to explain what I meant or intended by my Motion.

Tho' none of the Riots or Tumults that have lately happened in this Kingdom seem to have been aimed directly against the Government, yet, my Lords, it must be granted that no such Thing can happen in any Country, in which the Government is not some Way concerned; for as the Peace and Quiet of the People are disturbed by such tumultuous Assemblies, and as it is the Business of every Government to preserve the Peace and Quiet of the People, therefore wherever any such Thing happens, the Government ought to look upon itself as deeply concerned; and if we consider what mighty Consequences have arisen from very small Beginnings, if we consider how often Governments have been overturned by Tumults which at first seemed insignificant, which seemed no Way intended for any such End, we must conclude, that not only our Government, but our present Establishment, and even our happy Constitution, are concerned in the Riots which have lately happened in several Parts of this Kingdom. For this Reason it is the Duty of this House, as being the King's chief Council, not to let such Riots and Tumults pass over unobserved, but to enquire narrowly into them, in order to discover their true Causes, and to provide an effectual and a legal Remedy. I say, my Lords, a legal Remedy; for if the Law should lose its Force, if it should become necessary upon all Occasions to make use of a military Force for preserving the Peace of the Kingdom, our Constitution would be at an End, we could not then be said to be under a civil but a military Government.

Of all the late Tumults the first I shall take Notice of are those which have happened in the West on Account of the Turnpikes. Why Turnpikes should occasion Disturbances in that Part of the Country more than in any other, is what I shall not at present pretend to account for; but these Disturbances were such, it seems, that for quelling them it became necessary to imploy a military Force, which I am very much surprized at, considering the severe Law your Lordships passed some Time since against those who should be concerned in any such. To me it is amazing to see that the civil Power, armed with such a severe Law, should not be able to prevent as well as to quell any such Tumult, without the Assistance of the Gentlemen of our Army; and therefore I am apt to suspect those Tumults proceeded, not from any Want of Power in the civil Magistrate, but from some other Cause, perhaps from some real Injustice or Oppression brought upon poor People by means of those Turnpikes. The People seldom or ever assemble in any riotous or tumultuous Manner unless when they are oppressed, or at least imagine they are oppressed. If the People should be mistaken, and imagine they are oppressed when they are not, it is the Duty of the next Magistrate to endeavour first to correct their Mistake by fair Means and just Reasoning. In common Humanity he is obliged to take this Method, before he has recourse to such Methods as may bring Death and Destruction upon a great Number of his fellow Countrymen, and this Method will generally prevail where they have met with any real Oppression: But when this happens to be the Case, it cannot be expected they will give ear to their Oppressor, nor can the severest Laws, nor the most rigorous Execution of those Laws, always prevent the People's becoming tumultuous; you may shoot them, you may hang them, but till the Oppression is removed or alleviated they will never be quiet, till the greatest

greateſt Part of them are deſtroyed. This is the chief Reaſon and the chief End of all Parliamentary Enquiries, and this ought to be our chief View in the Enquiry we are now going upon. If we find any Injuſtice has been done, if we find any of thoſe Tumults have proceeded from Oppreſſion, the only Way to prevent ſuch Tumults in Time to come will be to remove that Oppreſſion, and to puniſh ſeverely every one of thoſe who have been guilty of it. This is the only humane Method of preventing Riots or Tumults; for I hope none of your Lordſhips are of Opinion, that any more ſevere or any larger Powers ought to be granted by Law: You have already, by a late Law, made it Death without Benefit of Clergy, to be concerned in riotouſly breaking down any Turnpike: You cannot by any Maxims of Government hitherto purſued in this Kingdom, inflict any ſeverer Puniſhment; and I hope you will not, under Pretence that the civil Magiſtrate is not able to execute this Law, agree to the erecting a Barrack at every Turnpike, in order that the civil Magiſtrate may have it in his Power to ſhoot every Man who preſumes to make his Eſcape from that Puniſhment, which is provided for him by Law.

As for thoſe Tumults which happened in *Spittle-fields*, and that Neighbourhood, the Government was, I think my Lords, as little concerned in them, as it ever can be in any ſuch. They proceeded entirely from an accidental Quarrel that had happened between the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Labourers; and they might have been quelled, and the Ringleaders puniſhed, even tho' we had not had a Regiment of regular Troops in the Kingdom. Then with reſpect to that moſt ridiculous Affair that happened in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, it was, 'tis true, a moſt daring Inſult both upon the Government and the Courts of Juſtice; but I do not think it can properly be called either a Riot or a Tumult. There was, I believe, but one Perſon actually concerned in it, and but very few privy to it; and as it anſwered no End, nor could proceed from any ſudden Paſſion or Reſentment, I muſt think that none but Madmen could have any Hand in it. If we conſider the Place where, and the Perſon before whom this ridiculous Inſult was committed, we muſt conclude that no Man in his right Senſes would have been guilty of it, or would have ſo much as thought of any ſuch impudent and fooliſh Contrivance; for the noble Lord who preſided in that Court, has, I am ſure, gained the Affection and Eſteem of every Man of Senſe in the Kingdom. He is a Magiſtrate of great Power; but, my Lords, great as it is, his Authority is equal to his Power; for Power and Authority we muſt always look on as two Things of a very different Nature: Power, the Legiſlature may give, but Authority it can give no Man. Authority may be acquir'd by Wiſdom, by Prudence, by good Conduct and a virtuous Behaviour, but it can be granted by no King, by no Potentate upon Earth. A Man's Power depends upon the Poſt or the Station he is in, but his Authority can depend upon nothing but the Character he acquires among Mankind; and the more Power a Fool or a Knave is veſted with, the more he will be deſpiſed, the more generally will he be loaded with Hatred and Reproach.

The Riots and Tumults which proceed from Smuggling are, my Lords, of an old ſtanding, and of a very different Nature; but they are of late become ſo frequent, and the Smugglers are become ſo numerous and ſo audacious, that they deſerve our cloſeſt Attention. I am afraid ſome extraordinary Methods muſt be made uſe of for ſuppreſſing them; but

but the only Way of contriving an effectual Method for that Purpose will be, to enquire into their Causes, and to take such Measures as may be proper for removing those Causes; for in the Body political, as in the Body natural, while the Cause remains, it is impossible to remove the Distemper. Severe Laws against Smuggling, and the most rigorous, the most arbitrary Execution of those Laws, we know by the Example of a neighbouring Kingdom, will never prevail: By such Methods we may irritate, we may destroy the Subject, and at last perhaps bring on a Distemper of a much more dangerous Nature; and I am afraid the Law passed last Year for preventing Smuggling will be found to be a Remedy of such a Nature. If that Law had been passed in that Form and Shape in which it was once put by this House, it would not, in my Opinion have been so extraordinary, nor so dangerous; and, I believe, it would have been much more effectual. We were told by the best Lawyers in *England*, that by that Law, as it was first brought in, and afterwards passed, no Judge in *England* could know how to direct a Jury; and after they had told us so, I must think it was a little odd to turn it out of that Shape we had put it into by their Advice, and pass it in that very Shape in which they told us it could have no Effect.

Upon this Occasion I must observe, my Lords, that even that wicked, that atrocious Riot and Murder committed at *Edinburgh*, proceeded originally from Smuggling; for it was the Execution of a Smuggler that occasioned all that Disorder and Wickedness which afterwards ensued. That Tumult, and the Murder they committed, was, indeed, one of the most extraordinary that ever happened in any Country, and it was, I think, one of the greatest Indignities that was ever put upon an established Government. For this Reason it highly deserves our Attention, and we ought to look upon it as the more dangerous, and the more to be taken Notice of, because it was carried on with a Sort of Decency and Order; for, as *Germanicus* observed of a Mutiny among the *Roman* Soldiers, it was the more to be dreaded, because it seemed to be attended with no Disorder or Confusion. I am sorry to hear the Government has not yet been able to discover, or at least to apprehend any of the Persons guilty of that barbarous Murder; for where such Numbers were concerned, many of their Names may surely be discovered, and if they are fled from Justice, fly where they will, they ought to be brought back and punished: By our own Power, we may bring them back from our Plantations, and by our Interest, we may be able to bring them back from any foreign Country; for no State in *Europe* will protect such cruel Murderers: A foreign State may perhaps, for political Reasons, give Shelter to the Rebels of a neighbouring Country, but I cannot think any State will refuse to give up such Criminals, when a proper Application is made to them for that Purpose. The Names of the Murderers must be all known in the City of *Edinburgh*, at least the Names of such as have absconded or fled on that Account, and if the Citizens refuse to give an Account of their Names, there may be Methods found for compelling them: They may be threatned with removing the Courts of Justice, as was done in the late Queen's Time, when the Tumult happened there, which occasioned the Execution of Captain *Green*. Upon that Occasion her Majesty, by the Advice of her Council here, wrote a Letter to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, ordering them to signify to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, that in case any such Tumult ever happened again, the Courts of Justice

tice should all be removed from that City; from whence I must conclude, that the King has a Power to remove them; for if our King had no such Power, I am sure no such Thing would have been threatened by so wise an Administration as we had then the Happiness to have at the Head of our Affairs.

But, my Lords, if the Citizens of *Edinburgh* should obstinately protect or conceal those Murderers, there are Cases in which a City may forfeit her Charter, and become as 'twere *in Misericordia Regis*, with respect to her whole Liberties and Franchises. The City of *Cambridge* was declared by Parliament in the Reign of *Richard* the 2d. to have forfeited all her Liberties, on account of an Insult committed by the Citizens upon the University; in consequence of which many of their Privileges were taken from them, and granted to the University: From hence we may see that a City may forfeit her Privileges, and I do not know but the City of *Edinburgh* has already done so; for if it should appear that the Citizens had been generally concerned in that Riot and Murder, if they should protect or conceal the Murderers, or if the Magistrates of that City had, either thro' Fear or Design, connived at the Murder, they might be justly deemed to have forfeited their Charter; and in such a Case I do not know but it may be thought proper to divest them of some of their Privileges, by way of Punishment, and as an Example for other Cities in Time to come.

For this Reason I think, my Lords, we ought to make a particular Inquiry into that Affair, and into the Conduct of the Magistrates upon that Occasion; and this Inquiry is the more necessary, because it does not seem that any full Discovery has yet been made of the Authors of that Riot. This I hope may be obtained by Virtue of the Power and Authority of Parliament, and when we have discovered the Authors, we may take such Measures as shall be thought most proper for bringing them to condign Punishment. As this Tumult at *Edinburgh* was of the most heinous Nature, and as a very high Indignity was by those Rioters put upon the Crown itself, we ought, in my Opinion, to begin with it; but let us begin where we will, it is incumbent upon us to make some Inquiry into that and the other Riots which have lately happened; for after his Majesty has in his Speech expressly mentioned and complained of those Riots and Tumults, it would look very odd in this House to take no Notice of them, nor make any Attempt for punishing the Authors of those that are passed, as well as endeavouring to prevent any such for the future. Such a Neglect would show a very great Disrespect and a Disregard for the Honour and Interest of our Sovereign, which I am sure every one of your Lordships will endenvour to avoid as much as I can. I shall not at present take upon me to make you any Motion, because I think it will come better from those who have the Honour to be imployed in the Administration; and I hope some of them will stand up and move for some Sort of Enquiry into that Affair, or make some Motion tending to that Purpose.

For my own Part, my Lords, in taking Notice of the Affair in the Manner I have already done, I have done my Duty as a Lord of this House; and if nothing further should be done, I shall from what I have said have at least this Advantage, that if I should find myself obliged to oppose any Methods that may hereafter be proposed for preventing such Riots in Time to come, which may very probably be the Case, I hope it will not be thrown in my Teeth that I am a Favourer and an Encourager of such Riots; for from what

what I have now ſaid the contrary will appear: It will appear, I believe, that I am as great an Enemy to Riots as any Man: I am ſorry to ſee them ſo frequent as they are; but I ſhall never be for ſacrificing the Liberties of the People, in order to prevent their engaging in any riotous Proceedings; becauſe I am ſure it may be done by a much more gentle and leſs expenſive Method. A wiſe and a prudent Conduct, and a conſtant Purſuit of upright and juſt Meaſures, will eſtabliſh the Authority as well as the Power of the Government; and where Authority is joyned with Power the People will never be tumultuous; but I muſt obſerve, and I do it without a Deſign of offending any Perſon, that ever ſince I came into the World, I never ſaw an Adminiſtration that had, in my Opinion, ſo much Power or ſo little Authority. I hope ſome Methods will be taken for eſtabliſhing among the People in general that Reſpect and Eſteem which they ought to have for their Governors, and which every Adminiſtration ought to endeavour, as much as poſſible, to acquire: I hope proper Methods will be taken for reſtoring to the Laws of this Kingdom their antient Authority; for if that is not done, if the Lord Chief Juſtice's Warrant is not of itſelf of ſo much Authority as that it may be executed by his Tipſtaff in any County of *England*, without any other Aſſiſtance than what is provided by the Law, it cannot be ſaid that we are governed by Law, or by the civil Magiſtrate: If regular Troops ſhould once become neceſſary for executing the Laws upon every Occaſion, it could not then be ſaid, that we are governed by the civil Power, but by the military Sword, which is a Sort of Government I am ſure none of your Lordſhips would deſire ever to ſee eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom.

The D—ke of *N—tle* ſpoke next, and after him the L—d *H——cke* in Subſtance as follows, *viz.*

My Lords, I agree with the noble Lord, that it is both proper and neceſſary for this Houſe to take ſome Notice of the many Riots and Tumults that have lately happened in this Kingdom. In duty to our Country we are obliged to inquire into their original Cauſes, and to contrive, if poſſible, ſome effectual Means for preventing the like in Time to come; and as his Majeſty has been ſo good as to mention them in his Speech to his Parliament, we are from thence bound in Duty to our Sovereign to take Notice of what has been ſo ſtrongly recommended by him; therefore I make no Doubt but a Motion would have been made for that Purpoſe by ſome of thoſe concerned in the Adminiſtration, if they had not been prevented by the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt; and as his Lordſhip was pleaſed to move for our going into this Committee ſo very early in the Seſſion, I am ſure he cannot complain that the Affair was either neglected or too long poſtponed, by thoſe whoſe proper Buſineſs it was to take Notice of it. That ſome Sort of Inquiry ought to be made into thoſe Riots I therefore preſume to be the Opinion of every Lord in this Houſe; but as they have been of late not only very frequent, but ſo general that they have in ſome Manner ſpread over the whole Kingdom, I muſt think the Inquiry ought to be as general as the Grievance complained of is general; for ſurely whatever Remedy may be propoſed, whatever Method may be contrived for preventing ſuch Riots in Time to come, that Remedy, or that Method muſt be general, and therefore the Inquiry ought to be general: A particular Inquiry into the Cauſes of any one Riot can never point out to us the Cauſes of any other, nor can it communicate to us any Knowledge or Information which can be of Uſe

to us in contriving a general Regulation. Besides, a particular Inquiry into every one of the Riots that has lately happened, would take up so much Time, that it would be impossible for this House to go through it in one Session, were the Session to continue from one End of the Year to the other; and as none but Persons of the lowest Rank had been concerned in any one Riot that has happened, it is below the Dignity of Parliament to enquire particularly into them. For these Reasons I think a general Inquiry is the most proper, and indeed the only one we can go through with; and if the noble Lord will be pleased to move for any such Inquiry, as I seconded his Motion for our going into this Committee, I shall likewise very readily second his Motion for that Inquiry.

As for the real Causes of the several Tumults that have happened, they will best appear when we come to examine into them; but, my Lords, I am already very apt to believe that all the Tumults that have lately happened, proceed from one and the same Cause; I believe they proceed from a Want of Power in the civil Magistrate to prevent or punish, and a too great Liberty in others to mislead the People, and to stir them up to Riot and Disorder. The People, 'tis true, seldom grow mutinous but when they are, or think they are oppressed; but as the People are always jealous of those in Power, and mighty apt to believe every Piece of Scandal or Reproach that is thrown upon them, it is very easy for those who are prompted by their Malice or Revenge, to make the People believe they are oppressed, when there is not the least Ground for any such Insinuation; and while the civil Magistrate has not a sufficient Power to put a stop to such Insinuations, or to punish the Fomenters of Sedition, it will be impossible to prevent Riots, especially, if the People should imagine or be made to believe, that he had not a Power to punish them for any such Riot. This I take to be the principal Cause of all our late Tumults, this I believe will plainly appear upon a general Inquiry, and when it does appear, it will be easy for the Legislature to supply that Defect in the Power of the civil Magistrate, and to restrain that Liberty which the Sowers of Sedition have lately made so great and so wicked a Use of.

Whatever general Pretences of Oppression have been made by those who have private Ends to serve by doing so, I have never yet heard of any particular Man who could with Justice complain of his being oppressed; nor can it be so much as alledged, I believe, that any particular Oppression gave occasion to any one of the Riots that have happened. Those Tumults in the West were occasioned by the setting up of Turnpikes at Places where all the Gentlemen in the Country, where the Legislature itself, thought they were necessary; but no Turnpike can be set up, nor any publick Regulation made, which will not be inconsistent with the private Interest of some Persons, and if such Persons think they may, they certainly will destroy that which is inconsistent with their private Interest. —— The Riots in *Spittlefields* were so far from proceeding from Oppression in any Magistrate, that they proceeded from that which often occasions Oppression, I mean the unlawful and unjust Combination of Journeymen and Labourers, to keep up or inhance their Wages.——The atrocious Riot and cruel Murder in the City of *Edinburgh* proceeded from the Crown's reprieving a Man, upon a Representation signed by a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, that the Man was unjustly condemned, or at least that the Sentence was too rigorous; and this Reprieve was only for a few Weeks,

that the Crown might have Time to inquire narrowly into the Caſe, and to Pardon or Puniſh according as the Circumſtances ſhould appear.—Then as to that Affair in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, I am ſorry, my Lords, to hear it ſo ſlightly paſſed over; your Lordſhips may call it Riot, Tumult, Inſult, or what you pleaſe; but it was certainly one of the moſt audacious Affronts that was ever offered to an eſtabliſhed Government; and could not, I am ſure, proceed from any Oppreſſion, unleſs the Acts of the whole legiſlative Power of the Kingdom are to be called Oppreſſion. The other Riots ſeemed to point only at private Men; but that Riot or Inſult was levelled directly againſt the Government, nay not only againſt the Government, but againſt our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment. I do not mean, my Lords, the Powder or Rockets then blown up; for I do not believe the Perſons guilty, call them Madmen or what you will, had a Deſign to blow up the Hall, or to hurt any Perſon that was in it; but I mean the ſcandalous and ſeditious Libels ſpread about in the Hall by the Exploſion, and afterwards diſperſed through every Part of this great City. Thoſe Libels not only reflected in the moſt ſcandalous Manner upon ſeveral Acts of Parliament, but by Inſinuation denied his Majeſty's Right to the Crown, and in ſome Manner aſſerted the Right of the Pretender. What might have been the Aim of the Authors of this Inſult, or whether they had any Aim, I ſhall not now inquire; but it is certain, if they had not been diſcovered, and as ſeverely puniſhed as the Lenity of our Laws, and the Merciſulneſs of our preſent Government would admit of, their Inſult would at leaſt have anſwered this End, that it would have given People a mean Opinion of our Government, and might have given Riſe to ſeditious Attempts, of a much more dangerous Nature.

I am ſurprized, my Lords, to hear it ſaid, that, if the military Force ſhould now and then, upon extraordinary Occaſions, be called to the Aſſiſtance of the civil Magiſtrate, we would, upon that Account, become ſubject to the military Sword, or that our Government would, by ſuch Means, become a military Government. I hope it will be allowed, our Soldiers are the King's Subjects as well as other Men; and it is well known that moſt of our Magiſtrates, eſpecially thoſe concerned in the Execution of the Law, have a Power to call all the King's Subjects they can ſee to their Aſſiſtance, for preſerving the Peace, or for enabling them to execute any of the King's Writs; and in caſe of any ſuch Call we likewiſe know that every one of the King's Subjects ſo called is obliged to obey; if they do not, they are guilty of a Miſdemeanor for which they may be indicted, and for which they may by expreſs Statute be fined and impriſoned: Why then may not a civil Magiſtrate call the Soldiers to his Aſſiſtance as well as other Men? For my part I can ſee no Difference it can make with reſpect to our Form of Government, and I am ſure, with reſpect to the End or Intention of calling any Man to his Aſſiſtance, it will be much better anſwered, and with more Safety to the Subject in general, by his calling the King's Soldiers to his Aſſiſtance, than by calling any other of the King's Subjects. Therefore while the King's Troops act under the Directions of the civil Magiſtrate, and as his Aſſiſtants only, we ſhall be as much under a civil Government as if we had no ſuch Troops; the only Difference is, that with the few Troops we have the Laws may be put in Execution, and Smugglers, Thieves, Highwaymen, and ſuch like Rogues apprehended and brought to condign Puniſhment, without riſking the Lives of his Majeſty's

industrious Subjects, or calling them away from their usual Imployments.

From what I have said, my Lords, I think it will appear that we ought not only to have regular Troops, but that they ought to be imployed by, and at the Command of the civil Magistrate; and Experience has shewn us, that they often become necessary for preserving the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Lives of innocent Subjects. In those Tumults which happened in the West about Turnpikes, it became necessary to imploy a military Force, in order to preserve the Life of a Magistrate who was threatned by the Mob, for no other Reason, but because he had been diligent in putting the Laws in execution. In another Corner of the same Country, a Fellow took it into his Head to keep Possession of another Man's Estate by Violence, and in spite of the Laws of the Kingdom; for this Purpose he provided himself with several Confederates as wicked and as foolish as himself, and with proper Arms for opposing all the Power he thought could be sent against him: The Sheriff of the County, assisted by the County, went to execute the King's Writ against him; but instead of submitting, he fired upon them, killed some of the Sheriff's Assistants, and obliged them to retire. Was it not then proper, was it not necessary to call the King's Troops to the Assistance of the Sheriff? They were called, and without the spilling of any more innocent Blood, the Laws were put in Execution, the Owner got Possession of his Estate, and the Criminal who dared to oppose the Law was hanged. Even but last Summer, it was highly probable that great Tumults would have been raised against the Law for preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors; for great Threatnings had been made, and some had publickly declared they would not give Obedience to it; but by the prudent Measures that were taken, and by shewing that the King's Troops would be imployed against those who should dare to oppose the Law, all those Threats ended in a few Tricks to evade the Law, which I hope will be soon got the better of by the Care and Diligence of the Commissioners of Excise. These few Examples shew that a military Force becomes sometimes absolutely necessary for putting the Laws in Execution; and if it were not for the few regular Troops we have, Riots would be more frequent than they are, and much more dangerous; as will, I believe, appear by a general Inquiry into the Riots that have lately happened; therefore I shall heartily agree in any Motion tending to the bringing on of such an Enquiry.

The L—d *B——ſt* spoke next to the following Effect, *viz.*

My Lords, it must be confessed that Riots and Tumults have of late been not only very frequent, but very general in this Kingdom, and therefore it may be, I think, justly concluded that there is some general Cause, some general Error, which makes our People so generally uneasy; but I am very far from thinking that general Cause proceeds from any Want of Power in the civil Magistrate, or from too great a Liberty in the People. There is no Country in the World where there are severer Laws against Riots, or where there are greater Powers given to the civil Magistrate for preventing or quelling them. The civil Magistrate has now greater Powers, and our Laws against Riots are more severe, than ever were known to our Ancestors; and therefore I am apt to suspect that most of our late Riots have proceeded from that general Cause from which almost all Tumults proceed, I mean, from the unjust and oppressive Conduct, or from the supine Negligence and Indolence, of those who are entrusted with the Execution of our Laws.

When

When the People are made uneasy by the Oppression of those entrusted with Power, or when wicked and evil disposed Persons are allowed to become seditious or licentious by the Neglect of the civil Magistrate, the Parliament ought to interpose. If it does not, Tumults must of course ensue, and those Tumults may at last produce most extraordinary Events. Let us examine our own History, and we shall find, most of those Tumults or Riots we have any Account of, proceeded from the Oppression of those entrusted with Power, and a Neglect to remove that Oppression, or to punish the Oppressors. The famous Insurrection under *Wat Tyler*, we are expressly told by our Historians, at first proceeded from a heavy Tax then imposed, the great Powers granted for levying that Tax, and the oppressive Use made of those Powers by the Tax-gatherers. But, as Oppression seldom appears in one Shape only, as a general Discontent always arises from several Causes, so at that Time, the People had several Reasons for being dissatisfied: They complained that their foreign Enemies were allowed to ravage and plunder them with Impunity, and that their domestick Enemies, the Lawyers, ruined them with vexatious Suits and extorsive Fees; and they were not only oppressed by the Collectors of the publick Revenue, but likewise by the Nobility, and Lords of Manors, who by the great Powers and Privileges they enjoyed, kept the People in a Sort of Slavery. This last Sort of Oppression, indeed, we now seem to be in no Danger of; for our Nobility seem to have very little Power left in their Hands; but with respect to the other Grievances, we do not know but the People may now have Reason to complain of something like them, and if they have, those Causes of Complaint ought to be enquired into by Parliament, and removed as soon as possible.

Upon such Occasions, my Lords, it is not sufficient to quell the Riot, it is not sufficient to punish the Rioters, or to make severe Laws for the Punishing of all such for the future; the Government, by good luck, got the better of that Insurrection under *Wat Tyler*, and of all the other Tumults that happened about that Time, and great Care was taken to punish the Rioters with the utmost Severity; but no proper Care was taken to remove the Causes of those Riots, or to punish the Oppressors of the People. What was the Consequence? The Discontents of the People continued, and tho' by the Severity that had been used, they were for some Time frightned from being guilty of any new Riot or Tumult, yet at last they gathered into a regular Army, and under the Conduct of the Duke of *Glocester*, defeated the King's Forces, banished, beheaded, or hanged all his Favourites, and among the rest, Sir *Robert Tresilian* (who had been one of the most rigorous in prosecuting and punishing the Rioters, and who, 'tis said, never wanted Reasons to countenance whatever he found was agreeable to the King) was accused of High Treason, impeached and condemned by the Parliament, and soon after hanged at *Tyburn*. This appeased the Minds of the People for some Time, but as that unfortunate King soon returned to his former Courses, and disregarded the Complaints of the People, Riots and Tumults continued during his whole Reign, and at last paved the Way for *Henry* IVth's ascending the Throne.

Now, my Lords, as Riots and Tumults generally proceed from Oppression, or from Neglect in the civil Magistrate, and as both the Oppression and the Neglect of the civil Magistrate may appear in various Shapes, and may be very different in one Case from what it is in another, when several Riots have happened,

pened, at different Times and in different Parts of the Country, it is impoſſible to diſcover the true Cauſe of any one of them by a general Enquiry, nor will a particular Enquiry into the Cauſe of one diſcover the true Cauſe of another. I ſhall not at preſent tax the Magiſtrates at *Edinburgh*, or thoſe in the Weſt, or in any other Part of the Kingdom, either with Oppreſſion or Neglect; but if any of them have been guilty of either, can that Oppreſſion or Neglect be diſcovered by a general Inquiry? Or will an Enquiry into the Riot at *Edinburgh*, and the Conduct of the Magiſtrates there, diſcover to us whether any of the Magiſtrates in the Weſt of *England*, or in any other Part of the Kingdom, have been guilty of Oppreſſion or Neglect? The Thing appears at firſt Sight impoſſible, and therefore there is no Way of anſwering the Intention of his Majeſty's Speech, or indeed our own Duty as Members of this Houſe, but by a particular Inquiry into every one of the Riots that have happened, or at leaſt into ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them; coſt what it will, take up what Time it will, it muſt be gone about, and the ſooner we begin, the greater Regard we ſhew both to our King and our Country. I cannot really comprehend what is meant by a general Inquiry: In my Opinion it can mean nothing but an Inquiry into our Laws relating to Riots, and the Sowers of Sedition; for if you proceed to inquire into the particular Circumſtances and Facts of all or any one Riot that has happened, your Inquiry muſt become particular; and if you do not inquire into Circumſtances and Facts, if you inquire only into our Laws, you cannot diſcover the original Cauſe of any one Riot that has happened.

If your Lordſhips have a Mind to go upon an Inquiry into our Laws relating to Riots and the Sowers of Sedition, I ſhall be far from being againſt any Motion for that Purpoſe; becauſe it will from thence appear that our Laws againſt Riots are already as ſevere as they can be made in a Country where no Racks or Tortures can be admitted; and it will likewiſe appear that our Laws againſt thoſe who ſtir the People up to Sedition, are as ſevere as they can or ought to be made in a free Country. The general Method of ſtirring the People up to Sedition, is by ſpreading falſe and ſeditious Libels or Reports againſt their Magiſtrates, and every one knows how eaſy it is to proſecute the Authors of ſuch, and how ſeverely they are puniſhed, by the Laws of this Kingdom. Indeed the Method of Tryal, which is by Jury, and the principal Part of the Puniſhment, which is by Pillory, make it neceſſary for our Magiſtrates of all Degrees, to court the Eſteem and Affections of the People; for in caſe of any general Diſcontent againſt any one Magiſtrate, a Jury will but ſeldom bring in a Verdict in his Favour, and when he does recover a Verdict, the principal Part of the Puniſhment is evaded by the Favour of the Mob or Populace. I hope, my Lords, we have no ſuch Magiſtrates at preſent; at leaſt if we have, I am ſure their Conduct ought to be inquired into; and if we have no ſuch Magiſtrates, we cannot ſuppoſe that any of our late Riots were occaſioned by the ſpreading of falſe and ſeditious Libels or Reports; becauſe if they had, the Authors of ſuch Libels or Reports would certainly have been proſecuted, and would as certainly have met with condign Puniſhment, by the Laws as they now ſtand; unleſs we ſuppoſe that ſome of our Magiſtrates have been deficient in their Duty, which is a Crime that ought to be puniſhed, or at leaſt cenſured, but it is a Crime that can be diſcovered only by a particular Inquiry into the Circumſtances

of

of each Riot, it can never be discovered by any general Inquiry.

We have not, 'tis true, my Lords, yet heard that a Man of any Figure was concerned in any of the Riots that have happened; I hope no such Thing will ever appear; but in such Cases we are not to regard the Rank or the Quality of the Persons concerned. A Tumult of the very lowest Rank of People may, if neglected, become very considerable, and generally produces the most fatal and the most cruel Consequences. The Tumult under *Wat Tyler* consisted of Persons of the lowest Rank only, and was at first inconsiderable, yet in a few Days he got himself at the Head of near 100000 Men, seized upon and ransacked the City of *London*, obliged the Tower to surrender, tho' it was then garrisoned with 1200 Men, burnt many Palaces and fine Houses, put to Death many Noblemen and Gentlemen, and would probably have put the King himself to Death, and entirely overturned our Government, if a very remarkable Sort of Providence had not intervened. Do not we know that many Governments have been overturned, even the Government of the great *Turkish* Empire was but lately overturned, by a Tumult, in which none but the very lowest Sort of People were at first concerned. The chief End of a Parliamentary Inquiry is not to discover or to punish the Persons concerned in any Tumult; it is the Conduct of the Magistrates where such Tumults have happened that we are principally to inquire into; and if upon such Inquiry it should appear, that the Tumult was occasioned by any oppressive or imprudent Behaviour, or by any Neglect or Cowardice in them, we ought to remove, to censure, or to punish such Magistrates, according to the Heinousness of their Crime. Such an Inquiry, and such an Issue of an Inquiry, will satisfy the People, it will remove the Cause of Tumults, and consequently will prevent them for the future; whereas if we imploy our selves solely in discovering and punishing the Riotors, we do not remove but increase the Cause of Tumults; we shall render the People more discontented than they were; the Severity of the Punishment may fear up the Wound for a Time, but, my Lords, it will not be healed, it will fester, and endanger the total Dissolution of the political Body.

My Lords, whatever the Opinion of other Lords may be, I shall always be of Opinion, that there is a very great Difference between a Magistrate's being assisted in the Execution of his Office by the Posse of the County, and his being assisted by a Body of regular Troops. In the first Case, the Magistrate is assisted by the People only, and the People, notwithstanding the Obligation they are by Law under to answer his Call, will never assist him in oppressing the People. If they refuse, they know they must be tried by their Country, and they know their Country will never condemn them for refusing to assist in oppressing their Country. But with respect to our Army, as it is now regulated by the Mutiny Bill, the Case is quite different, they are now really a Body quite distinct from the People; when they are called to the Assistance of the civil Magistrate, they are not called as the King's Subjects but as the King's Soldiers, and as they are quite distinct from the People, they may very probably assist in oppressing the People: Nay, my Lords, they must assist; if they refuse, if they disobey their Orders, they are not to be tried by their Country, they are to be tried by the martial Law, and their Punishment, instead of Fine and Imprisonment, is immediate Death; they may that Instant be tried and condemned by a Court martial, and shot to Death upon the very Spot where they

they dared to disobey their Orders; for this Reason they always will be, and always have been assisting in destroying the Liberties and oppressing the People of every Country, where their Superiors have thought fit to imploy them for such wicked Purposes.

From hence your Lordships must see the Difference between a civil Magistrate's being assisted by the Posse of the County, and his having a Body of regular Troops always at Command. In the first Case, he must in all his Measures pursue Justice and Equity, he must even study the Humours and Inclinations, and court the Affections of the People; because upon them only he can depend for the Execution of his Orders as a Magistrate, and even for his Safety and Protection as a private Man; but when a civil Magistrate knows that he has a large Body of regular well disciplined Troops at Command, he despises both the Inclinations and Interest of the People; he considers nothing but the Inclinations and the Interest of the Soldiers, and as those Soldiers are quite distinct from the People, as they do not feel the Oppressions of the People, and are subject to such arbitrary Laws and severe Punishments, they will generally assist and protect him in the most unjust and oppressive Measures; nay as the Interests of the Soldiers are always distinct from, and sometimes opposite to the Interests of the People, a civil Magistrate, not otherwise oppressive in his Nature, is sometimes obliged to oppress the People in order to humour and please the Army.

To imagine, my Lords, that we shall always be under a Civil Government as long as our Army is under the Direction of the civil Magistrate, is to me something surprising. In *France*, in *Spain*, and many other Countries, which have long been under an arbitrary and military Government, they have the outward Appearance of a Civil Government; even in *Turkey*, they have Laws, they have Lawyers, they have civil Magistrates, and in all Cases of a domestick Nature, their Armies are under the Directions of their civil Magistrates; but, my Lords, we know that in all such Countries the Law, the Lawyers, and the civil Magistrates, speak as they are commanded by those who have the Command of the Army. Their Lawyers have often Occasion to make the same Speech one of our Judges made to *Michael Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, in *Richard* the 2d's Reign, who, upon signing it as his Opinion, that, *The King was above the Laws*, said,——*If I had not done this, my Lord, I should have been killed by you, and now I have done it, I well deserve to be hanged for Treason against the Nobles of the Land.*

I am afraid, my Lords, some of our civil Magistrates, at least those of an inferior Degree, begin to put too great Confidence in their having a military Force at their Command, and therefore make a little too free with the lower Sort of People, or at least do not take proper Measures for reconciling the People, in a good-natured and peaceable Manner, to the Laws of their Country; a Man who has Power is but too seldom at the Pains to use Argument. It has been granted, the People rarely become tumultuous but when they are oppressed, or are made believe they are oppressed; if any Man has either by writing or speaking, directly or ironically, endeavoured to make them believe so, it is the Business of our Magistrates to inform them better, and to punish the Defamers of our Government; for such Criminals may be punished as the Laws now stand, unless we suppose the People generally disaffected, which God forbid; and if any Magistrate has been oppressive, or deficient in his Duty, it is the Duty of this House to inquire into it, and to punish

niſh the Offender; but this can be done only by a particular Inquiry. The Law mentioned by the noble Duke, I mean the Law againſt Gin, is a ſtrong Argument for ſuch an Inquiry. I believe every one of your Lordſhips was afraid that Law could not be carried into Execution without occaſioning Riots and Tumults; I wiſh that pernicious Liquor may not ſtill get the better of the Legiſlature; but the quiet Manner in which that Law has been hitherto carried into Execution, ſhews how willing the People are to ſubmit to any reaſonable Regulation, if proper Methods be taken to make them underſtand it, and to prevent the Deſigns of thoſe who may be by Nature or Intereſt led to oppoſe it in a ſeditious Manner. The good Succeſs of the Meaſures taken with reſpect to the Enforcing that Law is, in my Opinion, a ſtrong Proof of ſome Crime or Neglect in the Magiſtrates at every one of thoſe Places where any Tumult has happened, and therefore I ſhall be for inquiring in a particular Manner into the Circumſtances and Cauſes of every one of thoſe Tumults.

The E—l of *S——gh* ſpoke next, pretty much to the ſame Purport with what was ſaid by the D—ke of *N——tle* and the L—d *H——cke*; and then the L—d *C——t* ſtood up again, and ſpoke in Subſtance thus.

My Lords, ſince your Lordſhips have done me the Honour to take ſo much Notice of what I before hinted to you, and ſince every Lord who has ſpoke upon the Subject ſeems to be of Opinion that ſome Sort of Inquiry ought to be made into the Tumults or Riots that have happened, I will now take upon me to make ſome Motions for that Purpoſe, becauſe I find no other Lord has yet attempted it.

For my Part, my Lords, I do not think it poſſible to obtain any Satisfaction for ourſelves, or to give any Satisfaction to the Nation, by a general Inquiry; and if we make any particular Inquiry, I think we ought to begin with that Riot which was in itſelf the moſt wicked and atrocious. That the Riot at *Edinburgh* was ſo, I believe every one of your Lordſhips will agree, and therefore the firſt Motion I ſhall make, is, That thoſe who were the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* at the Time that Riot happened, at the Time, I mean, when *Porteous* was murdered by the Mob, may be ordered to attend this Houſe. I do not know what Sort of Magiſtrates that City has, or by what Names they are called, but I hope ſome of the Lords of that Country will aſſiſt me in forming my Motion in proper Terms. If your Lordſhips agree to that Motion, I ſhall then make you ſeveral other Motions, which I take to be neceſſary Preliminaries for an Inquiry into that Affair.

I ſhall not take upon me at preſent ſo much as to gueſs or inſinuate where the Whole or any Part of the Guilt lay upon that Occaſion; but I am perſuaded it will appear not to have lain wholly in Perſons of the meaneſt Rank; however, lie where it will, if your Lordſhips agree to inquire into it, I am ſure you will go through the Inquiry with that Dignity, Wiſdom, and Impartiality, which have always attended, and have added Weight to all the Proceedings of this Houſe. I am ſure no guilty Perſon, let his Rank or Quality be what it will, can eſcape your Lordſhips Penetration, or avoid your Juſtice; and therefore from ſuch an Inquiry I propoſe great Satisfaction to myſelf, and I hope a ſufficient Satisfaction to the whole Nation.

After this the E—l of *I——a* ſpoke to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

My Lords, as I am of Opinion that the late Tumults ought to be inquired

quired into, and some Measures taken for preventing the like in Time to come, I am so far from being against a particular Inquiry into that atrocious Riot and cruel Murder that happened at *Edinburgh*, that I shall not only second the noble Lord in all the Motions proper for that Purpose, but I shall give him all the Assistance I can towards putting those Motions in the most proper Terms. With respect to the Magistrates of the City of *Edinburgh*, I shall beg leave to inform your Lordships that that City, like the rest of the Cities in *Scotland*, is governed by its Magistrates and Town Council, who, together, make such Laws and Regulations as they think proper for the good Government of the City; but the executive Part of their Government consists intirely in the Magistracy, which is composed of a Provost, four Bailiffs, a Treasurer and a Dean of *Gild*. As for the Treasurer, his Business consists chiefly in managing the Estate and Treasure of the City, and the Dean of *Gild*'s chief Business is in looking after the Buildings, neither of whom could, by means of their Office, have any Thing to do with the Mob; and therefore the only proper Persons for your Lordships to call before you, are those who were the Provost and four Baylies of that City, at the Time the late Tumult happened there.

That the late Tumult at *Edinburgh* was a most daring Insult upon Government, and that the Murder committed at that Time was one of the most flagitious, and attended with the most aggravating Circumstances, I shall, my Lords, most readily admit; yet I am surprized to hear the least Insinuation made, as if the City's Charter ought to be taken from them on that Account. 'Tis true, Cities or Corporations may perhaps by the Severity of Law be made to forfeit their Charter, when they have been guilty of any very heinous and very extraordinary Misbehaviour; and in former Reigns we know that many *Quo Warranto's* have been issued for that Purpose: But the taking Advantage of such Forfeitures, and stretching the Law to its utmost Rigour upon such Occasions, has always been deemed Oppressive, and has never, or but very seldom, been done but by those who were pursuing arbitrary Measures; for it is really, in some Respect, punishing the Innocent for the Sake of the Guilty. For this Reason I hope no such Thing will ever be attempted in his present Majesty's Reign; but if such a Thing were to be attempted, there is not the least Foundation for attempting it with respect to the City of *Edinburgh* on Account of the late Tumult there; for that Tumult was far from being the Act of the City or Citizens: On the contrary, at least so far as yet appears, there were none concerned in it, but a few of the very Scum of the People: It does not yet appear that there was so much as one Freeman of the City concerned in it; and therefore it would be extremely hard to punish the whole Inhabitants of that populous City with a Loss of all their Privileges as Citizens, on account of any Irregularity in which they cannot be said to have had the least Concern.

The present Case of the City of *Edinburgh* is vastly different from the Case of the City of *Cambridge* in the Reign of *Richard* II. The City of *Cambridge*, my Lords, had in a Manner joined in those Insurrections which happened about the same Time with that Insurrection headed by *Wat Tyler*; the whole Citizens assembled, not in a tumultuous, but in a hostile rebellious Manner, with their Mayor and other Magistrates at their Head, went and assaulted the University, broke up their Treasury, burnt their Charters and many valuable Records, and compelled the Chancellor

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cellor and Members of the Uuniverſity, in a ſolemn Manner, under their Common Seal, to releaſe to the Mayor and Burgeſſes of *Cambridge*, all Liberties and Privileges enjoyed by that Univerſity. For this hoſtile and rebellious Manner of Proceeding, the Parliament declared they had forfeited their Charter, and many of thoſe Liberties and Privileges which were taken from them were granted by that King to the Univerſity; ſo that even this Forfeiture was but a Sort of *Lex Talionis*; but there is not the leaſt Reſemblance between this Caſe and the preſent Caſe of the City or Citizens of *Edinburgh*; and if there were, I hope none, or very few, of the Proceedings of that Reign will be allowed to be a good Precedent in this; for the very ſame King, in a few Years after, ſtripped the City of *London* of all her Privileges, and took away her Charter, on account of a Mob that happened in the City at that Time.

The removing of the Courts of Juſtice, is, I believe, my Lords, a Sort of Puniſhment his Majeſty has in his Power to inflict; but it would be extremely inconvenient both to the Judges and the Suitors, who are often obliged to have recourſe to the publick Records of the Kingdom, which are all lodged at *Edinburgh*, and which, I believe, cannot be removed without an Act of Parliament, nor, even in that Caſe, without a very great Expence. But ſuppoſe the Courts of Juſtice could be eaſily removed, the Puniſhment would be of the ſame Nature with the other; it would be a Puniſhing of the Innocent for the Sake of the Guilty, and it would be a Puniſhment I remember no Precedent for, but in the Reign I have mentioned, in the Reign of *Richard* II. who, upon his Quarrel with the City of *London*, removed the Courts of Juſtice to *York*; which was one of the Steps to that arbitrary Power he afterwards aſſumed.

I ſhall not, my Lords, take upon me to affirm that the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* were entirely innocent; whether they were guilty or innocent will beſt appear from your Lordſhips Inquiry; but granting it ſhould appear that they were negligent of their Duty, or even that they connived with the Mob, and in a Manner conſented to the Murder of *Porteous*, can that be a Reaſon for puniſhing the City, or for ſtripping the innocent Citizens of their Privileges? As that Tumult and Murder was a high Indignity put upon the Crown, it is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe it was the Act of the Citizens in general. That City has always been remarkable for their Attachment to our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and has upon all Occaſions teſtified their Reſpect and their Affection for the preſent Royal Family. In the Year 1715 they ſhewed it in a very ſignal Manner; they appeared with great Unanimity in Arms, and were ready to have gone upon the moſt deſperate Attempts, in defence of our preſent Eſtabliſhment; and it muſt be admitted by every one who knows the Circumſtances of Affairs in that Part of the Kingdom at that Time, that the loyal Behaviour of the City of *Edinburgh* contributed greatly to repreſs the unnatural Rebellion which had then broke out, and had come to a very extraordinary Height. For which Reaſon I ſhould think, my Lords, that even ſuppoſe a great Number of the Citizens ſhould appear to have been miſled, and to have been concerned in the late Tumult, yet the former Behaviour of the City, its Merit upon former Occaſions, ought to be admitted as a ſufficient Plea againſt our treating the City at leaſt, with the utmoſt Severity either Law or Juſtice will admit of.

Whatever Neglect, whatever Crime

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the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* may have been guilty of, I believe, when your Lordſhips come to inquire into the Cauſes of that Tumult at *Edinburgh*, you will find that the chief Cauſe of that and every other Tumult that has happened in the Kingdom, proceeds neither from any Neglect, nor any Oppreſſion in the civil Magiſtrate, but from a reſtleſs diſaffected Party, who are continually fomenting ſuch Tumults, in order to make their own Uſe of them at foreign Courts, and to repreſent the People of this Iſland as generally diſaffected to the preſent Government. This, 'tis well known, is the uninterrupted Endeavour of that Party, and their Succeſs in this wicked Deſign is in a great Meaſure owing to the many ſeditious Libels and Pamphlets ſpread about daily, and diſperſed with great Induſtry through every Part of the united Kingdom. In theſe Libels and Pamphlets, the Authors, under the ſpecious Pretence of Liberty, and an unfeigned Regard for the Rights of the People, take occaſion to perſuade the People that their Liberties are in danger, that they are oppreſſed, and that they ought to throw off all Reſpect for, or Obedience to, the Laws of their Country; but, my Lords, the true Deſign, the ſecret Aim of ſuch Writings and ſuch Authors may be eaſily perceived: They know the Tranſition is eaſy, from no Government at all to the Government they wiſh to ſee eſtabliſhed; and that the leſs Reſpect the People have for the preſent Government, the more eaſy it will be to prevail with them to ſubmit to the other. This, I ſay, my Lords, is eaſily perceived by Men of Knowledge and Senſe, but it is not ſo eaſily ſeen through by the Generality of Mankind, which is the Reaſon that ſo many of them are caught in the Snare; and as I am convinced that this will upon Inquiry appear to be the chief Reaſon of all our Riots, and Tumults, therefore I ſhall moſt readily join with the noble Lord in any Motions for inquiring into all or any one of them.

The L—d C——t then made the following Motions, which were all agreed to in the Committee, and being the ſame Day reported, were agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.*

To reſolve, that it is the Opinion of this Committee,

1. That the Provoſt and four Bailiffs of the City of *Edinburgh* in the Year 1736, be ordered to attend this Houſe.

2. That the Perſon commanding the City Guard at that Time of the Riot in which Captain *Porteous* was murthered, be ordered to attend this Houſe.

3. That the Officer commanding in chief his Majeſty's Forces in that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, and reſiding there at the Time of the ſaid Riot, be ordered to attend this Houſe.

4. That an authentick Copy of the Tryal of Capt. *Porteous*, and all the Proceedings relating thereunto, be laid before this Houſe.

5. That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give Order, that the Accounts tranſmitted hither of the Murder of Capt. *Porteous*, and what paſſed thereupon; together with the Orders and Directions ſent from hence relating thereunto; as likewiſe a Copy of the Reprieve of the ſaid Captain granted by her Majeſty as Guardian of the Kingdom, be laid before this Houſe.

6. That the Attendance of the ſeveral Perſons aforementioned be on this Day Month.

[*To be continued in our next.*]

Fog's

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Fog's *Journal*, May 28. N° 445.

Revolutions in Fog, *or* Fog *not loſt in a* Miſt.

IT is now more than Time (ſays *Fog*) I acquit myſelf of theſe Papers, that have been ſo many Years carried on under my Name and Direction; and as *I* took them up, ſo I lay them down, without any other Authority than that of a Citizen of *London*. I know very well that a Love for one's Country, and a Concern for its Honour and Intereſt are the uſual Pretences in Caſes of this Nature; but I ſhall not urge them for Reaſons on my own Part, becauſe I will not arraign the laudable Endeavours of thoſe two common Patriots, *The Craftſman* and the *Daily Gazetteer*, there having been ever a ſenſible Difference between us; neither can I ſay that private Intereſt was my ſole View, for then my Accounts will ſhew ſome few Miſtakes in my Reckonings, having conſum'd a very conſiderable Sum in the Warfare, without any Advantage to myſelf.

It is, however, ſome Satisfaction, that I have been ſingly, as it were, driven out of the Field, unſupported and unaſſiſted, unleſs what I might have charitably met with from *Meſſengers of State*, *Grand Juries*, *Secretaries*, *Serjeants at Arms*, *Sheriffs Officers*, *Tipſtaffs*, *Marſhals*, *Keepers*, *Turnkeys*, and ſuch like Gentlemen, who, I muſt own, have all treated me with much more Humanity and Civility than I have generally found ſince my Return to *England*; but as no Perſon elſe immediately belonging to me, or any Way concerned in carrying theſe Papers thro' the Preſs, has in the leaſt ſuffer'd in their Fortune or Reputation, I am unaccountable to any, the greateſt or the meaneſt whatſoever, taking upon my own Shoulders the Weight of the publick Indignation for what I may have done, as to continuing or diſcontinuing the ſaid Papers.

The Hon. Mr. *Vaughan*, who left this Kingdom by a Judgment at the *Old Bailey*, has been more favourably receiv'd on his Return home than I can boaſt of; and Meſſieurs *Wreathock* and *Juſtice*, Gentlemen of equal Merit with the honourable Perſon juſt mentioned, having landed at the ſame Time from their Travels, have the Happineſs already of being almoſt forgot; but, it ſeems, my Friends would fain load me with an eternal Odium for daring to live longer in ſo virtuous an Age, and to my great Confuſion I muſt own I have ſeen nothing that has yet prevail'd with me to alter my Sentiments; I am indeed afraid that no ill Uſage will engage me to purſue Meaſures that ſhall deſtroy the Peace of my own Mind, and I can't ſay but that it is with equal Contempt I look upon all thoſe who ſince my Arrival have ſhewn ſuch a Readineſs to *bear falſe Witneſs againſt their Neighbour*. N. M.

Daily Gazetteer, May 30. N° 603.

The Proportion of the Engliſh *and* French *Taxes. In Anſwer to the* Craftſman *of* May 7. *(See p. 244.)*

MR. *D'Anvers* roundly aſſerts, that the *Engliſh* pay almoſt double the Taxes that the *French* do; tho' we read in a Treatiſe written on this Subject many Years ago, by a knowing, experienced Author, as follows: *I ſhall put a Period to that Part of my Diſcourſe referring to the Taxes of foreign Princes, with that of* France, *which is rather the Abhorrence than Example of any Chriſtian Prince: His tyrannical Impoſitions being grown to an unlimited Exaction upon all Men, both ſacred and civil.* State-Tracts, Vol. II. p. 118. Yet does 'Squire *D'Anvers*, as I ſaid, roundly aſſert, that the *Engliſh* pay almoſt double what the *French* do. All the *Engliſh* pay according to him,

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17*s.* 6*d.* a Head yearly; all the *French* pay only 11*s.* a Head yearly. Let us see now what a rare political Arithmetician he is.

To support this wild Calculation he makes 20 Million of People in *France*, and the Revenue to be 11 Millions; which, indeed, comes to just 11*s.* a Head; but to diminish the Account of the Proportion of the *French* Taxes to the *English*, he magnifies the Number of Heads no less than 7 Millions; Sir *William Petty*, and the best Calculators, fixing the Number of Heads in *France* at 13,000,000; *Chamberlayne* makes them 13,500,000; which brings the Calculation of the Taxes there to about 17*s.* 6*d.* a Head. It will not be pretended that *France* is more populous now, since the Miss of above a Million of Protestants, and after above 20 Years foreign and destructive Wars, than it was in its most flourishing Condition, as when Sir *Wm. Petty* wrote. As the 'Squire has magnify'd the Number of Heads in *France*, to lessen the Proportion of Taxes there; so he magnifies the Revenues of *England*, to increase the Proportion of Taxes on the *English* Side. For there never was a Calculator that made the Proportion of the Revenues of *England* and *France* to be as 7 to 11; or, indeed, that pretended the *English* exceeded the Half of the *French* Revenues.——The Calculation of the Number of the People in both Kingdoms, is, according to *Chamberlayne*, as 7,055,000 *English* to 13,500,000 *French*.

Old Whig, June 2. N° 117.

Farther Thoughts on the Edinburgh *Bill.* (See p. 254.)

SIR,

WHATEVER Offence may be taken at you, or me, for speaking too freely of the Bill for disabling *Alexander Wilson*, Esq; *&c.* there is one Censure which we shall not lie under; to wit, the joining with the Disaffected, and Enemies to his Majesty's Person and Government. It is evident, that no Party, or Person noted, or even suspected, of Disaffection, has in the least meddled with the Opposition to it. The City Guard of *Edinburgh* is obnoxious to the Disaffected, as it is a Trophy of the Revolution; no equal Number of Men of their Rank having contributed more to the bringing about of that glorious Work, or to the preserving the Effects of it: And it will not be forgotten, that the Gates of the *Nether Bow Port* were shut against *Mc. Intosh* by the Citizens of *Edinburgh*; by which Measure they contributed more to the obstructing of the Rebellion against his late Majesty, than any other Town in the Kingdom can be said to have done.

The People of *Edinburgh* are not the only Persons that are concerned in the Safety and Honour of their City. The whole Country have an Interest in their Capital, and are affected with whatsoever concerns the Peace or Welfare of it. Their Gates and Guard are the Security of every one that resorts to it. Such a City cannot be laid open, but the whole Country must suffer with it.

We have been frequently told, indeed, that the several Princes and States of *Europe* are considerable in proportion to the Number of Soldiers that they keep up, and are able at any Time to bring into the Field. I must own myself not convinced of the Truth of that Doctrine; and I rather think the contrary may be demonstrated. Princes are honoured in proportion to the Considerableness, the Riches, the Honour, and the good Government, of the Nations under their Dominion. The Disgrace of any People, must reflect a Dishonour to their Prince. What has his Majesty done to deserve to lose the Honour of a Royal City?

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I gladly mention one Thing, which has happen'd since my last to you; which is, that a Bill is now depending, for bringing to Justice the Murderers of Capt. *Porteous*. After a Concern for the Acquittal of the Innocent, honest Men will receive a Satisfaction from the Condemnation of the Guilty. For this Reason, I hope, that all Objections to the passing of this latter Bill will be removed, and that none of this hundred and odd Fugitives shall have it to object, that they are Citizens or Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, and as such are already punished by the former Bill. They are, I believe, the only Citizens and Inhabitants that are proved to be Art and Part of the Riot and Murder in question; but I can by no means agree, that the Punishment appointed for them by the former Bill, is an adequate or proper Punishment for their Crime. And yet it is an allowed Maxim, *that none ought to be punished twice for the same Offence*. I hope therefore, that the former Bill, so far as it relates to the Citizens or Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, will be dropp'd.

I am sorry there is any need to mention the killing or wounding of the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, by the Soldiers quartered in the Suburbs, either by shooting in at the Ports when the Gates have been open, or by firing underneath them, when the People have shut them in their own Defence. I verily believe, that if the particular Soldiers, who may at any Time have been guilty of such Excesses, could be fixed upon, they would be prosecuted, even by their own Officers, with all due Severity. And if Riots of this Kind have not been animadverted upon with the same Strictness, as that which has lately happened; I hope it will be attributed, as it certainly ought, to the Want of Information or Accusation, and not to any imagined Partiality in the Government, to whom the Life of an innocent Citizen must be as dear, as that of any reprieved Criminal whatsoever. The common Soldiers are not the best Expositors of an Act of Parliament; and, as in the Bill now depending, the *Nether Bow Port* is ordered to be always kept open, upon Account (as is recited in the Bill) that it is convenient that it should be so; I hope there will be sufficient Care taken to instruct the Soldiers, that the Convenience of their shooting at the People, is not the Convenience intended in the Preamble to this Clause; and that notwithstanding that the Bill secures to them a Communication with the City at all Times, as well by Night as by Day, yet the Lives of the Inhabitants will be as much under the Protection of the Laws, as they now are, before the passing of this Act.

It has been usual, in Bills of a very extraordinary Nature, to insert a Clause, that they should not be drawn into Precedent in Time to come. This carries at least a Shadow of Security against the Example of the Bill, tho' Experience has shewn it, not to be a very effectual Provision. However, if this Bill must pass, I could wish, that we had even such a Shadow of a Security to flatter ourselves with; that the Gentlemen of the Army might be told, that they must content themselves with the Tutelage of a single City; and not expect that the whole Kingdom shall be delivered into their Hands, Town by Town, as fast as Riots can be raised for that Purpose.

Whether there be such a general Disaffection in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, as was at first urged as a Reason for the bringing in a Bill of this Nature; or whether there be no Disaffection at all, as is now argued, against the entertaining Apprehensions of any ill Consequences that may attend the Passing of such a Bill: And in case there is such a Disaffection,

affection, whether it ought to be removed by a Demonſtration of that Tenderneſs, which good Governors bear to the People under their Care; or whether it is to be reſtrained and ſubdued by Meaſures that may be thought proper for that Purpoſe: And alſo, what Methods may be the fitteſt for the attaining either of theſe Ends, the *Britiſh* Parliament will with the greateſt Wiſdom and Uprightneſs determine. And whatever deſponding Sentiments others may entertain, as that we muſt either be governed by a Mob, or by a military Force; for my own Part, I yet entertain better Sentiments, and better Hopes: I cannot look upon a Riot happening in a City once in 30 Years, to be a Government by a Mob; nor can I in the leaſt apprehend, that his Majeſty is unable to govern his Realms by a civil Power. The Crown ſits firm upon his Head, and his Sceptre is able to exert as much Force, as it ever did in the Hands of the moſt glorious of his Royal Anceſtors. Theſe Matters are under the Conſiderarion of his Parliament, who are neither wanting in Duty to his Majeſty, nor in a juſt Concern for the Rights of his People: And it is not to be doubted but their Determinations will be ſuch as will (as ſpeedily as poſſible) remove all uneaſy Apprehenſions from the Minds of all good Subjects, who wiſh Proſperity to his Majeſty's Government, and Happineſs to his People.

May 27. 1737. HENOTICUS.

Craftſman, June 4. N° 570.

On the Bill for reſtraining the Liberty of the STAGE.

THE chief Reaſon given for *ſuch a Law* (ſays Mr. *D'Anvers*) is the *preſent Licentiouſneſs of the Stage*, and the *Immorality of the People*, which is imputed to it.

Now, ſuppoſing the Fact to be true, I can ſee no Reaſon for any particular Interpoſition of the *Legiſlature*, on this Account; all *dramatick Writers* and *Players* being already under the Cognizance of the *Law*, when they tranſgreſs their Bounds, and ſubject to Proſecution, like other *Libellers*, or *immoral Perſons*.

But the Caſe is directly the Reverſe; for the *Immorality of the People* is ſo far from being owing to the *Licentiouſneſs of the Stage*, that the *Licentiouſneſs of the Stage* is immediately owing to the *Immorality of the People*, which flows from *Cauſes* too well known, and obliges *neceſſitous Writers* to comply with the prevailing Humour of the Times. Nay, the *Stage* hath been conſiderably reform'd of late Years, notwithſtanding all the *Corruption*, which hath been ſo wickedly encouraged amongſt the *People*; for I may defy the ſevereſt Critick to point out half ſo many Inſtances of Debauchery, Profaneneſs and Blaſphemy, in any of our *modern Plays*, as are to be found in thoſe of *Dryden*, *Etherege*, *Wycherly*, *Congreve*, *Vanbrugh*, and others.

If by *Licentiouſneſs* is only meant the Liberty of expoſing *Vice in high Stations*, this too hath been more tenderly exerciſed of late, (excepting, perhaps, an Inſtance or two) than in any former Time; for it would be eaſy to produce a much greater Variety of ſarcaſtical Reflections upon *Kings*, *Courts* and *Miniſters*, in many *old Plays* than in any of our *modern ones*. *This Privilege* was allow'd, when there was no ſuch Thing as the *Liberty of the Preſs*; I mean in the Reign of K. *Charles* II. for tho' the Power of licenſing *Play-houſes* and *Players* was then lodged in the Hands of the *Maſter of the Revels*, his Buſineſs was only to ſee that nothing *treaſonable*, or *immoral*, ſhould be exhibited on the Stage; and even *this Power* was very rarely put in Execution.

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Execution. The Reign of *that King* abounds with *Party-Plays*; but as *one Side* endeavour'd to ridicule the *Liberties of the People* out of Faſhion, ſo *Popery* and *arbitrary Power* were expoſed on the *other*. This was of great Service in propagating thoſe true Principles of our *Conſtitution*, which afterwards brought about our Deliverance under K. *William*.

We have been lately told, indeed, by a very *honourable Gentleman*, that the ſtinging Parts of ſome *modern Plays* have been pointed out to the Audience by Perſons employ'd on Purpoſe to *clap* them. But is this, ſuppoſing it to be true, of *modern Date*; or are we to imagine that the general Strokes of Satire, in moſt of our *old Plays*, were not level'd at ſome particular Perſons in thoſe Times, tho' we want a Key to many of them at preſent? Nay, hath not every *dramatick Poet* a Right to ſuch general Satire, and every *Auditor* to apply it as he ſees Occaſion? Even *Dryden* himſelf (who carry'd the *Power of the Crown* as far as poſſible) allows, 'that 'to *clap* and to *hiſs* are the Privileges 'of a free-born Subject in a *Play-houſe*.

Another Hon. Gentleman hath been lately pleaſed to take Notice of a Proſecution againſt a *Farce*, in the ſame Reign; but the very reading the Indictment occaſioned ſo much Laughter, that it was drop'd: which is a Proof that the *Lord Chamberlain* had no abſolute Power, at that Time, over the *Players*, or any Thing they acted, ſince he did not take upon himſelf to prevent its Performance.

Beſides, the Bounds of *Liberty* and *Licentiouſneſs* are ſo extreme nice, that it is very difficult to diſtinguiſh exactly between them; but it is certain that there can be no *Liberty*, where there is no Room left of extending it too far. A few Inconveniences of this Kind are the Taxes we pay for *Liberty*, and which cannot be had without them. We pay, at preſent, about 7 *Millions* a Year for our *Liberty*; and is this attended with no *Hardſhip*, or *Licentiouſneſs*? Is there no Oppreſſion, or Poſſibility of Oppreſſion, from the *Tax-gatherers* and *Soldiers*, who preſerve *this Liberty* to us; or ſhall we part with *ſuch watchful Guardians* of it, upon this Account? To prune *Liberty* of all *Licentiouſneſs* is ſuppoſing a Thing to ſubſiſt, which is not capable of being abuſed; whereas the *beſt Things* are liable to *Corruption*, and nothing more than *Government* itſelf; which hath been proſtituted to ſuch wicked Purpoſes, that even the pious Dr. *Prideaux* makes a Doubt whether it hath not done more *Miſchief* than *Good* in the World.

As to the Power of the *Lord Chamberlain*, or *Maſter of the Revels*, over Plays, I agree with my *late Correſpondent* that it is not ſtrictly legal, according to the *preſent State of the Theatre*; (See p. 264. E.) but took its Riſe, no Doubt, when our Kings kept a Company of Comedians within their *own Houſhold*, or the *Verge of the Court*; nor was I ever able to comprehend how their *Licence*, or even the *King's Patent*, could indemnify them, after the Act of Q. *Anne*, which declares them all *Vagabonds* without Exception, till it was decided by *ſuch Authority* as I dare not contradict. But the *very ſame Authority* determined likewiſe that all *Players*, who acted without a *Patent*, came under the *Act before mention'd*, and might be proſecuted accordingly as *Vagabonds*.

If *Stage-Plays* are really immoral in themſelves, as the *antient Puritans* contended, or have been ſo far proſtituted as to debauch the Minds of the People, for God's Sake let them all be prohibited by *Law*; but to indulge them on *one Side*, and forbid them on the *other*, is too much Partiality. The *Crown*, I am ſure, wants no *ſuch additional Power*; and yet if the ſole Privilege of licenſing *Plays* ſhould be placed in an *Officer of the Crown*, we can expect nothing but Flattery to *Men in Power*, and Satire upon all who oppoſe them. *Patriotiſm* will

be turn'd into Ridicule, instead of *Mal-Administration*, and the People will be taught to laugh at *that Corruption*, which hath an immediate Tendency to enslave and beggar them. In short, nothing will be wanting to compleat *such a Scheme*, could I suppose any Man so wicked as to entertain the Thoughts of it, but putting the *Press* under the same Restraint; and that, I am afraid, is too natural a Consequence of the other.

However, if *this Bill* must pass; if the *Court* is still so short of Power, that it cannot support itself against the People, without taking away the *Liberty of the Stage*, or lifting it intirely on *that Side*, I hope our *Italian Opera's* will fall the first Sacrifice, as they not only carry great Sums of Money out of the Kingdom, but soften and enervate the Minds of the People. The *antient Romans* did not admit of any *effeminate Musick, Singing, or Dancing*, upon their Stage, till *Luxury* had corrupted their Morals, and the Loss of *Liberty* follow'd soon after. If therefore it should be thought necessary to lay any farther Restraint upon the *most useful Sort of dramatical Entertainments*, the *worst* ought certainly to receive no Encouragement.

It will be expected, at least, that the *Right Rev. Fathers of our Church*, who petition'd his *late Majesty* to put a Stop to *Masquerades*, will exert themselves once more, upon this Occasion, against *those infamous Assemblies*, which tend more effectually to corrupt the Morals of the People than all the *Plays* and *Interludes*, that were ever acted.

Common-Sense *being upon the same Subject, we omit it.*

Fog's *Journal*, June 4. N° 1.

Old Fog's *Dying Speech.*

MY Cousin *Fog*, who liv'd to a good old Age, with the Character of uncommon Probity, having been long declining under the gradual encreasing Burthen of Years, on *Saturday* last, with great Charity towards all Men, exemplary Goodness towards his Detractors, and a perfect Resignation, pay'd the irremissible Debt of Nature. (See p, 301.) As I was the neareſt Relation he had, I did not leave his House from the Time he was judg'd near his Dissolution. Some few Hours before his Death, as I sat by the Bedside, he took me by the Hand and among other Things said: 'Kinsman, Reflect 'that I have the Pleasure to leave behind me some Remains of Liberty, 'the Cause of which I have asserted 'with equal Zeal and ill Success; and 'that I close my Eyes, before Corruption has lock'd up the Press. The 'little Effect my Lucubrations had 'on those stupid Animals, who barter'd their own and the Liberties 'of their Children for a trifling present Sum, which they were sure to 'repay with most exorbitant Usury; 'the Infirmities of old Age, and the 'Hand of Power, made me lay down 'all Political Contests, as I thought 'it a Mark of Weakness to expose 'myself to Ruin, for Men, who, 'spight of Advice, wou'd rush upon 'their own. I know I have been 'unjustly and hardly censured for 'following what some Men call the 'first Principle of Nature, Self-Preservation: I say, some Men, for the 'true Patriot, will ever prefer the Liberty and Happiness of his Country to Life itself; but no Man of 'Sense will *de gaieté de coeur*, obstinately persist in serving an ungrateful and senseless People, who are 'obstinately resolved to be undone.

'The many Prosecutions I have 'suffer'd in asserting the Rights of 'my dear Country, the ignominious '(as 'twas thought) Sentence pass'd 'upon me, and the Intrepidity I have 'shewn in pursuing the glorious Cause 'which animated me, to the impoverishing of my Fortune, are sufficient Proofs of my Attachment to 'the Interest of the Publick, and 'that

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'that I was too ſincere a Lover of 'my native Soil to be either allured 'or intimidated to deſert its Cauſe, 'while there was the leaſt Hope of 'averting the impending Ruin.

'You who are more ſanguine, ap- 'pear too firmly reſolved for me to A 'undertake the diſſuading you from 'your Enterprize, ſince the Argu- 'ments I have hitherto made Uſe of, 'have proved fruitleſs, and you have 'anſwer'd the Remonſtrances I have 'made you of the Danger which 'muſt neceſſarily attend your ſtem- B 'ming the rapid Tide of Power, with 'a *dulce eſt pro patria mori*. Give me 'leave, ſince you are determin'd to 'appear on the publick Stage, to of- 'fer you my Advice. Take Care, that 'you do not miſtake Party and Pre- 'judice for publick Zeal; be ſure that C 'it is the Cauſe of your Country that 'ſtimulates you, and do not think 'you promote that, by oppoſing, 'without Diſtinction, whatever your 'Opponents do. In your Papers may 'your Satyre ſpare the Perſon, but D 'give no Quarter to Vice, Folly, or 'the Blunders of aſſuming Mounte- 'bank Politicians, who by low and 'mean Arts ſhall have poſſeſſed them- 'ſelves of Poſts of Truſt and Power; 'who by their Ignorance ſhall expoſe 'the Nation to Inconveniencies, and 'by their Timidity and Avarice ſub- E 'ject her to Inſults, and tarniſh her 'Glory. It is not impoſſible but you 'may live to ſee ſuch a Set of Men, 'Strangers to Honour and Probity; 'of rapacious Hands and voracious 'Appetites; of weak Heads and ſtrong 'Paſſions. Men of the Stamp of theſe F 'Pſeudo Patriots, if ſuch ſhou'd ever 'appear, are an Exception to the Rule 'of ſparing of Perſons, while you laſh 'their Crimes. Shall the poor ſtarv- 'ing Creature, who robs on the High- 'way, be puniſh'd with Death, and 'ſhall he whoſe Rapine ſhall not only G 'bring particular Families to the 'greateſt Streights, but ſhall impove- 'riſh a whole Nation, enjoy peacea- 'bly the Fruits of his Peculation, 'loaded with Honours and rioting in 'Luxury? No; ſince you are reſolv- 'ed'——Here my poor Kinſman was taken with a fainting Fit, which cut ſhort his Exhortation, and he never after had Strength to reſume the Diſcourſe.

Notwithſtanding the Opinion of my decas'd Relation, I am reſolved to appear in the Cauſe of Virtue and of my Country; and to proceed with the utmoſt Impartiality, as I am actuated by juſt Principles, and not by perſonal or party Piques. As on the one Hand, I am determin'd to ſpare none, whoſe Ignorance or Avarice ſhall plunge the Nation into Difficulties; ſo, on the other, I ſhall be as ready and as well pleaſed to give juſt Praiſe to thoſe, in the A——n, whoſe Virtue, Vigilance, and Ability ſhew them zealous in, and capable of, advancing the *Publick Good*.

Extracts from ſome Gazetteers, *relating to the Bill for reſtraining the* STAGE.

GAZ. June 4. To *Paſquin*. There is ſomething peculiarly abſurd in your quoting *Ariſtophanes* in your own Juſtification; (ſee p. 262.) whoſe licentious Abuſe of the Stage, put the *Athenians* upon the very Thing our Legiſlature is now paſſing into a Law. Every Body that has the leaſt Acquaintance with Literature, knows what *Vetus Comœdia* was; and that the Licentiouſneſs of it took in not only private Life, and as near as was poſſible, the very exact Figure of Perſons; but expoſed on the Scene, the principal Men of the Republick by Name. *Ariſtophanes* carry'd this ſo far, that in a Piece of his, in which he brought the Perſon of *Cleon* on the Stage, who was a leading Man in *Athens*, the Actor refuſing to play the *Roll*, he himſelf went on and performed it. He afterwards brought *Lampſacus* and *Bra-*

ſidas, nay, *Alcibiades* and *Pericles* on the Scene, and treated their miniſterial Characters, as well as their private ones, with the ſame Licentiouſneſs. Such was the Intemperance of this, your Model, Sir, that the very *beſt*, as well as the *wiſeſt*, Man of all *Greece*, no leſs than *Socrates*, was expoſed by him, and thro' his Sides, *Morality* and *Government* radically ſtruck at. This Abuſe of Comedy at length ſtirr'd up the Indignation of the *Athenians*, who thought the *Miniſter* as well as the private Man accountable to them for his Actions, and not to the Poet; and finding, as *Horace* tells us, the Grievance *fit to be reſtrained by Law, they did reſtrain it by Law*. I ſhall beg leave to quote the Paſſage, not for your Information, for you cannot be ignorant of it; but to ſhew you, that tho' a wiſe Government may wink at ſmall Abuſes, it never can, when they arrive to a certain Pitch.

Succeſſit vetus his comœdia, non ſine multa
Laude; ſed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi. Lex oſt accepta, chorusque
Turpiter obticuit, ſublato jure nocendi.

HOR. Ar. Poet.

I do not think, that *to ridicule Vice is to ſerve its Cauſe*. But I ſay, that to repreſent Vice in Colours more amiable than its natural ones, is to *ſerve its Cauſe*. And I dare ſay, there is not one ſingle Perſon that ever went to the *Beggars Opera*, but who *thought* of the Characters there repreſented, with much *leſs Horror and Averſion*, than the ſame Perſon would, and actually does, of the Wretches that go to *Tyburn*, or the *Plantations*, tho' there is no Difference *but* the *Poet's Colouring* between them. Is this then ridiculing Vice, to make it leſs ſhocking? Surely, the greateſt Advocate for Mr. *Gay* will not pretend to clear him of this Imputation. Is this ridiculing Vice, to ſhew Corruption, as you have done in *Paſquin*? This is a familiarizing *Corruption*, juſt as Mr. *Gay* familiarized *Vice*, by taking away all the *Odium* of it.

Gaz. June 8. It is ſurprizing, the Clamour that is raiſed againſt the *Bill for reſtraining the Licentiouſneſs of the Stage*; when there is not one ſober, impartial Man, but muſt ſee and acknowledge, that the *perſonal* Abuſe of *Majeſty* itſelf, as well as the encouraging and promoting all manner of Vice and Immorality, is carried to ſuch a Length, that if ſome ſpeedy and effectual Stop be not put to ſuch daring Licentiouſneſs, we can expect nothing leſs, than to fall a Sacrifice to *thoſe*, who lie in wait to deſtroy us.

Gaz. June 11. Comedy (ſays *L'Abbe D'Aubignac*) in its firſt Inſtitution, and when it began to have Actors, after the Example of Tragedy, was nothing, in Truth, but a *ſatyrick Poem*; which, by Degrees, under Pretence of laſhing the Vices of the People, for their Inſtruction, flew out, with Impunity, into ſhameful Detraction, not only againſt the Citizens, but againſt the Magiſtrates, and the moſt illuſtrious Perſons, whoſe Names, Actions, and Faces, were brought on the Scene: And this is what is called *The Antient Comedy*. It does not reſult from hence, but that Comedy, at the very firſt, was leſs *offenſive*; for under *Epicharmus*, and the firſt Comicks who followed him, *Comedy ſmil'd*, but was not *abuſive*; it admitted *Raillery*, but not *Outrages*; it had *Salt*, but not *Gall* and *Vinegar*: But that Liberty degenerated into ſuch unbounded *Licentiouſneſs*, that the Theatre of *Ariſtophanes* was the Means of ſtirring up the People againſt *Socrates*, and putting him to Death. Then the *Repreſentations* on the Scene took in ſome *real Action*, which could not be divided from it; for what was ſaid againſt the *theatrical Socrates*, was addreſs'd to the *real Socrates* then preſent. One need but read the firſt Comedies of *Ariſtophanes*,

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phanes, to see how he mixes the Interests of the Actors with those of the Spectators; the Fable of his Pieces, with the History of the Times; and that the Railleries of his Theatre were built on the Lives of those he had a Mind to pull to Pieces. In a Word, they were nothing but *defamatory Libels*, containing the *Names*, *Qualities*, *Actions*, nay, the *very Faces* of those, whom the Poet, authoriz'd only by his *Caprice* and *Spleen*, took upon him to attack, and not the *Productions of Wit*, reduced to *a reasonable Species of Poetry*, *founded upon Rule*. Hence, finding the dangerous Effects of Comedy, the Magistrates, to put a Stop to this Licentiousness of the Poets, forbad them, henceforward, to name any Person in their Pieces.

But as *mischievous Wit* is never at a Loss to find Expedients, Poets cut out the Names of Persons, whom they had a Mind to abuse; but represented their Actions so exactly, that it was very easy to know whom they meant: And this was what was called since *middle Comedy*; of which *Aristophanes*, in his latter Works, has given Examples.

But this Kind of Raillery, tho' in Appearance softer than the first, was judged as pernicious in its Effects, and likewise forbid. This put Poets not only under a Necessity of inventing Names, but of composing a *Fable* for their Pieces: So that Comedy being now a *Work of Wit*, received Rules, in the same Manner as Tragedy, and became a *Picture*, and *Imitation*, of *Common Life*. Then *publick Representations* were no longer *private Actions*, and all that pass'd on the Scene, was look'd upon as a *true History*, in which neither the Republick nor the Spectators had any Part, *&c.* —— And this was what constituted *The new Comedy*, which *Terence* follow'd.

It appears very plain, from this Deduction, that ever since Comedy was reduced into *Rule* and *Order*, and *specify'd*, it never admitted *Personalities*, in any Shape whatever, which was always deem'd *Licentiousness*.

Gaz. June 13. All Players that were licens'd were always look'd upon as the King's Servants; therefore I'll put a parallel Case to these Gentlemen. It is this,

A little after the Revolution, when K. *William* began to coin Money, *Routier*, that had coined for K. *Charles* and K. *James*, being an excellent Workman, was kept still in the *Mint*. But the Fellow being a Jacobite, made K. *William*'s Half-Pennies so, that the Back-Part of the Head represented a Satyr's Face with Horns, alluding to a secret Calumny of his Enemies. Upon this *Routier* was turn'd out, went into *France* and was taken into the *French* Mint, where his Son, when I was in *France*, still continued to coin. Now might not these Patrons of Liberty have complained of this Usage of *Routier*, as a Breach on publick Freedom, thus to cramp the Fancy of an ingenious Artificer, and to make, *O facinus horrendum!* His M——y's *Mint* obey an *Imprimatur?* Doubtless, it was looked upon by the Jacobites of those Days, as a Step towards taking away the Liberty of the Press.

But pray, Sir, Why do you let them run away with that Notion, that *the chief Business of Plays, is to expose the Vices and Follies of the Great?*—Comedy, ever since the old Comedy was put down by publick Authority, and, as *Horace* says, *turpiter*, with Shame, never pretended to go in this High Walk.

Common Sense, June 11. N° 19.

A Dissertation on KICKING.

I HAVE been inform'd, there has been for several Years, in the publick

publick Library at *Ratisbon*, a most curious Manuscript, *de Colaphis & Calcationibus Veterum*; of the Kicks and Cuffs of the Antients; written by the learned *Vanhoofins*; and that a Copy of this Work was some Years ago transmitted into *England*, to be laid up in the Library of St. *James*'s; that it has been carefully revised and collated by the learned Dr. *B—y*, who has amended an Error in the Title; for he has proved, that *Colaphis* must have been an Interpolation of the Transcriber; and that the true Reading is, *de Calcationibus Veterum*; which he translates thus: *Of the Kicks on the A— of the Antients.*

I had a Design of writing something upon this Subject myself, and have already been at no small Pains in looking over the *Cotton* and *Bodleian* Libraries. It is a Subject, well handled, that must give great Satisfaction to the Curious; nay, I could wish the World was but well inform'd of some late Truths concerning Kicking, I fancy it would contribute towards curing the Spleen of the Nation.

The Stage is the Representation of the World, and a Man may know the Inclinations of the People, by what is liked or disliked upon the Stage, and I have often observ'd a Kicking to be the most diverting Scene in a modern Comedy. Of all the Comedians who have appeared upon the Stage within my Memory, no one has taken a Kicking with so much Humour as our present most excellent Laureat, and I am inform'd his Son does not fall much short of him in this Excellence; I am very glad of it, for as I have a Kindness for the young Man, I hope to see him as well kick'd as his Father was before him. Hitherto, indeed, these Kickings have been only the Support and Ornament of the comick Scene; I wish with all my Heart some Poet of a sublime Genius would venture to write a Kicking in a Tragedy; I am very well persuaded, if an Author was to introduce a King kicking a first Minister, it would have a very good Effect.

Some of the *Roman* Emperors, as *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Caligula*, were given to kicking; so indeed was our *Harry* VIII. he made nothing of kicking the House of Commons. There is a Box on the Ear recorded of Q. *Elizabeth*; it was a sudden Sally of jealous Love; it was but a Kind of *aigre Douceur*; and it does not appear that it was the Fashion of her Court. The Action of *Kicking* might be thought a little too robust for the Delicacy of her Sex, and it might have exposed the Royal Legs, *&c.* to the Sneers of the young Fellows of the Court; therefore she modestly turned it into a Box on the Ear.

As no Man can account how Fashions rise and fall, who knows but the Practice of Kicking upon every trifling Occasion may become a Fashion in this Kingdom? One of the greatest Wits of our Nation has placed the Seat of Honour in a certain Part of the Body that I don't well know how to describe. It is the Part which we must not name in well-bred Company, yet happy is the fair Maid who shall rise with that Part uppermost in a Morning, good Luck shall attend her, and all the Wishes of that Day shall be crown'd with Success; but if I must describe it still plainer, it is the Part where School-Boys are punished for false Concords, and for playing Truant. If it should, I say, become a Fashion, you would see a Fellow at Court, who had just receiv'd a most gracious Kick on that Part, return as proud as a Citizen from being Knighted; and why might not the Honour of Knighthood be conferr'd this Way, as well as by the Sword? And, indeed, why might not all Titles be conferr'd this Way?

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I cannot ſee why it might not be turned to be of excellent Uſe towards carrying on the Deſigns of Miniſters of State, in caſe they ſhou'd happen to be purſuing Meaſures deſtructive of the Liberties of their Country; for in this Caſe they muſt, for their own Safety, be obliged to bribe the Repreſentatives, and as they would certainly bribe with the Peoples Money, not with their own, and as I ſhould think it a very right Thing to ſave the publick Money, I ſhould for that Reaſon humbly propoſe, that Kicking might be introduced into publick Buſineſs inſtead of Bribing; I don't doubt but it might anſwer all the ſame Purpoſes, for I am firmly of Opinion, that whoever will take a Bribe will take a Kicking.

It is not at all improbable but Kicking may, ſome Time or other, become a Method of carrying on State Affairs. If we ſhould live to ſee that Day, young Princes, inſtead of Riding, Fencing, and Dancing, would have proper Maſters provided to inſtruct them in Kicking; and as he that undertook to eat a Sword began by eating a Dagger, ſo a young Adept ſhould begin by kicking his Hat, before he was put to kick a Man.

There is a Court of Honour in all the Countries of *Europe*: In *France* the Mareſchals or Generals preſide in it. In *England* the Judge of the Court of Honour is Hereditary in the Family of the firſt Duke of the Kingdom. I ſhould think that the Ceremonial of Kicking a Man into a Title, or a great Imployment, might be ſettled by the Judges of theſe Courts of Honour. I ſhould think it would be too great a Fatigue for the Prince himſelf to kick the whole Court, eſpecially in Countries where the Court is numerous; I ſhould therefore be of Opinion, that no body ſhould have the Honour of being kick'd by the Sovereign, except the firſt Miniſter, the principal Secretaries of State, the Preſident of his Councils, and ſome few other great Officers of the Crown; but theſe might kick thoſe next in Imployment under them, who might kick the next to them; and ſo it might gradually deſcend, that there ſhould not be a Man in any Imployment in the Kingdom but what might be kick'd.

The Barbarity of a *French* Education will not ſuffer a Gentleman to take a Kick from any Perſon, be he never ſo great, without ſome terrible Conſequences; but, I hope, we may live to get the better of ſuch Prejudices, which may have this good Conſequence, it may introduce an Elegance and Politeneſs of Manners not known in the World, except amongſt the ancient *Goths* and modern *Hottentots*.

As to thoſe ſplendid Exagitations of Choler, which are apt to break out into *Rogue* and *Raſcal*, I am credibly inform'd ſome very ſtately Perſons are ſo uſed to them, they receive them with the ſame Countenance, as, *Sir, I kiſs your Hands*; this ſhews we are well diſpoſed for a Reformation of Manners; yet I fear it will not grow into general Imitation, unleſs the Court ſhould ſet the Example, which I am afraid will not happen; but if we ſhould live to ſee that Day, the Place-Men muſt of Courſe all fall into it; and, I think, it would be pleaſant enough, when a great Imployment became vacant, to ſee a Parcel of impudent Fellows in Lace and Embroidery, preſſing and elbowing to be kick'd.

If the common People, who are not fond of new Faſhions at their firſt Riſe, ſhould diſcover any Diſlike of coming into it, why might not a Standing Army be imploy'd to kick a whole Nation?

Craftſman, June 11. N° 571.

A DREAM.

Mr. D'Anvers,

I WAS, yeſterday Morning, at the Opening of a Friend's Body, who

who dy'd of a Diſtemper that puzzled all his Phyſicians; and therefore he deſired, upon his Death-bed, that they would ſatisfy themſelves in this Manner, for the Benefit of thoſe, whom he ſhould leave behind him. As ſoon as I got home, I fell into ſeveral Reflections on the Uſefulneſs of *Anatomy*. From thence I rambled into the common Compariſon between the *Body natural* and the *Body politick*, and conſider'd with myſelf of what infinite Advantage it would be to Mankind, if it were poſſible to diſſect the *latter*, as well as the *former*. This odd Whim got ſuch a ſtrong Poſſeſſion of my Fancy, that it produced the following Dream, as ſoon as I went to Bed.

I was carry'd up, methought, on a ſudden into the Air, where a vaſt Multitude of People were ſitting upon Clouds all around, in the Manner of an Amphitheatre; tho' not at ſuch a Diſtance as to intercept their View of the Earth below, which was of a triangular Figure, and ſurrounded by the Sea. Upon caſting my Eyes downwards, I beheld a *dead Carcaſs* ſtretch'd upon the Ground, of ſo prodigious a Size, that all the *monſtrous Giants* of Antiquity, or the *Brobdignaggians* of modern Times, will not give you any Idea of it; for it extended itſelf ſeveral hundred Miles in Length, and proportionably in Breadth. The Form of it was likewiſe very wonderful; for tho' it reſembled an *human Creature* in the main, having but *one Head* and *one Body*, yet it was compoſed of ſuch an infinite Variety of *Legs*, *Arms*, and other Limbs, that it is impoſſible to compute them within ſeveral Millions. It likewiſe ſeem'd to be of the *hermaphrodite Kind*, and compounded of *both Sexes*; tho' the *male Part* appear'd to be predominant.

Having taken a full View of this aſtoniſhing Spectacle, and pondering with myſelf what it could be, I was inform'd by a Gentleman, who ſat next to me, that the *huge Animal*, which lay before us, having dy'd ſuddenly, in the Prime of his Years, his Body was going to be open'd, in order to find out the Cauſe of his Death; for he obſerved very juſtly that it muſt be ſomething of a very extraordinary Nature that could deſtroy a *Being*, which was made for many Ages, and was ſo powerfully arm'd againſt *outward Violence*. I was going to make ſome Enquiries into the Name of his Country, and the Hiſtory of his Life, when the *Operator* appear'd below and took up all our Attention. Having examined the *lower Parts*, and particularly the *Extremities*, he found them all ſhrivel'd up; and from thence obſerved that the *Circulation of the Blood* muſt have been obſtructed for ſome Time. He then open'd the *Bowels*, which were putrify'd to ſuch a Degree, that we were all forced to clap our Handkerchiefs to our Noſes. But what ſurprized us moſt of all was to find the *Heart* itſelf intirely dry'd up, and without a Drop of Blood in it; which was all ſettled in the *Head* and *upper Parts*, as appear'd upon further Examination. The *Head* itſelf was intirely ſtuff'd up with coagulated Blood; and the *right Hand* next to it was ſo bloated, that it appear'd to be larger than any 20 Hands I ever ſaw. A Gentleman deſired the *Operator* to lance *this Hand*; which was accordingly perform'd, and there iſſu'd from it a large Quantity of *corrupt Matter*. The *firſt left Hand*, which I obſerved to be very black and dirty, was likewiſe ſwell'd to an enormous Size. There were ſeveral *others*, towards the *Top of the Body*, which were tumify'd in the ſame Manner, and diſcover'd ſtrong Symptoms of *Infection*; but, upon a nice Inſpection, it appear'd that *this Animal* was of a very different Structure from all *other Creatures*; and that the greateſt Part of his Blood, inſtead of being equally

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equally circulated from the *Heart* thro' every Part of his *vaſt Body*, was convey'd by ſecret Pipes to the *Head*, and *ſome other ſuperior Members*, where it ſtagnated, and of Courſe ſoon put an End to his Life.

As this is a very extraordinary Caſe, the *Anatomiſt* gave us a learned Lecture upon it; in which he explain'd the Nature of *this ſtrange Animal*, and proved from divers Authorities, that it was originally a Creature of *God* himſelf, which he was pleaſed to ſend into the World for the nobleſt Purpoſes; but that *wicked Men*, who are always prone to debaſe his Works, had mix'd the Breed, and raiſed up an *unnatural Monſter*; which, tho' it may play the Tyrant for a while, and deſtroy all its *Inferiors*, muſt at laſt fall a Sacrifice to its own inſatiable Appetites.

This imaginary Speech had ſuch an Effect upon me, that I ſtarted out of my Sleep; and ſhould have been at a Loſs to account for ſo romantick a Dream, had I not recollected the Occurrence of the Day before, and my own whimſical Reflections upon it. What gave me the moſt Concern was, that this diſagreeable Scene ſhould be repreſented to my Fancy in an *Iſland*; which, being our own happy Situation, muſt needs raiſe ſome Emotions in one, who thinks himſelf a *true Engliſhman*, and may give Occaſion to invidious Suggeſtions. But I think the preſent miſerable State of the Iſland of *Corſica*, and the proſperous Condition of *England*, will be ſufficient to purge me from any ſuch Intention. Beſides, the beſt Interpreters of *Dreams*, both ancient and modern, have always explain'd them in a *contrary Senſe*; and therefore whatever Meaning *this Dream* may be ſuppoſed to contain, or to whatever Nation it may be apply'd, I think it cannot poſſibly be expounded into a *Libel*. But we live in ſo critical an Age, where every Thing is tortured into *Parellels* and *Innuendo's*, that I ſubmit it to your Judgment.

Newcaſtle upon Tyne,
SIR, May 16th, 1737.

AS I have often ſeen Letters from anonymous Authors in your *Magazine*, I cannot help indulging a flattering Thought of one from this Place.

I doubt not but it will ſurprize you, if I tell you there are People in this Kingdom, who think of us *Northerns*, as but a Degree removed from the barbarous *Hottentots*, and who (whenever Occaſion occurs) ſpeak of our Country as an obſcure Corner, that has nothing to induce any to live in it, who have the leaſt Spark of Taſte or Politeneſs to boaſt of. But believe me, Sir, whoever are our Slanderers, they deceive themſelves much more than, I hope, they can prejudice us; for amongſt the great Number of our *Northern* Nobility and Gentry, there are few, I dare ſay, but will allow us a tolerable Notion of what is what. For my Part, tho' I am a Native, I ſhall endeavour to ſpeak in ſuch a Manner, as to gain an eaſy Belief in whatever I may have Occaſion to ſay; and if my Judgment ſhould appear ſomewhat partial, let it be conſider'd, that I am juſtifying the Manners and Cuſtoms of my Countrymen, the Produce and Situation of my Country, againſt the falſe and fooliſh Opinions of thoſe People, who think and ſpeak, without giving themſelves the leaſt Trouble to enquire into the Reality and Truth of Things.

I could not have thought there were any ſo ignorant as a late Journey to *London* gave me an Opportunity of meeting with. As I was tranſacting a little Buſineſs for myſelf, at a Coffee Houſe in the City, I was ſurrounded with a Crowd of

fine Gentlemen, who (by what Accident I can't tell) knew me to be of *Northumberland*. But I had not been long engaged in Converſation with them, before I reflected, how much more deſirable and entertaining was the Company of ſome Men I knew, whoſe Humour and good Senſe could need no ſuch Gaiety of Dreſs to recommend them. One of theſe Coffee-Houſe Haunters ask'd me, with a very grave Face, how the Inhabitants of this Town ſecured the Foundations of their Buildings, from ſinking into the vaſt Abyſs (as he term'd it) occaſion'd by the perpetual digging for Coals? And alſo very judiciouſly remark'd, that none ſurely, that could provide for themſelves elſewhere, would care to attempt the acquiring a Fortune attended with ſo many Dangers. Another, to ſhew his Skill in Geography, ask'd me ſeveral Queſtions about our great Towns; as, whether *Newcaſtle*, *York*, or *Berwick* was neareſt *Scotland?* and how many more Inhabitants in all the three, than in *Drury-Lane* or St. *Giles's?* With much more ſuch ſenſeleſs Stuff, as made me pity the Ignorance of thoſe profound Enquirers, who, I dare ſay, thought themſelves wiſer than all the Heads in *Northumberland* put together. One would indeed be apt to imagine, that theſe Gentlemen put ſuch Interrogatories, rather to rally an aukward Countryman, and triumph in their Superiority of Wit, than out of any real Ignorance, or with any Curioſity, or Deſire to be better inform'd; but the Manner of ſpeaking is enough to ſhew their Intention. I could eaſily perceive they were in earneſt, and quite ſerious in their Queſtions, I therefore took upon me to expoſe theſe miſtaken Notions, ſo ridiculouſly entertain'd in prejudice of a Country and People, enjoying all Kinds of Advantages, in almoſt as great Perfection as the beſt Part of our Iſland can afford.

I may alſo add, that the *Northerns* are a polite People, and perhaps as well bred as thoſe who think more highly of themſelves than to bear with a Compariſon: And why not? ſince we have *Beaux* and *Belles*, who in their different Provinces, can chooſe and judge of Faſhions, cenſure new Plays and Poems, adjuſt the Tippet, or cock the Hat, write, and receive *Billets doux*, and if need require, when Honour is attack'd, return the Inſult with Sword and Piſtol; beſides the inextirpable Cuſtom of Gallantry and Intriguing, with many more undoubted *Marks* of the reigning Taſte of this Age. As for our Soil and Produce, together with the good Things we import in Exchange for our Manufactures, they are of ſuch Kinds, and abound in ſuch Plenty, that the moſt voluptuous *Epicure*, if he pleaſes, may glut in Dainties, and the jolly *Bacchanalian*, in no leſs Profuſion, drown the Cares of Life in the mantling Bowl.

Some have been ſo malicious as to report that our Women are diſagreeable, tho' not ſo much in Nature, as by a ſtrange ill Fancy, and Ungenteelneſs in their Dreſs. But this falſe Aſperſion may be eaſily contradicted; Have we not a frequent Commerce with the Metropolis of our Land, which muſt doubtleſs bring with it, the Advantage of having communicated to us, whatever is good, and worthy Imitation; and bating ſome few nice Points, we come little ſhort of our Patterns: Inſomuch, Sir, that whenever you meet with a Lady well dreſs'd about the Decline of any Faſhion in Town (for, I take it, ſuch ſublunary Things are but tranſient) only imagine that you ſee ſuch a one in the very Pink of the Mode in *Newcaſtle*, and I will aſſure you that the Difference ſhall ſcarce be perceivable; for we have Ladies of ſuch a fine Taſte in Dreſs and the other Elegancies in Life, that

that I could point you out a Taylor's Daughter, or Mantua-Maker's Apprentice, that may vie with any mock Dutcheſs in the Land.

But let me not forget what is more worthy our Notice; if *Newcaſtle*, as a Proof of its Politeneſs, can produce a multifarious Crowd of faſhionable Fools, ſhe may no leſs boaſt of her Men of Senſe and Learning. Happy for her, her Conſtitution is *Engliſh*, and her Bulwarks proof againſt any Invader, whilſt Induſtry and Temperance, and Regard to her Laws is the Bleſſing of her People. And to ſhew you we are not deſtitute of Generoſity or Underſtanding to diſpenſe ſo great a Treaſure, I muſt not omit ſuch an Inſtance of it, as when known will redound to our Glory. I mean that juſt Regard paid to Merit in any Shape whatever. Not long ago, there was a particular Office in this Town became vacant, which being of ſome Importance, occaſioned a Variety of Candidates; one was recommended by his Friends as an honeſt and inoffenſive Man, but his Capability of executing the Office not conſider'd; another, without either Capacity to juſtify his being a Candidate, or indeed any other Merit to deſerve Regard, applies to the Donors, with near the Equivalent in ready Specie; a Third was equally ſolicitous, but, I believe, more than equally diffident, tho' he had the moſt Reaſon to expect Succeſs. But behold! the World has a fair Example! this latter was put in Poſſeſſion of what he deſerv'd, the honeſt Man provided for, and the pecuniary Offer contemn'd, and rejected with Scorn. What Honours! what Eulogiums! are not due to ſuch truly renowned Actions, and how happy the People enjoying an uninterrupted Peace and Proſperity, under the ſteady and diſintereſted Government of ſuch Magiſtrates!

To this I ſhall add the diſtinguiſhing Encouragement here given to all ingenuous Profeſſors of the liberal Arts. Mathematicks, both ſpeculative and practical, and all the other Branches of Philoſophy, are lectur'd to our Youths by one whoſe Abilities are truly excelling; and the dead and living Languages taught to our Sons and Daughters by Maſters of Learning and ſound Principles. We have alſo a very good Concert of Muſick, which affords us an Opportunity of improving our Taſte in that delightful Science; and that the Benefit and Entertainment of it may be indiſcriminately given to all Lovers of Harmony, it is carry'd on by Subſcription, and at ſo eaſy an Expence as to admit a poorer Man, than one whoſe higheſt Ambition would be to hear a Play from the eighteen-penny Gallery.

Theſe, Sir, are Conveniencies in Life, ſo truly valuable, that, as a North-Country Man, I cannot help reflecting on the great Worth of each of them; and heartily rejoice that we, who are ſo far diſtant from the Muſes Seat, have ſuch noble Advantages, as are abundantly ſufficient to make us content with our Situation. And tho' we hear no *Oratorio's* from *Handel*, no new Entertainment from *Drury-Lane*, nor yet a favourite Song from the enchanting *Farinelli*, we are pleaſed in being good Subjects, and equally protected with all true *Engliſhmen*, under our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment.

I am, Sir, Yours,

J. P.

The Tattling TRAVELLER.

To URANIA,

'TIS with the higheſt Pleaſure, my dear *Urania*, that I look back and recount the happy Moments I ſpent in converſing with you; a View of every cool Retreat, the Murmurs of every little Rivulet, and even the whiſp'ring *Zephyrs* that ſend

their evening Breezes thro' the verdant Plains, concur in reminding me of paſt Pleaſures; and every Converſation I have enter'd into ſince I came Abroad, tends only to teach me how to value my dear *Urania*'s by the Want of it.

I know you'll expect I ſhou'd give you ſome Account of what occurr'd in our Travels; but as nothing more remarkable than a Lady's loſing her Garter in leaving the Coach, and the Coachman's getting drunk and falling from his Box, happen'd till we came to *Birmingham*, a large Market-Town in *Warwickſhire*, I ſhall paſs by thoſe little Incidents, and only tell you we arriv'd there after about ten Days Fatigue in this hot Seaſon. We took up our Quarters at one of the beſt Inns in Town, where our Landlady, a Widow Gentlewoman, entertain'd us with a very agreeable Converſation, inſomuch that we imagin'd ourſelves breathing the polite Air of St. *James's*; but were ſoon convinc'd of our Miſtake, when our good Landlady out of Complaiſance introduc'd us into the Company of ſome Perſons, who made a tolerable Appearance, and whom ſhe was pleas'd to call ſome of the beſt of the Town. 'Twould be tedious to you, my dear *Urania*, to tell you with what Airs of Gravity they talk'd of the Prices of *Speltor*, *Braſs*, *Iron*, and ſeveral other Things we were entirely unacquainted with; while *Religion*, *Virtue*, and all the *liberal Arts*, ſeem'd wholly neglected: Nay, all my Brother got by endeavouring to introduce a Diſcourſe of a different Kind, was a general Sneer, with a — *pray, Sir! How long ſince you left* Oxford? One Thing I muſt remark with regard to one of the Company, (who I'm ſince told is a neghbouring *Barber*,) that notwithſtanding the Current of the Diſcourſe ran in a quite different Channel, he ſeveral Times, with a very great Air of Forwardneſs, attempted to introduce a Converſation in favour of *Deiſm*, but in ſo aukward a Manner, that it ſeem'd to me no more than a Parcel of common-place Stuff, extracted from *Collins* and *Tindal*, without either Reaſon or Argument to ſupport it: In ſhort, there appear'd in his Countenance, a grave Sort of Grimace, with an Air of Self-ſufficiency, which is too often the genuine Characteriſtick of a weak Underſtanding.

You know, my dear *Urania*, how much I eſteem the Prayers of the *Church*; this led me in the Morning to pay my Devotions in a very beautiful Pile, erected within theſe few Years in a fine airy Situation, and dedicated to St. *Philip*; but you'll be ſurpriz'd when I tell you how much I was interrupted in my Devotion by the *Curate*'s Ogling a pretty Lady that ſat near me; how neceſſary is it to have the Prayers by heart, that the Eyes may be at liberty to catch ſometimes a Glance from the condeſcending Fair? The Pleaſantneſs of the Walk (and perhaps a Tincture of too much Curioſity) led my Brother and me the next Day (being *Sunday*) to the ſame Church; the pretty Lady before mention'd I found had remov'd her Seat to a Part of the Church more remote from the Pulpit; whether out of an Apprehenſion of being again ogled by the gay young *Curate*, or expecting the like from a Gentleman of the ſame Cloth, who officiated that Day, I can't pretend to determine. The Gentleman deliver'd his Diſcourſe (which ſeem'd well ſuited to a popular Audience) in a very graceful Way. When the Service was over, I accepted of a Pinch of Snuff from a Gentleman that ſat near me, who told us, if we would wait till the Congregation was diſpers'd, we might have the Pleaſure of hearing ſome extraordinary Flouriſhes upon the Organ, by a very great Maſter of Muſick lately come

(as

(as I remember) from ſome Part of *Germany*. As you know I am a great Admirer of Church-Muſick, you'll eaſily imagine I ſoon prevail'd with my Brother, and ſelf, to accept his Offer. The Church Doors being ſhut in order to keep out the Mob, you'll hardly believe, my dear *Urania*, how agreeably I was ſurpriz'd, by one of the fineſt Hands I had ever heard in all my Travels: he play'd ſeveral Tunes with great Judgment and Dexterity; but how was I charm'd, when after a fine introductory Flouriſh, he dropt upon a Tune call'd the *Black-Joke*? This I found was one of his favourite Tunes, and I muſt own I never heard it humour'd with more ſoft, agreeable Turns and Quavers, in all my Life.

When the Repaſt was over we return'd to our Quarters, charm'd into an agreeable Sort of Diſpoſition; when our Landlady told my Brother, if a *Clergyman*'s Company wou'd be acceptable, there was a very ingenious Man in the next Room wou'd beg leave to ſup with him; my Brother very readily accepted the Propoſal, and when Supper was over the Converſation turn'd upon Authors, Books, Muſick, and Poetry. Amongſt other Things the Gentleman told my Brother, he had with *a great deal of Labour and Study*, and a more than ordinary Pains, in *correcting the Language*, lately publiſh'd a Piece upon *claſſical Learning*, in which he had pointed out the *Beauties* of the Authors, ſhewn the Exactneſs of their Stile, and the Juſtneſs of their Reaſoning; and that it was not *meerly tranſlated from Prefaces and Introductions, of various Editions of thoſe Authors*; but a Work that had really coſt him a World of Pains; and that he had the Honour to dedicate it to *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſq; whom he remember'd *to have ſeen at* Eaton *School when he was a Boy*. He told him likewiſe, that he had publiſh'd two other *Pieces*, one of which I can't remember, the Title begins with a hard Word which ſticks in my Teeth when I attempt to pronounce it; its Uſe, *he ſays*, is to inſtruct Maſters in the true Method of teaching *Grammar* to their Pupils; the other, *he ſays*, is a very curious Piece, in which he has corrected Bp. *Hare* and ſeveral other great Men, in the Muſick of the *Hebrew Poetry*: 'tis *his Opinion* that theſe three Pieces are all very excellent in their Kind, and ſuperior to every Thing that has been wrote in that Way; and he has not only great Expectations, from theſe Performances, but alſo from a Letter he has lately prevail'd with *Orator Henly* to inſert in a Paper call'd the *Hyp Doctor*, in his Favour: He is in Expectation of conſiderable Preferment, and ſeems a very *modeſt grave Divine*. My Brother rather chuſes to depend upon his Veracity in the Character he has given him of his Works, than take the Pains to examine them! Notwithſtanding he *modeſtly* told him he hop'd he wou'd be a Subſcriber to him for a Copy of each of them.

You'll not eaſily imagine, my dear *Urania*, how highly I was diverted, or rather ſhock'd at the Impertinence of a Fellow that frequents the Houſe; and who, a Gentleman in the Company told us, affected very much to be eſteem'd a *Wit*: He ſeems mightily to pleaſe himſelf with the Repetition of a Set of low Punns, that he has made himſelf a compleat Maſter of; I remember the Gentleman call'd him Doctor, and I think he aſſum'd the Air of a *Quack* to a Degree that render'd him very deſerving of that Character. I can't but ſay he behav'd in a tolerable Manner at firſt, but when he grew a little more familiar, his debauch'd Diſcourſes, intermix'd with an uncommon *Profaneneſs* and *low Witticiſms*, render'd him, I think, one of the moſt deſpicable Animals I ever convers'd with: But when the Gentleman whiſper'd

us in the Ear, and told us how much the poor Man's Underſtanding was affected, at two certain Periods of Time, which he call'd the *Full* and *Change* of the Moon, our Surprize in ſome Meaſure abated.

Several other *very material* Occurrences happen'd during our Stay at *Birmingham*; as particularly, we had an Account of a *Clergyman*'s Lady in the Neighbourhood deliver'd of a Dropſy, with which ſhe had been afflicted near *nine Months*, by the Aſſiſtance and Advice of an eminent *Phyſician*, lately come to this Place, whoſe Reputation, we doubt not, will ſoon riſe in proportion to his Merit; but this, amongſt other Things, may poſſibly be the Subject of my next to dear *Urania*,

From her faithful CAMILLA.

Weekly Miſcellany, June 17. N° 234.

Concluſion of the Remarks on LEONIDAS. (See p. 258.)

SIR,

IN my laſt Letter I endeavoured to ſhew the Propriety of the Rule laid down by *Horace*, viz. to diveſt Poetry of its Metre in order to find its real Value. I put the 23 firſt Lines of *Leonidas* to this Teſt, not one of which could ſtand it, but ſunk all into common Proſe. *He then proceeds* with the following; *and afterwards ſays:* I have now *tranſproſed* (as Mr. *Bays* calls it) the firſt 76 Lines of *Leonidas*, out of which there are *Six* that may be juſt able to paſs for indifferent Poetry, the firſt 56 being entirely deſtitute of it.

I will now recommend a Piece of Advice to the Author, which if obſerved, will be an Antidote to thoſe falſe and groveling Notions, which his *Common-ſenſical* Admirers ſeem willing to inſtil into him. I would have him more cautious of writing a flat and unpoetical than a *bombaſt* and *nonſenſical* Line. *Nat. Lee* with all his Rant and Extravagance will be read and admired, while a hundred modern Poems and Plays, which have not one Syllable of Nonſenſe thro' the whole, die away as ſoon as born. *One would ſooner pardon* Frenzy *than* Frigidity, (ſays the beſt Critic as well as Poet in the Nation:) *No Author is to be envy'd for ſuch Commendations as he may gain by that Character of Style, which his Friends muſt* agree together *to call* Simplicity, *and the reſt of the World will call* Dulneſs. [Pref. to the *Iliad*.]

I now congratulate Mr. *G*—, my Reader, and myſelf upon our Eſcape from Darkneſs to Light, from Flatneſs to Sublimity. The Paſſage that follows the Speech of *Leonidas*, is upon the whole extremely beautiful. I ſhall only mark two Lines which I wiſh had been omitted. *Book* I. *Line* 77.

He ſaid; by ſhame ſuppreſs'd each clam'rous voice
Was loſt in ſilence; till a general ſhout,
Proclaim'd th' approach of Agis *from the fane,*
'Where taught by Phœbus *on the Delphic-hill,*
'The Pythian *maid his oracles reveal'd.*
He came, but diſcontent and grief o'er-caſt
His anxious brow, reluctant be advanc'd,
And now prepar'd to ſpeak. Th' impatient throng
Was gather'd round him; motionleſs they ſtood,
With expectation; not a whiſper told
The ſilent fear, but all on Agis *gaze;*
And ſtill as death attend the ſolemn tale:
As o'er the weſtern wavet, when ev'ry ſtorm
Is huſh'd within it's cavern — and a breeze,
Soft-breathing, lightly with its wings along
The ſlacken'd cordage glides, the ſailor's ear
Perceives no ſound throughout the veſt expanſe;
None but the murmurs of the ſliding prowe,
Which ſlowly parts the ſmooth and yielding main:
So through the wide and liſtning crowd, no ſound,
No voice but theirs, O Agis, *broke the air,*
Declaring thus the oracle divine.

Here we feel the Effects of Poetry, we no longer read a cold hiſtorical Narration, but become Spectators, nay Actors ourſelves.

After taking Notice of a few more Faults and Improprieties, he concludes thus. I ought in Juſtice to confeſs to thoſe Readers, who may chance not to have read *Leonidas*, that tho' there are Faults ſufficient to juſtify the Oppoſition I have made to it, yet there are Beauties more than ſufficient to repay

repay their Trouble in reading it over. I have quoted one Paſſage of this Nature already, and I ſhall conclude with a Deſcription of the Hero of the Poem, which will ſufficiently ſpeak its own Excellence.

——— ——— *Soon their anxious looks*
All on the great Leonidas *unite,*
Long known his country's refuge. He alone
Remains unſhaken. Riſing he diſplays
His godlike preſence. Dignity and grace
Adorn his frame, and manly beauty join'd
With ſtrength Herculean. *On his aſpect ſhines*
Sublimeſt virtue, and deſire of fame,
Where juſtice gives the laurel; in his eye,
The inextinguiſhable ſpark, which fires
The ſouls of patriots; while his brow ſupports
Undaunted valour, and contempt of death.

PHILOMUSÆUS.

Common Senſe, June 18. N° 20.

The Principles of Government, and Power founded in Riches.

HARRINGTON, that curious Inquirer into the Nature of Mankind, has, in the Beginning of his *Oceana*, told us, that the Principles of Government are two-fold; Internal, or the Goods of the Mind; and External, or the Goods of Fortune. The Goods of the Mind are natural or acquired Virtues; as Wiſdom, Prudence, and Courage, *&c.* The Goods of Fortune are Riches. To the Goods of the Mind anſwers *Authority*; to the Goods of *Fortune*, *Power* or *Empire*.—

Riches, our Author ſays, conſiſt in Land, or in Money and Goods; and he ſhews, that where-ever the Balance is, there the Government will be. If the Balance be in one Man, his Empire is abſolute Monarchy: If in a few, it is an Ariſtocracy: If in the People in general, it is a Democracy. He likewiſe ſays, that this Balance muſt always conſiſt in Land, except in ſuch Cities which ſubſiſt moſtly by Trade, and have little or no Land; in which Caſe, the Balance of Treaſure may be equal to that of Land.

But before our Author wrote, there was *a new Sort* of Riches invented, upon which all the abſolute Monarchies in *Europe* depend: I mean, that of *Taxes*, *Poſts*, and *Imployments*. For in every Country of *Europe*, except *Turkey*, a Man's Property is ſecured to him by the *Laws* of his Country; but the *Taxes*, *Poſts*, and *Imployments*, which in moſt of the Monarchies of *Europe* are all at the Diſpoſal of the King, place in him ſo large a Share of Riches, that it is become an *Over-balance* for that Share of Riches ſtill left in the Poſſeſſion of the Nobles and People; and tho' in moſt of thoſe Countries, *no Tax*, or very few, can be impoſed without the Conſent of the Aſſembly of the States, or Parliament, yet by Means of the *Poſts* and *Imployments* in the ſole Diſpoſal of the King, the *Majority* of the Members *hang ſo* upon their *Sovereign*, that the Aſſembly never refuſes any *Tax* or *Free-gift* his Majeſty *pleaſes to demand*.

In this Country we are not, I believe, in any Danger of ſuch an *abſolute* Government as that in *Turkey*, where the Grand Seignior is the ſole Proprietor of all the Lands within that vaſt Empire. But when we conſider the great Number of *Taxes*, and the many rich *Poſts* and *Imployments*, we may, perhaps, find ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect we are in Danger of falling under ſuch an *one* as that now eſtabliſhed in *France*, &c. for I could ſhew that the Revenues of all the *Poſts*, *Civil*, *Military*, and *Eccleſiaſtical* (including *Perquiſites*) in the Diſpoſal of the Crown, either mediately or immediately, amount to above *ten Millions Sterling a Year*; which is ſo great a Share of the Riches of this Kingdom, that it is to be feared it may, ſome Time or other, prove an *Over-balance* for that which is as yet in the Poſſeſſion of the People; eſpecially, if the *Majority* of our Nobility and Gentry ſhould, by their *Luxury* be reduced to *neceſſitous* Circumſtances; for a Man

Man who has accuſtomed himſelf to ſpend 10,000*l.* a Year, and can, from his own private Fortune, get but 9000*l.* a Year to ſpend, will be *as humble* a Servant, and even *as abject* a Slave to the Man who can give him the 1000*l.* a Year he wants, as another Man who has not *Bread* to his *Teeth*; and a Man who has placed his *whole Delight* in the *heaping up* of Money, will be as humble, as obedient, and as fawning as the former, to any Man who can add to *that Delight*.

To this Revenue of *ten Millions a Year*, we are to add the *private* Fortunes of all thoſe who are in *Poſſeſſion* of any *Poſt* or *Imployment*, at leaſt ſuch as depend upon Pleaſure; and we are alſo to add the *private* Fortunes of all thoſe who are in *Expectation* of any *Poſt* or *Imployment* for themſelves, or their near Friends or Relations; which two Additions will greatly contribute to caſt the *Balance* in favour of the Crown. And a third Conſideration of great Weight, is, that the whole of the Riches which are thus in the *Balance* on the Side of the Crown, being under the Direction of *one Man*, may always be made to operate more ſtrongly towards attaining any End propoſed, than it is poſſible to make thoſe Riches operate, which are in the Poſſeſſion of the People *in general*.

From theſe Conſiderations, it is to be feared, that if ever the Riches now in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, ſhould be applied towards *managing* our *Elections*, and directing the Proceedings of our *Parliaments*, it will be in the Power of the Crown to have always ſuch Parliaments as will grant whatever the King demands, and agree to *every Thing* he deſires; and in ſuch an unfortunate Caſe, our Government would be of the *very ſame* Nature, and our Monarchy *as abſolute* as that now eſtabliſhed in *France*, or in any other Kingdom of *Europe*. The Art of ſupporting *ſuch a Government* would conſiſt only in bringing in all the prodigal, the luxurious, the ambitious, and the avaricious *Fools* of the Kingdom, who have *large private* Fortunes to join the *Court Party*, by Means of *Poſts* and *Imployments*. And if ſuch a Caſe ſhould ever happen, which God forbid, I will be bold to ſay, it would be *better* for us to have no Parliament at all.

During his preſent Majeſty's Reign we are certain no Part of the Riches now in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, will ever be applied towards *corrupting* our Voters, or our Members; nor will any *Imployment* ever be *conferred* or *reſumed*, with any ſuch View; but we know not what may happen hereafter; and if ever any ſuch Thing ſhould be attempted by the Miniſters of any future King, they will proceed in ſuch a *villainous* Attempt with the utmoſt *Caution* and *Privacy*. Every one of their moſt *abandoned* Slaves will pretend he votes and acts only from Motives of *Honour* and *publick Good*; and as the contrary cannot in its Nature admit of a *legal Proof*, he will ſecretly rejoice in the *impenetrable* Obſcurity of his Crime, and vainly imagine himſelf a much *cleverer Fellow* than any of thoſe who dare not allow *even themſelves* to be conſcious of a diſhonourable Behaviour. However, it will, from the Nature of our Conſtitution, be eaſy to diſcover the Fraud; and for this Purpoſe I ſhall, from our Author's Principles of Government, lay down a Rule which Poſterity may have Occaſion for, tho' we in this Age are ſo happy as not to have the leaſt Occaſion for it.

Our Author obſerves, that the Legiſlator, who can unite, in his Government, the *Principles of Authority* with the *Principles of Power*, comes neareſt to the Work of God, whoſe Government conſiſts of Heaven and Earth; for while *Power* and *Authority* continue *united* in the Perſons

ſons governing any Country, that Country muſt be happy; and the Government, whether Monarchical, Ariſtocratical, or Democratical, will be *juſt* and *eaſy*; but the Difference is, that in the Monarchical the *Principles of Authority* and *of Power* are often *diſunited*; in the Ariſtocratical, they are ſometimes *diſunited*; but in the Democratical they never can be, at leaſt they cannot long remain *diſunited*, without *altering* the Form of Government; for thoſe Magiſtrates who are not poſſeſſed of the *Goods of Fortune*, cannot preſerve their *Power*, unleſs they be poſſeſſed of the *Goods of the Mind*, by which they preſerve their *Authority*.

Now as theſe three Forms of Government are, in our happy Conſtitution, moſt exactly and artfully blended together, the *Principles of Authority* and *of Power* muſt always continue *united* in the Perſons of our Governors, that is, of *our King and his Miniſters*; for tho', by the Nature of our Conſtitution, the Perſon of the King be ſacred, tho' he can never be ſuppoſed to do any Wrong, and conſequently can never *forfeit* his *Authority*, much leſs his *Power*, yet if he ſhould have the Misfortune to imploy *Miniſters*, who, either by their *Weakneſs* or *Wickedneſs* ſhould *forfeit* their *Authority*, in that Caſe, the People aſſembled by their Repreſentatives, with the Aſſiſtance of our Nobles, may, and always will, *while our Conſtitution remains entire*, remove *ſuch Miniſters* from the King's Councils, becauſe of their *Weakneſs*, or hang them, becauſe of their *Wickedneſs*.

From hence we may moſt certainly conclude, that if ever the *Miniſters* of any *future* King ſhould, by their *Weakneſs* or *Wickedneſs*, *forfeit* their *Authority*, and nevertheleſs, inſtead of being removed, or puniſhed by Parliament, ſhould get the Parliament not only to *approve* of every Thing they do, but to *protect* even their Characters from *deſerved Cenſure*, I ſay, we may in ſuch a Caſe moſt certainly conclude, *that our Conſtitution is overturned*; and that the *Riches* of the Crown are *perverted* towards ſupporting the *Power* of *Miniſters* after they have loſt their *Authority*, by Means of *corrupting* either our *Voters*, or our *Members*.

If ever ſuch a Misfortune ſhould befal this Nation, it may not, perhaps, be in the Power of a private Man to give particular Inſtances of any *ſuch Corruption*; but by the *Effect* we may moſt certainly judge of the *Cauſe*, yea more certainly than if we ſaw it with our Eyes. This, I therefore ſay, will be *a moſt infallible Rule* for our Poſterity to judge by; but, thank God! we have at preſent no Occaſion for making Uſe of it.

PHILELEUTHERIAS.

Fog's *Journal*, June 18. N° 3.

Immodeſt Action on the Stage cenſur'd, &c.

THE Bill for reſtraining the Licenſe of the Stage will, no doubt, be generally and extend to immodeſt Actions as well as to the gauling Liberty taken, of expoſing Bribery and Corruption, ſuppoſed by the Poet, to be practiſed in Elections; for, no doubt, the Mind may as effectually be debauch'd thro' the Eye, as through the Ear. I have ſeen ſuch Dances on the Stage, as muſt have given great Offence to the Modeſt, and certainly muſt have had an ill Effect on the Young; as we may very well imagine has alſo, the ſucceſsful Rape committed by *Harlequin*, which, I believe, has been the only Subject of what are called *Entertainments* ſince they were firſt exhibited. Nobody, of Morals, I may venture to ſay, but has long wiſh'd to ſee a Reformation of the Stage; but I fear, 'till we ſee a reformed Taſte of the Town, however Satyr may be reſtrained, and —— ſkreen'd from the Apprehenſion of being expoſed, the Theatres will continue as immoral as ever.

I hope too the Bill will take Notice of the exorbitant Sums carry'd out of the Kingdom by the *Italians*, which is not the only ill Effect of Operas, for they contribute to the enervating of our Youth, as much as the Maſquerades to the promoting of Vice; which Entertainment, as the Bill depending is to reſtrain Licentiouſneſs, we may believe will be included. Were the Operas leſs expenſive, or were the Sums they coſt circulated among us, and did they not contribute to the rendering our young People effeminate, I ſhould not wiſh the Fall of them; for as they will never deviate into Wit, ſo there is no Danger of their being ſatyrical upon any, and a M——r may blunder or plunder, or both, without any Apprehenſion of being expoſed on the *Italian* Stage in *London*.

To the Author of COMMON SENSE.

SIR,

WE are half a Dozen of us old Fellows, the only Patriots of our Village, who meet often at Neighbour *Dobſon*'s, where, over a Cup of good Nut-Brown, we read your Paper. As your Lucubrations tend to the Good of your Country, they always meet with our Approbation; and as you frequently adminiſter Diverſion to us, as well as Inſtruction, we cannot, as honeſt Fellows, but expreſs our Gratitude, by giving you the Thanks of the whole Company; at the ſame Time that we communicate what we think may be call'd an Amendment to your *Kicking Scheme*, which however we ſubmit to your Judgment. (See p. 309 G.)

We propoſe, as a proper Introduction to it, that all the preſent *In's* be kick'd out, it being the moſt ſuitable Method of rewarding their conſummate Merits, as well as the moſt probable Means of making room for thoſe, who, for the Good of their Country, will be contented to be kick'd *In*. And to prevent

S 2 Kicking's

Kicking's going by Favour, as Kiſſing is ſaid to do, we are humbly of Opinion, that an Act ſhould be obtain'd to oblige the Executive Power, where-ever lodg'd, to fling the Foot out to a fix'd Limit, and no farther; leſt by kicking ſome unmercifully, and others not ſo much as they deſerve, they introduce a new Sort of Bribery.

Theſe Preliminaries ſettled, we agree intirely to your Scheme, till you come to the *ſtanding Army*'s kicking the People into a Compliance with theſe Meaſures; this we can't think prudent, for fear the Commanders ſhould draw a Precedent from it, to imploy them to kick any other Scheme (tho' never ſo deſtructive) into the People. Beſides, we are apprehenſive the People would be apt to kick again, which we rather wiſh them to let alone, and, inſtead thereof, unite heartily to kick ſome of their next *Neighbours*, who have taken a great deal of Pains to deſerve it. From *Your Servants*,

A, B, C, D, E, F.

Grubſtreet Journal, June 23. N° 391.

A Conſultation of the four and twenty Letters.

Criſi-Croſs-Row, June 3, 1737.

Gentlemen,

THE 24 Letters being lately convened at this Place, ordered me, their Secretary, to read to them a very odd Paragraph, inſerted in ſome of the publick Papers, *viz.*

'On Thurſday laſt, between nine and ten 'o' Clock, a Man that lives near *Oxford* 'Market, ty'd a Rope to a Cart in the Mar-'ket, and thereby tuck'd himſelf up: Some 'of the Butchers ſeeing him hang, cut him 'down, and finding he was not dead, they 'beat him ſeverely with the Rope, till he 'came to his Senſes.'

On this Article of News the following Remarks were made.

A aſked, if the Man was married; for his ſuppoſal was, that nothing could be more likely to make a Man hang himſelf than Matrimony.

B began with interpreting the Words *between nine and ten*, to ſignify *between nine and ten at Night*; and then told us, that the poor Man being married, and having before his Eyes the Fear of the Devil and a curtain Lecture, choſe rather to hang himſelf than go to Bed to his Wife.

C concluded to ſend this unfortunate Man to *the Advertiſer at* Rawthmell's *Coffee-houſe*.

D dogmatically accounted for the Strangeneſs of the Fact, that he *hang'd himſelf* in a *Market place*, and *ty'd a Rope to a Cart*: For, ſays he, he did not dare, even to *hang himſelf*, in his own Houſe.

E endeavoured to prove, that no married Man could ſafely call the Houſe his own, which was ſometimes too hot to hold him.

F freely took on him to fall foul upon the Phraſe *tuck'd himſelf up*; that it was a ludicrous Expreſſion, inconſiſtent with the Gravity of a daily Hiſtorian.

G, being a great Geographer, let us know, that *Oxford-Market* was ſituate in *Tyburn* Road.

Which modern Virtuoſi ſay,
Inclines to hanging every way.

H held it very heinous, that they ſhould cut the Man down, and bring him to his Senſes, in caſe he was a married Man.

I inſtantly declared, that being *beaten with a Rope*, with which a Man had taken ſome Pains to *hang himſelf*, was exactly the ſame Caſe, as being harraſſed with a Wife, which a Man had taken ſome Pains to *marry*.

K keenly replied, that the Butchers of *Oxford-Market* were the beſt *Mad Doctors* in the World; ſince they, by only *beating* the Man *with a Rope*, ſoon brought him *to his Senſes*.

L learnedly obſerved, that the News-writer could never truly affirm, that the Man was come to his Senſes, except his Wife were dead; *Nam ſublatâ cauſâ tollitur effectus*.

M, being muſically inclined, entertained us with a *Song*.

Of all the plagues beneath the ſun,
To love's the greateſt curſe:
If one's deny'd, then he's undone;
If not, 'tis ten times worſe.

Poor *Adam* by his wife ('tis known)
Was trick'd ſome years ago;
But *Adam* was not trick'd alone,
For all his ſons are ſo.

Lovers the ſtrangeſt fools are made,
When they their nymphs purſue;
Which they will ne'er believe 'till wed,
But then they find it true.

They beg, they pray, and they implore,
'Till wearied out of life:
And pray what's all this trouble for?
Why truly, for a wife.

Each maid's an angel while ſhe's woo'd,
But when the wooing's done,
The wife inſtead of fleſh and blood,
Proves nothing but a bone.

A wife (all men of learning know)
Was *Tantalus*'s curſe;
The apples, that did tempt him ſo,
Were nought, but a divorce.

The liver of *Prometheus*,
A gnawing vulture fed:
The moral of the tale was thus,
The poor old man was wed.

When firſt the ſenſeleſs empty *Nokes*,
With wooing does begin;
Far better he might beg the ſtocks,
That they would let him in.

Yet

Yet for a lover we may say,
He wears no cheating phyz;
Tho' others looks do oft betray,
He looks like what he is.
Each lover's such a wretched ass,
Surely he needs no curse;
He wishes he may wed his lass,
No soul can wish him worse.

N. a notorious Scribbler, was for sending the Remarks and Song to your Society.

O opened his Mouth in approbation of this Proposal.

The abovesaid Gentlemen, were the only Speakers to the Point in question. For,

P, Q, R, S, T, U, W, X, Y, Z, being all married *Men*, hung down their Heads, and had nothing at all to say for themselves.

Your most humble Servant,

AND PER SE AND.

§. *A Letter from a Gentleman in* London *to his Friend in the Country, sent the Day after the Act for laying a Duty on* Spirituous Liquors *took Place.*

SIR,

THE most remarkable Occurrence since my last, is the Death of that incomparable Personage the Lady *Geneva*; she was a Lady of a very illustrious *Extraction*, of universal Benevolence to all such as implored her Assistance, being Food to the Hungry, Cloaths to the Naked, a constant Refuge to the Fatherless and Widows, and a never-failing Consolation to the Persecuted and Oppressed. By Constitution of a very high *Spirit*, she was ever mindful of Injuries received, and of all Attempts of imposing upon her Good-nature, ever turning such Offences to the Shame of the Transgressors; neither would she admit of any Reconciliation, till she had debased them to the *lowest State* human Nature is capable of. Notwithstanding these and many other personal Qualifications, she was held in the highest Esteem by those of her own Sex, even of the first Quality, being admitted into their most *private Apartments*, ever *at hand* to administer Relief under the many Disappointments and Afflictions, so unfortunately incident to that tender Part of the Creation. She was no less possessed of the Affections of the Land holders, whose Interest she was always ambitious of being thought to have much at Heart; with some of whom, 'twas confidently affirm'd, she had for some Time past liv'd in a very *criminal Conversation*. Her Death ('tis thought) was owing to some very indecent and ungentlemanlike Aspersions cast on her, by a great Man in a certain great Assembly, in Revenge of some *private Family-Quarrel* between him and her Ladyship; or, as others say, from his Impatience of any Rival to share with him in the Affections of the People. This ill Usage (it was apprehended) would be greatly resented by her Friends and Dependants; to prevent which, it was thought proper to place a strong Guard at the said Gentleman's House. Could she have out-lived that fatal Day, it is believed she might still have long flourished, being (tho' much advanced in Years) of great *Strength of Body*; and what is yet more wonderful, still encreasing in *Strength* as she increased in Years. In *Holland* she has left an only Sister, who is no less the Darling of the People there. Upon her Death-bed she declared she died without Issue, and that if any were imposed upon them as such, the same were *illegitimate*. The greatest Part of her Substance she left to the *Brewers-Company*, whom she also made her Executors: Her *Body* to the *Surgeons* and *Apothecaries* jointly, who propose to make great Gains by using it in the Preparation of their Medicines. As she lived universally beloved, so she died universally lamented.

Craftsman, June 25. N° 573.

The Conduct of the ministerial Writers, in relation to the Bill for restraining the STAGE.

MY Lord *Clarendon* observes of Sir *Edward Herbert*, Attorney-General to K. *Charles* I. that the *Knack of his Talk was the most like* Reason, *without being it*. I cannot say even so much of the *ministerial Writers*; for there is nothing in any of their Papers like *Reason*, but the Stiffness, Pedantry and Affectation, with which they abound. They are now grown so abominably dull, that the Publick will hardly bear any Remarks upon them, and it is always necessary to make an Apology for troubling them in this Manner, even when Points of the utmost Importance are concern'd in the Debate. They have lately clubb'd all their Abilities against the *Stage*; tho' they are so inconsistent with each other, that it is impossible to give them a direct Answer.

Allowing the *Grecian*, *Roman*, and *British Theatres* to have been guilty of some *Abuses*, which cannot indeed be deny'd; is there no Difference between pruning off the luxuriant Branches, and cutting up the Tree by the Roots? Or if *Men in Authority* ought not to be satirized upon the Stage, even in *general Characters*, which the People may apply; is it reasonable to allow such a Privilege against *those*, who think it their Duty to oppose them, in a free Country? It hath been strongly urged, on the other Side, what a prodigious Effect *theatrical Representations* have upon the Minds of the *People*; and there is certainly a good deal of Truth in it. A *great Statesman of Antiquity* used to say, that

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that if he had the Management of the *Stage* intirely in his Hands, he would undertake to govern the World; and *one of our own Country* made an Obſervation of the ſame Nature, with Relation to *common Ballads*. If therefore the Diſeaſe is grown ſo deſperate, that nothing but *Amputation* will cure it, let that deſperate Remedy be apply'd, and not leave ſuch a popular Engine in the Hands of *one Party*, which may make them abſolute, and put it in their Power to deſtroy the *other*.

It is farther ſaid, in Anſwer to us, that the *Liberty of the* Stage hath no Relation to the *Liberty of the* Preſs, of which they affect at preſent to be zealous Advocates; tho' it is well known they were not always ſo; and there is not one Argument for reſtraining the *one*, which will not equally extend to the *other*.

If any *wicked Miniſter* ſhould hereafter think it neceſſary to ſcreen his Actions from publick Notice by ſuch a Reſtraint upon the *Preſs*, he would certainly cloak it under the Pretence of Zeal for his *Maſter*. It was very well obſerved, in a *certain Place*, that a Man, who had often libell'd K. *Charles* II. with Impunity, was at laſt put in the Pillory for reflecting upon *one of his Miniſters*; upon which the *King* expreſs'd himſelf to this Effect. — *The Fellow is a Fool. Had he ſtuck to me, he had been ſafe enough; but if he takes the ſame Liberty with* great Men, *he muſt expect to be ſeverely puniſh'd.*

If *ſuch a Miniſter*, as I here ſuppoſe, ſhould ſtand in Need of a plauſible Handle to put his Deſign in Execution, he would probably inſtruct ſome of his moſt truſty Creatures, or Hirelings, to abuſe the *juſt Liberty of the Preſs*, in order to juſtify a *Reſtraint* upon it. Nay, if he ſhould happen to be a Man of a very vindictive Nature, he might even take away the Liberties of a *whole Nation*, to revenge himſelf upon *two* or *three particular Perſons*, who had given him Offence, by ſetting his Character and Conduct in a true Light.

But we are told that *this Act* only confirms *former Laws*, and gives the *Chamberlain* no Power but what he enjoy'd before by *Cuſtom*, or *Prerogative*.

This is not only very far from being true, but would be fallacious, ſuppoſing it to be ſo; for the Claims of the Crown by *Prerogative* were always doubtful and diſputed; but there is no contending with an *expreſs Act of Parliament*. Beſides, did not Mr. *Oſborne* aſſert, ſome Time ago, that there was no ſuch Thing as *Prerogative*, ſince the *Revolution*, and extol our preſent Happineſs upon that Account? I could by no Means agree with him upon *this Head*, and gave my Reaſons for it in two or three Papers; but whether he or I were in the Right, we ſhall certainly have no Reaſon to boaſt of our Condition, if the *old Prerogatives of the Crown* ſhould be converted into *Statute Law*, and added to that *new Power*, which our *Debts* and *Taxes* have created.

It was formerly the Cuſtom of our Kings to keep a *Jeſter*, as well as a *Company of Comedians*, within their Court; but I never heard that he had an *excluſive Patent*, or that No-body was allow'd to crack a *Joke*, without a Licence from the *Crown*; tho' to my poor Apprehenſion there always ſeem'd to be as much Reaſon for *one* as the *other*, till I was lately convinced to the contrary. If it ſhould be ever thought proper to revive that *antient Office*, no-body would fill it with more Dignity than my old Friend Sir *A. B. C.* whom I formerly recommended to the ſame Poſt under K. *Theodore*; but as the Reſtoration of *that Monarch* is ſtill uncertain, I am willing to provide for him as ſoon as poſſible; and beſides the Place will be much more honourable, as well as profitable. I ſhall only give him one Piece of Advice, in caſe he ſhould ſucceed; and that is never to take any Liberties with the *reigning Miniſter*, for the Time being, but remember the Fate of his Predeceſſor *Archy*, in the Reign of K. *Charles* I. who was ſoundly whipt for exerting his Talent againſt Archbiſhop *Laud*. As for the *King*, it was always the *Jeſter*'s Right to tell him the *Truth*, which is no ſmall Privilege; and I make no Doubt that my *ingenious Friend* will execute that Part of his Office with a moſt rigid Exactneſs.

I find it begins already to be Matter of Diſpute amongſt the *Law-Criticks* how far *this Act* extends; but in my Opinion it takes in all *Players of Interludes*, both *animate* and *inanimate*; or elſe it will not anſwer the Deſign; for a *Puppet* may be made to propagate as much Scandal and Sedition as *another Actor*. It is well known that *Punch* was always a little, dirty, meddling Fellow, as Mr. *Addiſon* long ago obſerved,

——*importunus adeſt, atque omnia turbat,*

and he may be dreſs'd up in ſuch a Manner as to repreſent ſome *real Perſonage*, of great Note. For this Reaſon, I preſume that he will not be tolerated, either upon the *Stage*, or even in a *Raree ſhew Box*.

I likewiſe take it for granted that as one of the profeſs'd Deſigns of *this Law* was to put a Stop to the *Luxury*, *Extravagance* and *Corruption* of the Age, that we ſhall hear of no more *Italian Operas*; and I hope effectual Care is taken to include thoſe infamous Aſſemblies, call'd *Maſquerades*, which not only tend to debauch the whole Nation, but give *Tradeſmen* and *others* an Opportunity of *Gaming in the Dark*, whoſe Buſineſs and Credit would not ſuffer them to do it in publick.

To

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To CELIA, *at* Birmingham. (See p. 266.)

MAY *Celia*'s charms, my glowing pen inſpire
With *Spartan* vigour, and *Athenian* fire.
Let *life* like hers, in all its luſtre ſhine;
While *Syren* graces play in every line.
Her powerful wit, and ſentiments refin'd,
With modeſty and manly wiſdom joyn'd,
In all their charms appear, I muſt confeſs!
Like LOCK, or NEWTON, in a female dreſs.
Each lovely glance, ſhot from her ſparkling eyes,
Warms like *Aurora*'s from the eaſtern ſkies:
Whoſe quickning beams the little atoms move,
And nature all around's inſpir'd with love.
As gentle gales riſe from an evening breeze,
And ſpread their whiſpers thro' the murm'ring trees,
So may the little winged, *ſtroling gueſt*
Convey my ſighs to *Celia*'s lovely breaſt,
Tell her the pain, my tortur'd ſoul has felt,
And into love, the dear *Platonick* melt.
When *Sol*'s bright rays to bleſs the earth diſdain,
And *Thetis* ſports amidſt the watry main,
Sleep's downy wings hover o'er nature's eyes,
And I'm the only wretch from whom it flies!
But what, alas! can I from *Celia* hope,
Who views my follies in a microſcope?
In reſtleſs pangs I linger out the day,
And ſighing weep the gloomy night away;
A trembling ſhudder thrils around my heart,
Whene'er we meet; — to think that we muſt part.
May no unfriendly moments e'er controul
The dear auſpicious charmer of my ſoul:
Each hour be peaceful, happy, and ſerene,
A calm of life, untouch'd by guilt or pain.

EUGENIO.

To Miſs Alſop. *On ſeeing her curious Needle-work.*

WHAT wonders, *Mira*, ſtrike our raviſh'd eyes,
When we behold thy new creation riſe!
Trees rang'd in order by thy pleaſing toil
Without the aid of pencil or of oil?
Thy fancy ſhines ſo rich in every part,
That every flow'r proclaims thy matchleſs art.
Not ev'n the bow which decks the azure ſkies,
Can boaſt more curious, or ſuch laſting dyes.
All other works of art time ſweeps away,
And even nature feels a ſure decay.
Her trees, which now a blooming verdure boaſt,
Are quickly nipped by the chilling froſt.
Thoſe boaſt a longer date, their bloom ne'er dies,
But one continued ſpring for ever charms our eyes.

EUGENIO.

To the Hon. Mrs. Hamilton, *inviting her to* Vaux-Hall Gardens *before ſhe leaves* England.

COME, *Mira*, idol of the ſwains,
So green the ſprays, the ſky ſo fine,
To bowers, where charming *Flora* reigns,
And *Orpheus* warbles airs divine.
Come ev'ry ſprightlier joy to taſte
That rural art and nature boaſt:
Fly thither with the lightning's haſte,
And be the univerſal toaſt.
A ſcene ſo beauteous can't be ſhown,
Tho' thou ſhoud'ſt ev'ry realm ſurvey;
As all, where'er thou com'ſt, muſt own,
Thy graces claim the higheſt ſway.

J. Lockman.

ADVICE *to* AMANDA.

FAIR, ſweet, and young, receive this friendly ſtrain,
And liſten, if you wiſh a laſting reign:
No ſugar'd words you muſt expect to find,
They pleaſe the fancy, but miſlead the mind.
The courtly lover in theſe lines I wave,
And whilſt I counſel, I diſmiſs the ſlave.
Know thy own merit, and aſſert thy charms,
Expos'd to danger, and beſet with harms.
Beware the treacherous whiſpers of the gay,
Nor let ſoft nonſenſe ſteal your heart away;
Lords, knights, and 'ſquires avoid with equal care,
Alike pernicious to the giddy fair:
Deſcend to think, if faithleſs man draw near,
Watch his deſigns, and whilſt you triumph, fear.
Conduct ſhou'd ever be with beauty join'd;
It looks ſevere, but proves ſeverely kind.
Without this guide, how few forbear to ſtray,
For oft the brighteſt eyes miſtake the way;
You tumble ev'n from glory to diſgrace,
And loſe your conqueſt, yet retain your face.
But heav'n preſerve you from a tott'ring throne,
And make you wife by ſuff'rings not your own:
Oh, my *Amanda*, learn without expence;
Beauty's the touchſtone to a woman's ſenſe.

CALISTA to SEMPRONIA.

COULD all the charms a rural life diſpenſe,
Again retrieve a once loſt innocence;
Or could the purling ſtreams that murm'ring glide,
Be to my ſoul like *Lethe*'s grateful tide;
Or could the ſacred prevalence of rhyme,
Drive from my breaſt the image of my crime;
Caliſta then a joyful face might wear,
Nor be abandon'd to a juſt deſpair.
But tyrant conſcience checks each dawn of peace,
Nor gives my tortur'd ſoul a moment's eaſe.

By

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By day, by night, a watchful guard I keep,
Fear guides my steps, and horror damps my sleep. [breast,
When waking woes are baniſh'd from my
Ideal pangs forbid an inſtant's reſt:
I ſtart confounded at the diſmal ſights,
And weeping paſs the melancholy nights:
The riſing ſun to others pleaſure brings,
In me ſtill deeper ſtrikes grief's peſt'ring ſtings;
And tells me loudly while I trembling lay,
That guilty ſouls ſhould bluſh to ſee the day.
If I ſurvey the calmneſs of this ſeat,
Where joyful innocence appears compleat;
Some agonizing thought my boſom tears;
Some dreadful image heightens all my fears.
Wretched *Caliſta*, thou no more ſhalt find
The balmy comfort of the ſpotleſs mind;
No beam of hope ſhall in thy boſom roll;
No halcyon day compoſe thy frighted ſoul;
No peaceful hour ſhall bid my woes depart;
And no kind ray ſhall chear my guilty heart.
Sighs raiſe my ſorrows, tears bring no relief,
Cloſe to my heart ſtill preys the canker grief.
Pray'rs, that in other caſes can aſſuage,
Increaſe my torment, and the wound enrage.
Nay, death, that curer of the anxious mind,
To me ill-fated, proves alike unkind.
New ſcenes of terror open to my eye;
I would not live, and yet I fear to dye.
Where ſhall I hide me on that awful day,
When e'en the juſt ſhall tremble with diſmay!
How ſhall I ſhudder betwixt fear and ſhame!
Or ſhake aſide th' adulteſs' hated name!
O dire reflection, ceaſe to rack me ſo,
Or give me madneſs to relieve my woe:
By madneſs only can my eaſe be wrought,
To free my ſenſes from this rage of thought.
O, my *Sempronia*, had I liv'd like thee,
All ſorrow's quiver had been loſt on me;
Peace and content had harbour'd in my ſoul,
And mirth and plenty wreath'd each flowing bowl.
But flatt'ry's power my youthful ſenſes led,
To wrong the honours of the nuptial bed.
Then warn'd by me, each liſtning maid beware,
Fly from mankind, nor truſt the gilded ſnare.
Would you exchange your peace of mind for cares,
Your joy for ſorrow, and your mirth for tears;
Your days of pleaſure, for whole nights of pain;
Then truſt the ſoothing of perfidious man.
Learn at my coſt their baſe addreſs to ſhun,
I ſaw, I heard, believ'd, and was undone;
And now abandon'd to eternal ſhame,
Far from the world deplore my loſs of fame:
My grief's a jeſt to every wanton tongue,
Who mock my pangs, and glory in my wrong:
Or, if ſome ſlight compaſſion ſtrives for birth,
They'll cry, they pity, and renew their mirth.
Pity, that cool, and oft unmeaning word
(So ſlight an alms a miſer can afford)
Muſt give them all their privilege to rail,
And dwell whole ages on the mournful tale.
Of tranſient pleaſures ſuch the fatal coſt,
And thus we're ſcoff'd at when our virtue's loſt.

The firſt Ode of the firſt Book of Caſimir. *Written to Pope* Urban VIIIth. *when the* Thracian *Forces departed out of* Pannonia.

Inſcrib'd to William Milner, *Eſq.* *By Mr.* Price.

NOW war is ceas'd, and we no more
Tremble to hear the tyrant roar:
Now gentle peace, deſcending down,
Shall viſit ev'ry mirthful town.

While plenty, juſtice, truth, and love
Along the fields, united, move;
And better ages reſtor'd,
That men might reap what they afford.

Now purer ſuns begin to burn,
And happier years once more *return*:
A ſhow'r of gold the clouds beſtow,
And pearls that cover all below.

Now worlds approve my faithful lays,
That give to thee deſerved praiſe;
While pleas'd their joy they thus proclaim,
Theſe times and *Saturn*'s are the ſame.

The rules our fathers once purſu'd
Are now in us again renew'd:
Religion ceaſes to appear
In heav'n, but dwells contented here.

Streams that with milk and honey flow,
Thro' flow'ry meadows murm'ring go:
Nectarean waves ſwell o'er their mound,
And ſpread a deluge all around.

The yellow harveſts nodding ſtand,
And court the reaper's willing hand:
The waving fruits, uninjur'd, play,
Nor feel the ſun's malignant ray.

The ſhepherd, wandring with his goats,
Provokes the litt'le inſect's notes:
The weary'd ox, returning, fills
With lowings all the neighb'ring hills.

See! how the lofty mountains ſpring!
Hark how the rocks attempt to ſing
For joy that o'er the humble plains
Peace ſtill uninterrupted reigns!

Fair *Ceres*, dreſt in all her pride,
And ſummer, glitt'ring by her ſide,
To crown thy temples ready ſtand,
Thou great protector of our land!

A ſhade the myrtles thee afford;
The laurel owns thee for its lord:
For thee the tow'ring oak aſcends;
The pine to do thee homage bends.

May the dread ruler of the ſkies
Behold thy *Rome* with pitying eyes;
Give thee to ſway the world in peace,
And make the ſtriſe of nations ceaſe.

My fair *Apollo*'s deathleſs tree
Point out a good old age to thee:
May fate permit thy thread to roll
For many a year, untouch'd, and whole.

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May that bright * virgin who on high
Shines with thoſe fires that fill the ſky,
Whoſe radiant garments ſtars compoſe,
Take ſome compaſſion on our woes.

May ſhe her wonted ſuccour lend,
And to the gen'ral wiſh attend:
May ſhe our chaſte complaints receive,
And help our nobles when they grieve.

Poole, June 18.

The following Scene of Diſtreſs *is from the celebrated* ALZIRA *of Mr.* DE VOLTAIRE, *(which, from the Impatience of the Audience, was acted twice in one Night) as tranſlated by Mr.* LOCKMAN, *and intended for* DRURY-LANE THEATRE, *but ſince laid aſide. That the Reader may be better enabled to judge of the Diſtreſs, it may be proper to premiſe, that* Monteze, *King of a Country in* Potoſi, *is ſuppoſed to have been diſpoſſeſſed of his Dominions; and, with* Alzira *his Daughter, to be taken Priſoner by the* Spaniards, *and detain'd in the City of* Lima. *There* Guſman *(Son to* Alvarez*) Governor of* Peru, *falls diſtractedly in Love with that Princeſs, who with her Father, had embraced the Chriſtian Religion. At laſt* Alzira *is prevailed upon, but with the utmoſt Reluctance, to marry* Guſman. *Some Hours after,* Zamore *an Idolater (ſuppos'd dead) formerly a King in another Part of* Potoſi, *dethron'd by* Guſman, *and contracted to* Alzira, *finds Means to get himſelf introduced ſecretly to her. Their Interview on this Occaſion is the Subject of the following Scene.*

ACT III. SCENE IV.

ALZIRA, ZAMORE, EMIRA.

Zam. IS ſhe, at laſt, reſtor'd to my fond wiſhes,
And do her beauties bleſs my raviſh'd eyes?

Al. Heavens! ſuch was his air, his voice, his face.

[*She faints, and is ſupported by* Emira.

Zamore! alas! where am I? O my heart!

Z. See thy ill-fated lover.

A. How! *Zamore!*
Loſt, dead *Zamore,* at ſad *Alzira's* feet!
Illuſion ſure!

Z. Ah, no; 'tis thy *Zamore.*
For thee, alone, inchanting maid, I live.
Thus proſtrate, thus, I claim thy early vows:
Dear, charming idol of my raptur'd ſoul!
Thou, whoſe fond paſſion ſpake thee ever mine;
Where are the vows, thoſe ſacred vows, which bound
Our hearts in ſweeteſt union? ſpeak, O ſpeak!

A. Delightful moments clouded all with horror!
Dear, fatal object, now, of joy, of grief,
Which in my aching breaſt bear equal ſway.
Zamore, alas! in what an hour I ſee thee!
Thy ev'ry word ſtrikes daggers to my heart.

Z. How! ſee *Zamore* and ſigh?

A. Too late I ſee thee!

Z. Thro' all our ruin'd realms, a falſe report
Of my long-torturing death muſt have been ſpread. [rapine
From the curſt hour that theſe fell ſons of
Tore me, with love diſtracted, from thy arms,
And drove me from my throne, my gods and thee, [*Guſman*
I've been a vagabond.—Know'ſt thou that
(Deteſted wretch!) endeavour'd, but in vain,
To ſhake my ſoul by every kind of torture?—
Know'ſt thou that loſt *Zamore,* whom love deſign'd
For thy embraces, O! was doom'd to halters!
It ſhocks thee.—Yes—the anger which inflames
My tortur'd heart, burns fiercely in thy boſom, [eyes.
And darts like vengeful lightning from thy
Doubtleſs a god, who over love preſides,
Snatch'd me from death, amid ſurrounding dangers,
That I might bleſs thee, and be doubly bleſt.
Thou can'ſt not have renounc'd the mighty god,
Who hither guided my auſpicious ſteps.
Thy ſpotleſs ſoul, all innocence and virtue,
Is ſtill untainted by curſt, *Spaniſh* arts.—
Guſman, 'tis ſaid, inhabits theſe proud walls.
I come to tear thee from the hated monſter.
Thou lov'ſt me.—Dear *Alzira,* let's revenge
Our mighty wrongs;—haſte, give me up my victim. [venge; and guilt

A. Yes, yes, thy wrongs claim great re-
Calls loud for puniſhment from thy dear hand:
Strike, ſtrike.

Z. How! where! perdition! my *Alzira!*

A. Strike—I'm not worthy life, nor dearer thee.

Z. My throbbing heart, (falſe, barbarous *Monteze*) could not believe thee.

A. Strange! and cou'd he dare
To tell thee all!—O action big with horror!
Know'ſt thou for whom I've left thee? left,—for ever.

Z. Ah, no! but ſpeak—my ſoul, long us'd to ills. [me.
Can bear, unmov'd, the worſt that can befal

A. View then th' abyſs, in which we're plung'd by fate:
Hear the extremes of outrage and of guilt!

Z. Alzira!

A. Guſman, oh!

* *The* Virgin Mary.

Z. Ye

Z. Ye gods!
A. The man,
Who caus'd thy woes, — who sought thy life —
Z. Speak! what!
A. Is now my husband.
Z. O — it cannot be! [vows;
A. He and my Father have betray'd my
Have drag'd me, trembling to the christian altar.
There thy false maid (and her *Zamore* so nigh)
Gave — O, the thought is death! her hand to *Gusman.*
I've left my gods, my lover, and my country.
By those dear names, tear, tear me from myself.
Strike here — my heart, — it flies to meet thy poinard.
Z. Alzira, — say — can *Gusman* be thy husband? [plead
A. To extenuate my guilt; I here might
The lawful power of fathers o'er their children, [gies;
Thy idol-worship — my deep sighs, my strug-
The floods of tears, three long, long years I shed
For my *Zamore,* believing he was slain:
That rack'd at the dire news, my wild distraction
Gave me, a captive, to the christians God:
That my fond, bleeding heart, for ever thine,
Abhorr'd thy gods, 'cause they deserted thee.
But, O, I seek not, — will not an excuse.
Thou liv'st — 'tis all I ask, — my plighted vows
I have betray'd; prov'd false to my *Zamore.*
Since then I'm lost to thee, — to all I prize,
Take, take my wretched life, or grief will end it. —
Ah! canst thou yet indulge an eye of softness?
Z. Yes — if I still am lov'd, thou art not guilty.
But, dear *Alzira,* am I not forgotten?
A. When some revengeful god, — *Alvarez,* [ness,
Montese,
The christians, all conspiring with my weakLed me (O how reluctant!) to the temple:
There, tho' persuaded of thy death; tho' forc'd
To these detested nuptials, and tho' bound
To cruel *Gusman* with eternal chains,
Yet, prostrate at our altars, I ador'd
Thy memory, and wish'd to join thy shade.
The nations round, — our tyrants, — all have heard [claim'd
My love for thee, — *Zamore,* which I've pro-
To earth, to heaven — even to cruel *Gusman.* —
And in this dreadful moment (O the last
Will be allow'd!) I tell thee thou art dear
To me as light, as life, as wish'd for heaven.
Z. What says *Alzira?* — never see her more!
Fate, tho' my enemy, is not yet so cruel,
To just reveal, then snatch thee from my sight. — [heard.
Ah! could but love's soft-breathing voice be
A. O heavens! here's *Gusman:* here's his father — oh!

The Happiness *of a* COUNTRY LIFE, *Continued from p.* 272.

BUT when the sun's bright beams in *Cancer* burn,
When joyful peasants have imbarn'd their corn;
His instruments of death he straight prepares,
And fit equips himself for *Sylvan* wars.
His dog, the constant partner of his toil,
With joy elate bounds o'er the parched soil;
Snuffs up the ambient air with sense refin'd,
And tries by frequent turns to meet the wind;
Till his sagacious smell at last exhales
The strong effluvia of the tainted gales:
Fir'd at the near approach he shoots away,
But sudden stops and gazes on the prey.
The tim'rous birds compell'd before him rise,
As soon loud thunder breaks the echoing skies:
Tow'ring in air they feel the leaden wound,
And in the pangs of death fall flutt'ring on the ground.
Even when *Orion's* pluvial star appears,
And earth a face of melancholy wears;
When winter with despotick power reigns
Over the leafless woods and barren plains,
The leafless woods and barren plains supply
His sports, nor then the pleasing toil deny.
E'er early *Phœbus* mounts his fiery car,
To horse the *Gallick* clarion sounds from far.
With well-bred beagles he maintains the chace,
Whose quicker scent snuffs up the tainted grass.
Thro' woods and lawns the generous pack pursue
The flying hare, and lick the morning dew.
She runs so fleet, she soon outflies the cry,
Rejoic'd to hear nor dogs nor men are nigh.
But almost spent, she finds their nobler sense
Their disproportion'd speed does recompense.
The circling maze they trace out by degrees,
Till the strong scent comes warm in ev'ry breeze.
Whilst the loud hallows rend the vaulted sky,
And distant woods and neighb'ring plains reply: [bound,
From hills and dales the chearful cries re-
And sportful echo frolicks with the sound.
Thus well employ'd with whatsoe'er can please,
With business, pleasure, exercise, or ease:
Of life's necessities in full possess'd,
Bless'd in himself, in his retirement bless'd:
His good old hall as much delights his heart,
As lofty structures of *Vitruvian* art:
His little plot of cultivated ground
Fenc'd from the chilling blast with walls around, [and taste,
With herbs, fruit, flow'rs to please the sight
Suffice his wants and furnish out a feast.
Nor envies he with partial views the great,
Their spacious gardens and their cool retreat,
Where *Sylvan* shades and verdant walks extend,
And the long vista useless buildings end;

Where

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Where in each allie images surprize,
And temples rais'd to heathen deities:
Where long canals and chrystal waters glide
And murmur at their own superfluous pride.
Let such their fond ambitious humours have,
Whilst master o'er himself, to none a slave,
He independent breaths his native air, [fear.
Has nought to ask, and knows not ought to
Yet is he not without his luxury,
A lovely scene of nature greets his eye;
A prospect which no human hands bestow,
Such as not *Bridgman*'s happy taste can show;
He but attempts to copy nature's laws,
Nature's own pencil her pourtraiture draws:
Where all their great magnificence impart,
But imitated awkwardly by art.
Here purling riv'lets form, from hills convey'd,
In broken falls, a natural cascade.
There the thick venerable grove appears,
Th' industrious labour of his ancestors,
Where * *Jove*'s orac'lar trees in diverse rows
The shady quincunx regular compose.
Whilst various objects aptly intervene,
To change the prospect and adorn the scene.
Here distant woods project a gloomy shade,
There sunny mountains rear their azure head:
Here hanging fields with golden *Ceres* bend,
There on low vales irriguous meads extend.
At one full view his ravish'd eyes descry
All nature lying in variety:
The chearful concert of the vocal birds,
Bleating of lambs, and lowing of his herds;
Fair *Flora*'s treasures in the vernal bloom
Scenting the *Æther* with a rich perfume;
Pomona's blushing gifts to tempt the taste,
And all the scene in gay confusion dress'd.
Here first young *Maro* strove to merit praise,
To woods and shades address'd his virgin lays;
His subject made the jocund nymphs and swains,
And to the court prefer'd fair *Mantua*'s plains.
[*To be concluded in our next.*]

On the Crucifixion, *or* Good-Friday.

MEthinks I see the heavenly choir mourn,
And all yon beauteous orbs to sable turn!
A solemn fast the pensive seraphs keep
And winged cherubs in deep silence weep.
The glorious sun withdraws his blushing head
The moon's eclips'd, the glimmering stars are dead,
And all the gaudy beams of light are fled.
The frighted birds forsake the darken'd air
And howling beasts quick to their dens repair;
The earth with horror struck finds no repose,
But quakes and trembles with convulsive throws;
Eccentric motions shake the distant poles
And the earth's centre from its axis rolls.
Muse, say the cause, relate the dire event,
That nature thus inverted shou'd lament.
The God of nature now in anguish lies,
Press'd with the load of human miseries;
The glorious Son of God from heav'n's come down
To suffer death, for crimes, but not his own;
Stern vengeance from the guilty world is fled,
And vents her fury on his guiltless head.
He sighs, he sobs, his tears in torrents flow,
His nature starts at the impending blow;
And well it might — since he must now atone,
For all the sins that all the world has done.
Methinks I see him (ah!) in sorrow lie,
With brows dejected, and condemn'd to die;
He's whipt, he's scourg'd, oh see the yawning wound!
His blood distils in streams upon the ground.
Attend, my soul, survey this ghastly scene,
Such shocking sight the world has never seen.
The Lord of life is hung upon a tree,
Oh hark! — he groans in th' utmost agony.
Here falls the King of heav'n a sacrifice,
See how the Son of God expires and dies.
The mild relenting Judge resigns his breath
To save a guilty criminal from death.
Transcendent love, beyond the bounds of sense!
Th' offended dies to pardon the offence.
What (Lord) for so much love can I restore?
Come, give me but thy heart, I ask no more.
Oh! take it then, and let it with thee live,
I'd give ten thousand more, if I had them to give.
TUGFORD.

EPITAPH, by Mr. POPE.

Near this Place lie the Bodies of John Hewit *and* Mary Drew, *an industrious young Man, and virtuous Maiden of this Parish, who being at Harvest Work (with several others) were in one Instant both killed by Lightning,* July 31, 1718.

THINK not by rig'rous judgment seiz'd,
A pair so faithful cou'd expire;
Victims so pure, heav'n saw well pleas'd,
And snatch'd them in cœlestial fire.
Live well, and fear no sudden fate,
When God calls virtue to the grave,
Alike 'tis justice soon or late,
Mercy alike, to kill or save.
Virtue unmov'd can hear the call,
And face the flash that melts the ball.

On the Restoration of K. CHARLES II.

THE foaming bull, from some enclosure broke,
Bounds lawless, and forgets the easy yoke,
In some wild plain exerts a fruitless rage,
And makes himself the foe he wou'd engage,
Spurns up the dust that gathers to his eyes,
Lashes his loins, and bellows to the skies.

——— * *Habitæ Graiis Oracula quercus.* *Virg. Georg.* 2.
——— *Magna Jovis antiquo robore quercus.* *Georg.* 3.

Britain, revolting from her monarch's cauſe,
Thus ſcorns his pow'r and tramples on his laws,
Raging impetuous with unbridled ſway,
Foments her fury, while herſelf 's the prey.
Boaſt not thus, *Britain*, thy diſhoneſt ſcars,
Th' inglorious triumphs of inteſtine wars;
You, like *Medea*, your own children ſlay,
To ſtop your parent, and obſtruct his way:—
—Oh, ſpare thy blood, recal thy mourning king,
That peace, and liberty again may ſpring;
Far from the fury of the tempeſt borne,
Let *Charles* no longer for thy ſafety mourn;
No longer the outrageous ſtorm ſurvey,
His kingdom ſunk beneath the raging ſea.
No, they relent, homeward the monarch moves,
Peace flies before, behind the ſportive loves.
Hear, what applauſe the gath'ring tumults raiſe,
E'en, gazing envy is provok'd to praiſe.
Lo! wond'ring faction draws the ſhining ſword,
To grace the triumph, and proclaim her lord;
Clamour, her voice rais'd louder than before,
To ſhout him welcome to the *Britiſh* ſhore;
With ſtrengthen'd nerves the very infants ran,
And hail'd with prattling tongues the god-like man.
Around the plains the venerable oaks,
Juſt doom'd the victims of rebellious ſtrokes,
E'er long with hoſtile ſails to plough the main,
And *Charles* diſtreſs'd at diſtance ſtill retain,
Their verdant honours now afreſh diſplay,
And lend their boughs to deck the peaceful way.
Hence dawning glory ſhot her genial rays,
And bards ambitious reaſſum'd their lays:
Rebellion, anarchy, oppreſſion ceaſe,
Diſcord is huſh'd, and all the world is peace.
So when *Ducalion* from the mount return'd,
Where long aboliſh'd nature he had mourn'd,
Jove gave the nod, creation ſmil'd again,
And animated rocks were ſoften'd into men.

Upon ſeeing SYLVIA's *Picture.*

To the PAINTER.

IN vain, in vain, thy pencil ſtrives
To paint the faireſt face that lives;
Too weak thy ſkill confeſs.
Spread, ſpread diviner graces more;
'Tis all too languid, all too poor,
Her image to expreſs.
When *Venus* for her picture ſits,
A mortal hand, and paint, ill fits,
Cœleſtial lines to trace.
The god of painting, and of verſe,
Alone ſhould draw, alone rehearſe,
The beauties of that face.

To Mr. MUR——Y. *Occaſion'd by his late* SPEECH.

WHAT all approve, 'tis needleſs to commend;
Yet you'll forgive the ardour of a friend:
A friend, whoſe heart applauds thy honeſt youth,
Warm in the love of liberty and truth.
If pleaſing wit, employ'd in virtue's cauſe;
If fulleſt knowledge of the force of laws;
If cleareſt reaſoning, ſtrongeſt manly ſenſe,
Could, well as force attention, influence:
No wrong would innocence, whoſe cauſe you plead,
From any judge, in any place, e'er dread.
The *adder*'s ear thy eloquence can charm:
O could'ſt thou of its ſting the noxious beaſt diſarm!
Illuſtrious youth, keep virtue ſtill in view,
Be to thyſelf, and to thy country, true:
Before thy eyes place virtuous *Talbot*'s ſhade,
And ſcorn the arts that meaner minds pervade.
Let no falſe glory a wrong biaſs give:
Thus worth and real honour ever live;
When vulgar names, who all baſe methods try
To gain a fame, ſhall in oblivion lie;
Or worſe, ſhall on the laſting record ſtand
As infamous, as once deſtructive to a land.

To the POETICAL LADIES. *By an old Soldier.*

FAIR ones, in prudence drop the pen:
Howe'er your fancy's fir'd;
We know you level at us men,
And rhyme to be admir'd:
We'll not of double arms admit,
And let you join to beauty, wit.
You can't with our own bait allure,
With our own weapons foil;
When you ſuch onſets make, we're ſure
Moſt wiſely to recoil:
In vain you try then our own arts,
To make a conqueſt o'er our hearts.
'Tis when you lie in ambuſcade,
That you moſt dang'rous are;
We're ſafe when you appear array'd,
And your deſigns declare:
Venus when naked more alarm'd,
Than when ſhe was like *Pallas* arm'd.
Wou'd ye your natural genius ſhow,
Your genuine charms diſplay;
No more the manly art avow,
Some female taſk eſſay:
No more let *Phœbus*' aid be try'd,
But liſt *Minerva* on your ſide.
If your bright pointed needle draws
A ſtream of colours out,
Ten thouſand darts, tho' wrought on gawze!
May put us to the rout:
What equal art in rhyme is ſhewn
To the embroid'ry of a gown?
And as ye hope imperial ſway,
In th' heart of him you love;
Be wife and fling the pen away,
Leſt it ſhou'd fatal prove.
Think, e'er in rhyme you take a pride,
How *Sappho* wrote, and how ſhe died.

To

To the Author *of* LEONIDAS, *on being criticis'd by a* Rev. Divine *in the* WEEKLY MISCELLANY.

INgenious poet! in whose easy lines [shines;
Fancy, correct with judgment, mildly
Who ne'er to *inspiration* made pretence,
Content to steer within the bounds of *sense*;
Who no *high-flown* extravagance display,
No *supernatural* hyperbole; [*priest*,
How shou'd you please the *mad-man* or the
Who are so little an *enthusiast*?

The MAGPYE STRIPT. *A* FABLE: *Inscribed to* C——b D—ny—s, *Esq*;

A *Magpye* pert, and proud of heart,
By nature plain, resolv'd by art,
(His pride had pointed out the way)
To trim, and dress himself more gay!
The birds hard by, then held their court,
To these he chuses to resort;
And wearing only on his back,
A motley coat of white and black,
Now this, now that, with envy eyes,
Enrich'd with plumes of various dyes;
Which fair, and glittering to the sight,
Much better than his own delight.
From the gay pheasant's neck he drew
A feather of a glossy *hue*.
The parrot's tail, with rapture seen,
Adorns his wing with shining *green*.
With beauteous plumage to invest
His own, he robs the peacock's breast:
The finch, last plunder'd, to enfold
His head with streaks of beamy gold;
And the whole realm of birds to awe,
Fain won'd have stole the eagle's claw.
His dress thus suited to his pride,
He scorns, or laughs at all beside:
Pleas'd to behold his feathers shine;
And thinks no bird on earth so fine:
He pities one, derides another,—
And scarce will own a pye, his brother.
His strutting air —— his solemn note,
All owing to his tawdry coat.
From thence the empty creature drew
His beauty and his wisdom too:
Proud in all meetings to be shown;
Tho' scarce one feather was his own.
Now to his brother *maggs* he flew,
Where each the gaudy changeling knew;
All laugh'd to see the fool profess
Such fondness for a pilfer'd dress.
With shreds and scraps disguis'd, they know,
Full well, the patch'd-up mimick beau:
And all resolve, the fop undrest,
To turn his pride into a jest:
Quite stript, before the court to bring,
The false, the foolish, fluttering thing,
Before the whole assembly shown,
In colours only of his own.
The dire resolve they soon pursue;
One robs the thief of all his blue;
Late beauteous on the plunderer seen
One strips his wing of all its green:
A third, in sport picks off the red
He stole, to trim and dress his head;
Standing confest to every eye;
Now nothing, but a prattling pye;
A dapper, different creature quite,
Clad only in his black and white!
Thyself in this clear mirror see;
The story, *D'Anvers*, points at thee!
From thy fool's cap, one wicked brother
Steals a gay plume, and one, another;
Deserted quite, and left alone
To fight with weapons of thy **own.**
While neither now thy sheet supplies,
Or *Sw—t* with jokes, or *Trott* with lies,
Harry his weekly fib withdraws;
P——y his sneer at kings and laws:
The lifts, the mighty *Fog* declines,
Instead of treason, selling wines.
Seldom does thy blunt satyr hit,
A medley mess of spleen and wit;
Half weak, half wild—the motley stuff,
Made up of *prattle*, puns, and puff.
No more while St. *J——n* guides thy pen,
All froth and fume—poor *Nick*, again;
Muddy thy wit; thy humour stale,
The very *magpye* in the *tale*.

The friendly CAUTION; *and modest* REPLY. *A* SONG. [*To the Tune of*,—When you censure the Age, *&c.*—*in the* Beggar's Opera.]

WHEN you muse, write, and print,
See, no *sense*, Sir, be in't,
Left the *criticks* shou'd snarlingly sneer:
If, with *wit*, you lash at *vice*,
They're so pettish, and so nice;
Each cries,—*O! what rhyming is here!*

Then, dear *publisher*, take heed
Of this hard bitter breed;
Or, your lines, Sir, will all go to pot:
For, who scarce or *read*, or *write*,
Yet can make a shift to *bite*,
And say,—*Lord! what sad stuff have we got!*

'Bite!—(good Sir, did you say?)—
'How can that be, I pray?
'Such old women I never shall dread:
'The most damnable shrew
'No great mischief can do,
'That has hardly a tooth in her head.'

R. D.

BROMPTON VINEYARD.

To CHARLES KING, *Esq*,

WHAT art, my friend, and industry can do, [you:
We see; and, if we please, may learn from
How a few acres are a plenteous store;
Why twenty thousand often make men poor:

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Here, the kind husband nurses his own soil;
And that's the *caterpillar Peter*'s spoil. [great,
Driv'n from the faithless chambers of the
You sought a fruitful, but a small retreat:
To a kind soil, and salutary air,
You follow'd liberty, and found her there.
At servile levees long you search'd in vain,
Not there the goddess, nor her little train,
Reside; but in the rural homely cell,
You found her followers delight to dwell.
Here, planted by thy own industrious hand,
The regimented trees in order stand:
Once natives all of *France*, or in *French* pay;
But now they orders they, with pride, obey.
See the rich clusters load the mother vine,
And, in the fruit, behold the future wine.
Here, as the wanton curling tendrils stray,
You prune with judgment the luxuriant spray;
Or raise the falling tree, too weak at root,
Or overburthen'd with its kindly fruit.
Nor can *Burgundia*'s yellow glebe produce
A nobler spirit, or more gen'rous juice.
See where it rises, glorious to the sight,
Reflecting from the chrystal, crimson light;
And while the sparkling *British* nectar warms,
Our dancing hearts receive ten thousand
charms; [glow;
With friendship, love, and truth, our bosoms
Such blessings, wine and virtue can bestow.
Had *Cromwel*, who resided in this bow'r,
Cromwel, who knew the force of wealth and
pow'r,
Improv'd, like thee, this fruitful wealthy sand,
His glorious labours had enrich'd the land:
Had he subdu'd the *Gallick* vine with toil,
And fix'd her treasures in the *British* soil,
E'er this, the whole commercial world had
known
No other mart, the balance all our own:
His spade wou'd then have conquer'd, like his
sword,
And the world own'd him her victorious lord:
A conquest over *France* and haughty *Spain*,
Our *Henrys* nor our *Edwards* e'er cou'd gain.
Go on, my friend, thy glorious toil enjoy,
And every hour in publick good employ.
Here the great vulgar with contempt behold,
The gaudy slaves of luxury and gold:
Lord of yourself, subject to no command,
You fear no master's arbitrary hand:
No guilty statesman hurries you away
To vote —— a miserable drudge for pay:
Superior to the mercenary tribe,
Your very guardian dogs refuse a bribe.
So *Cincinnatus*, as they say, of old,
The plow-man chief, refus'd the *Samnite* gold.
For us, confin'd within this nauseous town,
'Midst fools and knaves and fops we bustle on;
The motly busy crowd together move,
Slander and news, fraud, envy, strife and love:
In politicks and news we most abound,
And ev'ry fool in both is most profound.
Oh *Charles!* relieve thy friend, oppress'd with
care,
With *Brompton Burgundy*, and *Brompton* air:
Hide me within thy cool refreshing glade;
Oh cover me with thy luxuriant shade;
Amid the purple clusters soft reclin'd,
I leave the busy fools of life behind.
There *Freeman*, *Atticus*, *Albani*, there,
A chosen band, our social joys shall share,
Our joys, with knowledge mix'd, the nectar
charms,
And opens all our senses, as it warms.
By no wild laws confin'd, let each man fill,
Or drink, or sip, both what and when he will.
Nor shall our reason, or our taste, be lost
In the mad bumper, or insipid toast: [none
We'll talk with freedom, as we drink, yet
Descends to the low scandal of the town;
Nor meanly meddles with domestick strife,
Nor opens the clos'd wounds of private life:
Employ'd on nobler themes, we hardly know
What in yon bustling busy world they do:
Whether our theatres will fall or rise;
Which, with new *pantomimes*, will more
surprize;
Nor whether *Rolli* dances ill or well;
Nor which of *Handel*'s capons does excel.
But that which more concerns us, more
sublime
We talk, what not to know wou'd be a crime;
Whether mankind their happiness may boast,
In *gold* or *virtue*? which conduces most
To make us bless'd — may best be understood,
Is *wealth* or *virtue* then the *sovereign good*?
Where is this *summum bonum*? wou'd you
know?
'Tis in the mean kind heav'n does here bestow;
A moderate fortune without care and strife,
Gives ev'ry blessing in a country life.

A SONG.

OH, how happy are we
Who are brought up at sea;
For by daily experience we know,
The world's but a bubble,
Full of changes and trouble,
And nothing is constant below.

If we meet with to-day
Fair gales and smooth sea,
We expect it will change by to-morrow;
If by tempests we're tost,
We give nothing for lost,
Not extreme in our joy or our sorrow.

If at land we do find,
Our landlady kind,
'Tis well, we take all in good part;
If she changes her tune,
And veers ne'er so soon,
A sailor lays nothing to heart.

Thus fortune no slave
Of a sailor can have,
We're the same, whether rais'd or cast down;
We court not her smiles,
Make a jest of her wiles,
And care not a fig for her frown.

The Arduous Ablactation *is receiv'd.*

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THE
Monthly Chronologer.

ON *May* 28. the Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when 4 Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. John Smith*, for robbing his Maſter of near 200*l.* in Money; *Richard Sampſon*, for robbing the Rev. Mr. *Gough*; *John Symonds*, for ſending a threatning Letter to Mr. *Robert Manning*; and *Charles Rogers*, for robbing *William Baſſindine* on the Highway. Twenty-ſix were ſentenced to be tranſported, and two were burnt in the Hand.

At the Aſſizes at *Ely*, *Mary*, Wife of *John Bird*, received Sentence of Death for poiſoning her Huſband with Arſenick. Her ſuppoſed Gallant, who was alſo try'd on Suſpicion, was acquitted.

WEDNESDAY, *June* 1.

This Day, a dreadful Fire broke out in the Salt-houſe going over the Bridge at *Nantwich* in *Cheſhire*, whereby the ſaid Salt-houſe was burnt down to the Ground, with five more Houſes.

THURSDAY, 2.

Several Merchants (concerned in the *Three Brothers*, Capt. *Kierſted*, bound from *Madeira* to *London*, and ſtranded on an Iſland in the Weſt Part of *Scotland*,) waited upon his Grace the Duke of *Argyll* and *Greenwich*, hereditary Admiral of that Coaſt, and Proprietor of the ſaid Iſland, to return their Thanks for his great Generoſity, not only for the Care and Diligence of his Deputy in ſaving their Effects, but his giving up his Right of Salvage in their Favour. His Grace received them with great Civility, and aſſured them he would always have the ſame Regard to the Intereſt of Merchants on ſuch unfortunate Occaſions.

SATURDAY, 11.

This Night a Fire happened in a Stable oppoſite to *Bell Dock*, in *Wapping*, which burnt with ſuch Fury, that in four Hours Time twenty Houſes were conſumed.

About this Time, a Wine-Merchant at *Wrexham* in *Denbigh-ſhire* cut his own Throat, with ſuch ſhocking Reſolution, that his Head was half off. He was a Man of Learning, of great Humanity, of an eaſy Fortune and was much reſpected; but was blameable for his Notions of Religion, which it is thought were the Occaſion of his Deſpair: He had an elegant Taſte of Poetry, and has publiſh'd ſome Pieces of Poetry that have been admired. The following Lines were found in his Pocket, which were ſuppos'd to have been wrote by him a ſhort Time before his Death.

Thro' the dark vale of miſery,
With lonely ſteps I roam;
My lab'ring mind and clouded brow
Add darkneſs to the gloom.
Sooth me, *Sophocles*, nature's guide,
Friend to unhappy man;
Sad *Ajax* paint, or *Pæan*'s ſon,
Deſerted and in pain.
Thy blind, old, exil'd *Theban* king,
The mark of horrors ſtood;
Patience, and prudent age, improv'd
His matchleſs woes to good.
The voice of wiſdom ſpeaks in thee,
Strong as the trumpet's ſound.
In vain! my weakneſs, Lord, forgive,
Or heal my ſoul's deep wound!

THURSDAY, 16.

The Hon. the Commiſſioners of Exciſe ſummoned all the Perſons before them who had paid in their Fines of 100*l.* for ſelling Spirituous Liquors contrary to the Act of Parliament; and after admoniſhing them for their offending againſt the Laws, and deſiring them to take care for the future, they were pleaſed to mitigate their Fines, ſome to 20*l.* and others to 30*l.* according to the Nature of their Offences; and the remaining Part of their Sums were returned them. They all thanked the Commiſſioners, and promiſed to avoid giving Offence hereafter.

The ſame Day, about Six in the Evening, the Wife of Mr. *Long*, at *Limekiln-Hill*, *Lime-houſe*, was found barbarouſly murdered, having a Wound in her Head by a Hammer, which broke thro' the Bone, into her Brain, and her Throat cut in ſuch a Manner, that her Head was half off. Her next Neighbour's Child, a Boy about four Years of Age, whom ſhe was fond of, was alſo found by her, murdered in the ſame Manner. A Man was obſerved by the Neighbours to go into her Houſe in the Afternoon, and ſtaid there about two Hours, when he ſent the Child out for a Penny-worth of Cherries, in which Time, it is thought, he diſpatch'd Mrs. *Long*, by knocking her down with the Hammer, which lay on one Side, and afterwards cutting her Throat; and the Child returning with the Cherries he knock'd him down, and cut his Throat likewiſe; and taking with him ſeveral Things ſhut the Door, and went off towards *Greenwich*.

We have been deſir'd to inſert the following Article, which ſhews what Spirit ſome Perſons, at leaſt, in *Scotland* are of.

Edinburgh, *May* 5. Yeſterday the Synod of

of *Lothian* heard an Appeal of the Magiſtrates, Town-Council, and ſome Miniſters and Elders of this City, from a Sentence of the Preſbytery, refuſing their Concurrence with the Call of our Magiſtrates, *&c.* to Dr. *William Wiſhart*, Miniſter of a Diſſenting Congregation at *London*, to be one of our Miniſters, upon two ſeveral Grounds, *viz.* 1. An alledged Averſion of the vacant Seſſions of the City to have him for their Miniſter: 2. That ſeveral Paſſages in two Sermons preached by him, the one before the Society for Reformation of Manners at *Salters-Hall*, *July* 3, 1732; the other at the *Old Jury*, *April* 9, 1731, are erroneous, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed Doctrines of this Church; particularly, That he confines the Magiſtrates Power to the puniſhing only of Crimes againſt our Neighbours; that he allows all Chriſtian Subjects to act agreeably to the Light of their own Minds in religious Matters; that he is for freeing Perſons from ſubſcribing any Confeſſions; that he encourages Parents, *&c.* to a more free Education of their Children than is conſiſtent with the Directories of this and other Proteſtant Churches; that he profanely diminiſhes the due Weight of Arguments taken from the Awe of future Rewards and Puniſhments; that he exceeds in his Charity both to Heathens to whom the Goſpel-Offer has been or may be made, and who reject it, and to ſuch as were baptized, and afterwards become Deiſts; and, that he ſeems to oppoſe the orthodox Doctrine concerning the ſinful and corrupt State of all Men from their Birth.

TUESDAY, 21.

This Day his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and put an End to the Seſſion of Parliament (which was prorogu'd to the 4th of *Auguſt* next) with the following moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM come to put an End to this Seſſion of Parliament, that you may be at Liberty to retire into your ſeveral Countries, and, in your proper Stations, to promote the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

I return you my Thanks for the particular Proofs you have given me of your Affection and Regard to my Perſon and Honour; and hope, the Wiſdom and Juſtice, which you have ſhewn upon ſome extraordinary Incidents, will prevent all Thoughts of the like Attempts for the future. The Conduct of this Parliament has been ſo uniform in all your Deliberations upon publick Affairs, that it would be as unjuſt not to acknowledge it, as it is unneceſſary to enumerate the ſeveral Particulars.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

Your Care, as well in raiſing the Supplies neceſſary for the Service of the current Year, as in doing it in the Manner leaſt grievous and burthenſome to my People, is a freſh Inſtance of your equal Concern for the Support of my Government, and for the true Intereſt of your Country.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You cannot be inſenſible, what juſt Scandal and Offence the Licentiouſneſs of the preſent Times, under the Colour and Diſguiſe of Liberty, gives to all honeſt and ſober Men, and how abſolutely neceſſary it is to reſtrain this exceſſive Abuſe, by a due and vigorous Execution of the Laws; Defiance of all Authority, Contempt of Magiſtracy, and even Reſiſtance of the Laws, are become too general, altho' equally prejudicial to the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Liberties of the People, the Support of the one being inſeparable from the Protection of the other. I have made the Laws of the Land the conſtant Rule of my Actions; and I do, with Reaſon, expect in Return all that Submiſſion to my Authority and Government, which the ſame Laws have made the Duty, and ſhall always be the Intereſt of my Subjects.

The following Acts at the ſame Time receiv'd the Royal Aſſent, *viz.* That for ſettling a Dowry (of 50,000 *l. per Ann.*) on the Princeſs of *Wales*: That for leſſening the Duty on *Sweets*: For laying a Duty on Foreign Oyſters imported: For diſabling *Alexander Wilſon*, Eſq; from holding any Office of Magiſtracy at *Edinburgh*, or elſewhere in *Great Britain*, and for laying a Fine of 2000 *l.* on the City of *Edinburgh*: For bringing to Juſtice the Perſons concerned in the Murder of Capt. *Porteous*, and puniſhing thoſe who knowingly conceal them: For Relief of Inſolvent Debtors: That relating to the common Players of Interludes: That for making Navigable the River *Rodon*: *Weſtminſter* Bridge Bill: That for adorning *Red Lyon Square*: For rebuilding St. *Olave's* Church: For puniſhing Perſons going armed in Diſguiſe: For regulating Watermen, Wherrymen, and Lightermen, rowing on the River *Thames*: For giving further Time to thoſe who have omitted to take the Oaths: For collecting ſmall Sums of Money at the Port of *Leghorn*, for Relief of Shipwrecked Mariners: For regulating the Nightly Watch in the City of *London*: For regulating the Nightly Watch in St. *Andrew's Holborn*: Several Road Bills, and upwards of 20 private Bills.

Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales* was at the Houſe of Peers, and when the Royal Aſſent was given to the Bill for ſettling a Dowry on her, ſhe paid her Obeyſance to his Majeſty, and afterwards to the Houſe of Peers.

By the Bill relating to Players of Interludes, *&c.* all Copies of Plays, Farces, or

any Thing wrote in the Dramatick Way, are to lie before his Grace the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Houshold for the Time being, for his Grace's Perusal and Approbation, before they shall be exhibited on the Stage.

By the additional Clause to the *Sweets* Bill Five Pounds is to be paid to the Informer by the Excise Office, for every Retailer of Spirituous Liquors about the Streets whose Poverty makes him incapable of paying so much himself; and the Sum of ten Pounds to be paid on Conviction for Retailers in Shops, and no more, to be paid likewise by the Excise-Office.

By the Act for regulating Watermen, no Tilt-Boat or Row-Barge to take at one Time more than 37 Passengers, and 3 more, if brought on board by the Way: Other Boat or Wherry to take only 8 Passengers, and 2 more only, if called in by the Way. Ferry-Boats allowed to work on Sundays, to take no more than 8 Passengers. Penalty for the first Offence 5*l.* for the Second 10*l.* one Moiety to the Informer; for the third Offence, to be disfranchised for 12 Months from working on the River. And in Case any Person shall be drowned, where a greater Number of Passengers is taken in than allow'd by this Act, the Watermen shall be transported as Felons.

The *Edinburgh* Bill as it stood at first was for disabling *Alexander Wilson*, and imprisoning him (for a Year;) and for abolishing the *Town Guard*, and taking away the Gates of the *Nether-Bow Port*. The Preamble of it (which is the same with that of the present Act) was as follows.

Whereas upon *Tuesday* the 7th. Day of *September*, in the Year of our Lord 1736, there was a most seditious and outrageous Riot in the City of *Edinburgh*, in that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, notoriously concerted and carried on by great Numbers of wicked, disorderly, and blood-thirsty Persons, who did, with open Force and Violence, seize the Arms of the City Guard, possess themselves of the City Gates, and, by setting fire to and breaking open the Door of the *Tolbooth* of the said City, did unlawfully and audaciously rescue and set at large several Criminals therein confined: *And whereas* Captain *John Porteous*, then a Prisoner there under Sentence of Death, but graciously reprieved by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, as Guardian of the Realm, was by the said Rioters in a cruel Manner dragged from the said Prison, and most barbarously hanged by the Neck, and murdered, in manifest Violation of the publick Peace, in Defiance and Subversion of legal Government, in high Contempt of our sovereign Lord the King and his Laws, and to the most presumptuous and unparallel'd Obstruction of the Royal Mercy: *(See Vol. V. p. 510.) And whereas* for some Time before the committing of the said Murder and Riot, it was commonly reported in the said City of *Edinburgh*, that some such atrocious Fact would be attempted, which, by proper Care in the Magistrates, Citizens, and Inhabitants of the said City, might have been prevented; notwithstanding which, *Alexander Wilson*, Esquire, then and now Provost of the said City, then actually resident in the said City, and fully apprized of the said wicked Design, did not take any Precautions to prevent the said Murder and Riot, nor use the proper or necessary Means to suppress the same, or to preserve the Peace of the said City; or, after the Perpetration of the said Fact, to discover, apprehend, or secure the Authors, Actors, or Abettors thereof, in manifest Violation of the Trust and Duty of his Office of chief Magistrate of the said City; nor were any Means or Endeavours used by the Citizens and Inhabitants of the said City, to prevent or suppress the said notorious Riot, or to hinder the said inhuman and barbarous Murder, or to discover the Persons concerned therein, in order to bring them to Justice: *Now*, in order to express the highest Detestation and Abhorrence of the said Murder and Riot, and to the End that the said enormous Misbehaviours and Neglects of Duty, herein before-mentioned, may not go unpunished, and that other Persons may not presume, thro' Hopes of Impunity, to be guilty of the like for the future; *Be it enacted*, &c.

FRIDAY, 24.

Was held at *Guildhall* a Court of Hustings, when *Henry Benyon* and *Thomas Russel*, Esqrs; were chosen Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, for the Year ensuing.

His Majesty was pleas'd to promise his most gracious Pardon to any of the Accomplices of *Richard Turpin*, who shall discover him, so that he may be apprehended and convicted of the Murder, or any of the Robberies he has committed: As likewise a Reward of 200*l.* to any Person or Persons who shall discover the said Criminal, so that he may be apprehended and convicted as aforesaid, over and above all other Rewards to which they may be entitled.

SATURDAY, 25.

The *Venetian* Resident set out for *Dover*, on his Way to *Calais*, he having receiv'd Notice to leave the Town in 3 Days, and the Kingdom in 8, for the Insult offered to his Majesty's Crown and Dignity by the Doge and Senate of *Venice*, in the great Honours shewn the Pretender's Son.

WEDNESDAY, 29.

The seven following Malefactors, condemn'd the two last Sessions at the *Old Bailey*, were executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *Richard Harper*, for House-breaking; *Henry Bostwarway* and *James Kelly* for Murder; *Edward Samson*,

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Sampſon for a Street-Robbery, *Charles Rogers* for a Robbery on the Highway, *John Symonds* for ſending a threatning Letter; and *Anne Mudd* for the Murder of her Huſband, who was burnt. *Ady*, *Morton*, *Smith*, and *Felton* were order'd for Tranſportation. (See p. 220, 333.)

MARRIAGES.

PETER *Delmé*, Eſq; Member for *Ludgerſhall*, *Wilts*, to the Daughter of Sir *John Shaw* of *Eltham*, *Kent*.

Lady *Anne Berkeley*, Daughter of the Lord *Berkeley*, of *Stratton*, to Mr. *Cox* of *Burlington* Gardens.

Hon. *John Talbot*, Eſq; Member for *Bracon*, to the ſecond Daughter of Sir *Matthew Decker*, Bart.

Richard Hollings, Eſq; Solicitor General to the Prince of *Wales*, to a Daughter of the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Willes*.

Thomas White of *Ipſwich*, Eſq; to the only Daughter and ſole Heireſs of *Peter Anneſley*, Eſq;

David Slingsby, Eſq; to the only Daughter of *Chriſtopher Jackſon*, of *Bond-ſtreet*, Eſq;

Samuel Ingoldſby, Eſq; to Miſs *Fane* of *Middleſex*.

Capt. *Elliot*, of General *Churchill*'s Dragoons, to the eldeſt Daughter of the Earl of *Grantham*.

Col. *Douglas*, to the Lady Dowager *Irwin*.

Mr. *Tempeſt*, ſecond Son of Sir *George Tempeſt* of *York*, Bart. to the Hon. Miſs *Clifton*, Daughter of the Lord Viſcount *Molyneux*.

Simon Wilſon, Eſq; to Miſs *Bayles*.

William Hunt, Eſq; a Governor of the Bank, to the Relict of Deputy *Cooke*.

Samuel Waller of *Nottinghamſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Mary Ebinſon* of *Nottingham*.

DEATHS.

SOME Time laſt Month, at *Compton* in the *Vale of White Horſe*, *Berks*, Mrs. *Richards*, Relict of *Edward Richards*, Eſq; and Daughter of Sir *Edmund Warneford*, of *Sevingbampton* in *Wilts*, Knt. She has left an only Daughter with an Eſtate of about 4000*l. per Annum*.

Lady *Buckworth*, Mother of Sir *John Buckworth*, Bart.

Capt. *Stuart*, Commander of an independant Company.

Henry Vere Graham, Eſq; at *Halbrooke-Hall*, *Suffolk*.

Daniel Shaw, Eſq; at *Batterſea*.

George Hudſon, Eſq; an eminent *Liſbon* Merchant.

In *Scotland*, the Right Hon. *Thomas* Earl of *Dondonald*.

Rev. Mr. *Sandy*, Fellow of *Clare-hall*, *Cambridge*.

At *Hammerſmith*, Rev. Mr. *Billing*.

Joſeph Curtis of *Dorſetſhire*, Eſq;

At *Epſom*, *John Pierce*, Eſq;

The Right Rev. Father in God, Dr. *Charles Cecil*, Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*, who held in Commendam the rich Living of *Hatfield*, *Hertfordſhire*.

Daniel Wilkes of *Oxon*, Eſq;

Sir *Nathaniel Tench*, Bart. Son of the late Sir *Fiſher Tench*, Bart.

At *Holyport*, *Berks*, *Stephen Moore*, Eſq;

George Shouls of *Shipton Mallet*, *Somerſetſhire*, Eſq;

Hon. Mr. *Verney*, eldeſt Son of the Lord Viſc. *Fermanagh*.

At her Seat at *Frogmore* near *Windſor*, in the 106th Year of her Age, her Grace the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Northumberland*.

At *Eaſt-Sheen*, *Surrey*, *Daniel Simpſon*, Eſq;

At *Chelmſford*, *Simon Whitworth*, Eſq;

Jonathan Edwards of *Wilts*, Eſq;

Rev. Mr. *Kay*, Lecturer of St. *Auſtin* and St. *Faith*, near St. *Paul*'s.

At his Houſe in *Old-Bond Street*, *John Bing*, Eſq;

Rev. Dr. *Wilmot*, Maſter of *King*'s *College*, *Cambridge*, and Rector of *Milton*, near that Town.

At his Seat at *Beckingham*, *Kent*, *Samuel Pugh*, Eſq;

At his Seat near *Barking*, *Eſſex*, Sir *Orlando Humphreys*, Bart.

At *Bath*, Sir *John Jernegan*, Bart.

At *Lincoln*, the Counteſs of *Delorraine*.

At *Reading*, on his Way to the *Bath*, *Thomas Reed* of *Eſſex*, Eſq;

The Counteſs Dowager of *Oxford*, aged 101.

John Hedges, Eſq; Treaſurer to his Royal Highneſs the Prince, and Member of Parliament, for *Fowey*, *Cornwall*.

Alexander Lutterell, Eſq; Member of Parliament, for *Minehead*, in *Somerſetſhire*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Motte* preſented to the Living of St. *Mary* at *Newington*, void by the Death of the late Dr. *Hough*.

Mr. *John Herring* appointed Apparitor General of the Diocеſe of *London*.

Dr. *Aldridge*, Miniſter of *Henley* upon *Thames*, appointed Chaplain to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*.

Mr. *Benjamin Taylor* preſented to the Rectory of *Theberton*, *Suffolk*.

Mr. *John Griffith* to the Vicarage of *Eaſt Tilbury*, *Eſſex*.

Dr. *Herring* promoted to the See of *Bangor*, vacant by the Death of the late Right Rev. Dr. *Cecil*.

Dr. *Pearce* of St. *Martin*'s in the Fields, ſucceeds his Lordſhip as Dean of *Rocheſter*.

Mr. *Thomas Wilſon*, Son of the Biſhop of *Sodor* and *Man*, made Chaplain in ordinary to the King.

Mr. *Coleman* preſented to the Rectory of *Badſworth*, *Yorkſhire*.

Mr. *Wilkinſon*, Chaplain of the *Savoy*, appointed domeſtic Chaplain to their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales*.

Mr. *James Witherſtone*, preſented to the Vicarage of *Staines*, *Middleſex*, Mr.

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Mr. *John Cookesey*, preſented to the Rectory of St. *George*, *Southwark*.

Mr. *Tipping*, choſen Lecturer of the united Pariſhes of St. *Auſtin* and St. *Faith*, by St. *Paul's*, in the Room of the Rev. Mr. *Kay*, deceas'd.

Mr. *John Ryder*, preſented to the Rectory of *Brinchlow*, *Warwickſhire*.

Mr. *William Cheyne* to the Vicarage of *Wiſton*, *Somerſetſhire*.

Mr. *Edward Lawrence* to the Rectory of *Cayton*, *Lincolnſhire*.

Mr. *Cromer* to the Rectory of *Wymondham*, and alſo to that of *Atwell*, *Norfolk*.

Mr. *Hugh Parnel* to the Rectory of *Kelſhall*, *Hertfordſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

WILLIAM *Popple*, Eſq; appointed Sollicitor and Clerk of the Reports to the Board of Trade.

William Ducket, Eſq; made Captain and Col. of the 2d Troop of Horſe Grenadier Guards, in the Room of the late Brig. Gen. *Berkely*.

Capt. *Ingoldſby* appointed Colonel-Commandant in the firſt Regiment of Foot Guards, inſtead of Col. *Merrick*, preferr'd.

Capt. Lieutenant *Swan* appointed Colonel of a Company in the ſaid Regiment, in the Room of Major *Fuller*, who has reſign'd.

Brig. Gen. *Anſtruther* appointed Governor of *Minorca*, in the Room of the late General *Kane*.

Col. *John Pitt*, Aid de Camp to his Majeſty, appointed Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, lately commanded by the ſaid General *Kane*.

Sir *William Lee* made Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*.

Sir *William Chapple*, Member of Parliament for *Dorcheſter*, made a Puiſne Judge of the ſame Court, in his Room.

His Grace the Duke of *Richmond* elected an elder Brother of the *Trinity-Houſe*.

Sir *John Norris* elected Maſter of the ſame, in the Room of Sir *Charles Wager*, who deſired to be excuſed.

Lord *Delawar* appointed Governor of *New York*.

Earl of *Fitzwalter* made Treaſurer of the Houſhold, in room of Lord *Delawar*. And

Lord *Monſon* made firſt Commiſſioner of Trade in his Lordſhip's room.

Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, made Governor of *Barbadoes*, in the room of the late Ld. *Howe*.

James Oglethorpe, Eſq; appointed General in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces in *South-Carolina* and *Georgia*.

Robert Herbert, Eſq; made a Commiſſioner of Trade, in the room of Sir *Orl. Bridgman*.

Thomas Herbert, Eſq; ſucceeds his ſaid Brother, as a Commiſſioner of the Revenue in *Ireland*.

Lord Viſcount *Boyne* made a Commiſſioner of the ſame Revenue. As alſo *Wm. Glanville*, Eſq;

Giles Earle, Eſq; appointed a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, in the room of Sir *George Oxenden*, Bart.

Charles Frewin, Eſq; is appointed Secretary to the Lunaticks, under the Lord Chancellor.

The following Gentlemen are nominated to vacant Regiments; *viz.*

Col. *Howard*, Col. *Handaſide*, Col. *Bland*, Col. *Cockburn*, Col. *Irwine*, Col. St. *George*, Col. *Onſlow*, and Col. *Blakeny*.

The Earl of *Berkley*, preſented to a Company in the Second Regiment of Foot Guards.

Earl of *Tankerville*, made a Lord of his Majeſty's Bedchamber. And

Ralph Jennifon, Eſq; Maſter of the Buck Hounds in the Earl's room.

Richard Arundell, Eſq; appointed Maſter-Worker of his Majeſty's Mints, in the room of *John Conduit*, Eſq; deceaſed. And

Henry Fox, Eſq; Surveyor General of the Works in Mr. *Arundell's* room.

Thomas Ripley, Eſq; alſo ſucceeds Mr. *Arundell* as Keeper of his Majeſty's private Roads, Gates, and Bridges, *&c.*

James Brudenell, Eſq; appointed Gentleman of the Horſe to the King, in the room of the late Brigadier General *Berkeley*.

Charles Fielding, Eſq; and Colonel *John Mordaunt*, made Equerries to his Majeſty, in the room of the ſaid Brigadier General *Berkeley* and *Philip Loyd*, Eſq; both deceaſed.

Henry Arthur Herbert, Eſq; made Treaſurer to his Royal Highneſs, in room of the late Mr. *Hedges*.

Martin Bladen, *John Drummond*, and *Samuel Tuffnel*, Eſqrs. nominated Commiſſioners to ſettle a new Tariff at *Antwerp*. And *James Cope*, Eſq; made their Secretary.

Duncan Forbes, Eſq; ſucceeds the late Sir *Hugh Dalrymple*, as Reſident of the Seſſions in *Scotland*. And

James Erſkine, Eſq; ſucceeds Mr. *Forbes* as Lord Advocate of *Scotland*.

Robert Dundaſs, Eſq; Member for *Edinburgh* made a Lord of the Seſſions in *Scotland*.

His Grace the Duke of *Montagus* made Colonel of the firſt Troop of Horſe Guards, on the Reſignation of the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*.

The Earl of *Effingham* ſucceeds the late Brigadier *Berkeley*, as Colonel of a Troop of the Horſe Grenadier Guards.

Lord Chief Juſtice *Lee*, and Lord Chief Juſtice *Willes*, choſen Governors of the *Charter-Houſe*, in the Room of Lord Chancellor *Talbot*, and Lord Chief Juſtice *Reeves*, deceas'd.

Counteſs of *Tankerville* made one of the Ladies of her Majeſty's Bedchamber, in the room of the Dutcheſs of *Dorſet*, who has reſign'd.

News

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New Members chosen.

Peregrine Poulet, Esq; for *Bossiney*, *Cornwall*, in the room of *Townshend Andrews*, Esq; deceas'd.

Lee Dummer, Esq; for the Town of *Southampton*, in the room of *John Conduit*, Esq; deceas'd.

Bainton Rolt, Esq; for *Chippenham*, in the room of *Rogers Holland*, Esq; made one of the *Welch* Judges.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN Berry, of *King's-Lynn*, *Norfolk*, Vintner and Chapman.

Wm. Cowley, of *Grace Church-street*, Distiller.

Thomas Lowat, of *Newcastle*, *Staffordshire*, Grocer.

Robert Bell, late of *Great Broughton* in the County of *York*, Weaver.

Jonathan Bridge, of *Stockport*, *Cheshire*, Mercer.

John Duke, of *Bloomsbury*, *Middlesex*, Carpenter.

William Russel, of *Newbury*, *Berks*, Baker.

William Compton, of *Clare-street*, *Westminster*, Victualler.

William Shorter, of *Durham-yard* in the *Strand*, Lighterman and Chapman.

John Earle, of *Liverpool*, *Lancash.* Merchant.

Daniel Cowper the Younger, of *Leadenhall street*, *London*, Upholder.

John Clayton, of *London*, Goldsmith.

Rich. Browne, of *Norwich*, Worsted-Weaver.

Henry Mason, late of *Drury-lane*, Distiller.

Thomas Wraight, of *Brookland*, Grocer and Chapman.

William Carter, late of *New-Bond street*, *Middlesex*, Linen-draper.

Breninck Vanderbeck, late of *London*, Diamond-cutter and Chapman.

John Rankin, of *Epping*, *Essex*, Tanner.

William Winchester, of the Parish of St. *Ann*, *Westminster*, Glasier and Chapman.

Richard Young, of *Thetford*, *Norfolk*, Grocer and Tallow-Chandler.

Mary Johnson, of *Southwark*, Widow, Milliner, and Chapwoman.

Rice Griffith, of the Parish of St. *Clement Danes*, *Middlesex*, Mercer and Chapman.

Henry Oland, of *Old Bethlehem*, Woolcomber and Victualler.

Alexander Graves, of *Little Swan-Alley*, in St. *John-street*, Butcher.

William Crosley, of *Lyme*, in the County of *Dorset*, Mercer and Chapman.

William Gilbert of *Andover* in the County of *Southampton*, Maltster.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. *Sea*	103 ½	*Afric.*	14
—*Bonds*	4 5 a 5	*Royal Aff.*	112 ¼
—*Annu.*	111 ½ a ⅝	*Lon. ditto*	14 ⅞
Bank	147 ¼ a ⅓	3 *per C. An.*	106 ¼ a 7
—*Circ.*	3 2 6 a 5	*Eng. Copper*	
Mil. Bank	121	*Salt Tallies*	1 a 4 ½
India	181 ¼ a 2 a ½	*Emp. Loan*	117 ½ a ¾
—*Bonds*	7 1 6 19 7	*Equiv.*	114

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst.	34 10	*Bilboa*	
D. Sight	34 8	*Legborn*	49 ⅞ a ¼
Rotter.	35	*Genoa*	52 ⅞ a ¼
Hamb.	33 10	*Venice*	49 ½ a ⅝
P. Sight	32 16 a ¼	*Lisb.*	51 6*d* a ⅝
Bourdx.	32 ¼	*Oport.*	51 5*d* ⅝
Cadiz	39 ¼	*Antw.*	35
Madrid	39 ¼	*Dublin*	10 ⅛

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	31 35	*Oates*	11 14
Rye	13 18	*Tares*	22 24
Barley	14 17	*Peafe*	20 24
H. Beans	20 22	*H. Peafe*	16 17
P. Malt	20 22	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *May* 24 to *June* 21.

Christned	Males	614	1210	
	Females	596		
Buried	Males	902	1882	
	Females	980		
Died under 2 Years old				700
Between	2	and 5		209
	5	10		63
	10	20		67
	20	30		153
	30	40		172
	40	50		176
	50	60		126
	60	70		105
	70	80		67
	80	90		35
	90	and upwards		9
				1882

Hay 46 to 50*s.* a Load.

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THE *Chevalier's* eldeſt Son has lately made a Progreſs through *Italy*, incognito, under the Name of the Count of *Albany*, accompanied by his Governor, and ſeveral other Attendants. In this Progreſs he paſſed thro' *Parma*, *Bologna*, *Ancona*, *Genoa* *Milan*, and *Venice*; at all which Places he met with a courteous Reception, but all in a private Manner; and at the laſt mentioned Place, he met with the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Bavaria*, who are likewiſe travelling incog. under the Pretence of going to pay their Devotions at the famous Church of *Loretto*; tho' 'tis probable his electoral Highneſs's ſpiritual Views may have ſome Mixture of the Temporal; for we may remember the famous Alliance between the *Emperor*, *Bavaria*, and *Savoy*, in the Year 1689, was concluded at *Venice*, when the late Duke of *Bavaria*, and the late Duke of *Savoy* met there, both under pretence of ſeeing the Diverſions of the Carnaval.

The Queen of *Spain* has not yet laid aſide her Views of getting *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, for her ſecond Son *Don Philip*, but what thoſe Views are, we are at a Loſs to determine; for ſome little Time ſince, we were told ſhe was in a Treaty for making a Sort of Purchaſe of them from the *Emperor* and the Duke of *Lorain*; but if our late Advices be true, her Views are not of ſuch a peaceable Nature; for we are now told that a great Armament is fitting out at *Barcelona*, deſigned for *Tuſcany*; and what is moſt extraordinary, that it is to be joined by a ſtrong Squadron, with Troops on board from *Great Britain*; ſo that before the End of next *Auguſt* we ſhall ſee a great Change in the preſent Syſtem of the Affairs of *Europe*. To this if we add our laſt Advices from *Italy*, That a Body of 600 *French* are arrived at *Fenoſtrelles*, on the Frontiers of *Savoy*, which is to be followed by another Body much more conſiderable: That the King of *Sardinia* is aſſembling his Troops; and that the *Emperor* has countermanded the March of ſome Regiments from *Italy* to *Hungary*, we muſt conclude that the Affairs of *Europe* ſeem at preſent to be in a very myſterious Sort of Situation.

On the 2d of this Month, M. *Chauvelin*, late Keeper of the Seals in *France*, received his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty's Letter de Cachet, by which his Majeſty baniſhed him to *Bourges* in *Berry*, and ordered him to ſet out for that Place in four Days at furtheſt. The Cauſe of this Baniſhment is ſaid to be thus. That fallen Miniſter, 'tis ſaid, had ſet the Houſe of *Conde* to work, to prevail upon the King to go a Hunting and dine at St. *Maur*, when it was deſigned that M. *Chauvelin* ſhould meet his Majeſty upon the Road, and throw himſelf upon his Knees, to beg Pardon for all the Offences he had committed; and then to take an Opportunity to preſent a private Memorial, which he had ready drawn up, and by which he hoped to reconcile himſelf ſo to his Majeſty, as to procure his being replaced in his former Poſt: But this Intrigue was diſcovered by the Vigilance of the Duke *de Villeroy*; upon which the Cardinal went preſently to the King and got him to ſign the Order for his Baniſhment to *Bourges*, not without Difficulty; for it is ſaid that when the Cardinal firſt preſented it, his Majeſty ſaid, *Chauvelin* was well enough where he was; but upon being preſſed, he could not refuſe his Eminence's Demand: Nay, 'tis even ſaid that when *Chauvelin* arrives at *Bourges*, he will there meet with another Order for confining him to the Caſtle of *Pierre Enciſe* near *Lyons*; from whence we may ſee how unlucky it is to be the Servant or Subject of a King who obſerves not the antient Maxim, *Audi alteram Partem*.

On the 12th of this Month, N. S. the States of *Courland* unanimouſly elected for their Duke the *Count de Biron*, Great Chamberlain to the *Czarina* of *Muſcovy*; from whence we may judge who had the greateſt Influence in this Election; and the Unanimity of the States upon this Occaſion was certainly very much owing to a Body of 4000 *Muſcovite* Troops, who had a little before entered that Dutchy, purely to ſupport the Freedom of that Election; for there is no one Thing can be thought ſo effectual againſt Faction and Diviſion at Elections of all Kinds as a good Body of regular Troops, under the Command of any one of the Candidates.

The *Emperor* having appointed the Duke of *Lorain* Generaliſſimo of his Army in *Hungary*, that Prince, accompanied by his Brother Prince *Charles*, ſet out on the 10th Inſtant, N. S. for *Hungary*; but no Declaration of War has as yet been made by the *Emperor* againſt the *Turks*, nor has the *Muſcovite* Army as yet entered upon Action; from whence it may be preſumed that the Affairs of *Europe* are not in ſuch a ſettled Condition as were to be wiſhed; for it is not to be ſuppoſed that either the Imperialiſts or *Muſcovites* would triſle away ſo great a Part of the Campaign, in Expectation of a Treaty of Peace, if they were aſſured of having no Enemy to deal with but the *Ottoman*.

The Dean and Chapter of *Delmont* having choſen Baron *John Baptiſt de Reynach* Biſhop of *Baſle*, that Gentleman deſired a few Days to conſider if he ſhould accept of the Dignity offered, and has ſince abſolutely refuſed to accept; an Inſtance of Self-Denial the like of which has not been for ſome Time paſt heard of in *Europe*.

The

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JULY, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT, *continued from Page* 300

MOTION *for a Settlement on the Prince of* WALES.

AS the Affair relating to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* was the moſt conſiderable of any that happened during laſt Seſſion, and as it has no Connexion with any of the other Proceedings, we ſhall give an Abſtract of the Debate upon that Subject, before we begin to give a regular Account of the other Proceedings of laſt Seſſion. This Affair was moved in the H—ſe of C——ns by *W—m P——y*, Eſq; and ſeconded by Sir *J—n B——d*, on Tueſday the 22d of *February* laſt; and on Friday the 25th, the ſame Motion was made in the H—ſe of L——ds by the L—d *C——t*. (See p. 281.) As the Arguments made uſe of in both Houſes were neceſſarily pretty much the ſame, we ſhall give an Abſtract of the Debate in both Houſes by way of Argument, Anſwer, and Reply. The Argument for the Motion was to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

ARGUMENT *for the* MOTION.

Sir, I have a Matter of the higheſt Importance to lay before you, a Matter which chiefly concerns one of the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious Perſons in the Kingdom; but as the Well-being of the Nation depends upon his Welfare and Happineſs, therefore I may juſtly ſay, the whole Nation is deeply concerned in the Affair I am now to take the Liberty of laying before you; and as our Parliament is his Majeſty's firſt and chief Council, there can be no Queſtion of a Nature too high for our Conſideration, for which Reaſon every Gentleman who has the Honour to be a Member of either Houſe of Parliament, has not only a Right, but is in Duty bound to lay before the Houſe whatever he thinks may affect the Happineſs or the Honour of his Country. The Affair I am now going to propoſe for your Conſideration, is, indeed, an Affair of ſo high a Nature, that I ſhould not of my own Head have taken upon me to have mentioned it to you; but I have communicated my Sentiments to ſeveral Perſons of the greateſt Rank and beſt Families in the King-

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dom, Perſons with whom I ſhould chuſe to live, with whom I ſhould chuſe to die, and all of them, I find, are of the ſame Sentiments with me: They are all of Opinion, it is an Affair which ought to be laid before Parliament, therefore I ſhall take upon me to mention it to you, and to make you a Motion which I hope will be unanimouſly agreed to.

The Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament aſſembled, have not only an undoubted Right to make ſuch Grants as they think are neceſſary for the Honour and Welfare of the Nation, and to appropriate thoſe Grants to the Uſes for which they intend them, but likewiſe, Sir, they have a Right to follow thoſe Grants, to examine into the Application of them, and to puniſh thoſe who ſhall be found to have miſapplied them. Nay farther, they may annex to their Grants ſuch Conditions as they think proper, and if thoſe Conditions ſhould not be performed, or if the Occaſions for which the Grants were made ſhould ceaſe, they may reſume them, or may direct their being applied to Uſes of a quite different Nature. This, I ſay, is the undoubted Right of the Commons of *Great Britain*; and therefore, if any Money formerly granted by Parliament has not been applied, or has not been properly applied, to the Uſe for which it was intended by Parliament, we have not only a Right, but it is our Duty to examine into it, and to direct that for the future, it may duly, and in the moſt proper Manner, be applied to that Uſe for which it was granted.

After having thus mentioned to you, Sir, one of the moſt undoubted Rights of Parliament, I ſhall next take Notice that by an antient and a moſt reaſonable Maxim in our Conſtitution, the Prince of *Wales*, the eldeſt Son of the King and Heir Apparent to the Crown, ought to be made as Free and Independent as any other Subject whatever; and for that Purpoſe he ought not only to have a Proviſion ſufficient for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur of his high Birth, but that Proviſion ought to be ſettled upon him in ſuch a Manner as to put it out of the Power of any Perſon to diſappoint him of it: Not only his Title to it ought to be made as firm and irrevocable, as any other private Title in the Kingdom can be, but he ought, at leaſt as ſoon as he comes to be of the Age of *Fourteen*, to be put into the actual and immediate Poſſeſſion. This has always been held as an eſtabliſhed Maxim in this Kingdom, and we find our Parliaments have often interpoſed, and have taken upon them to enforce the Obſervance of this Maxim. Upon his late Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, the Parliament was then ſo ſenſible of the Utility and Reaſonableneſs of this Maxim, that they granted a very large Addition to the *Civil Liſt Revenue*, in order that an honourable and a ſufficient Proviſion might be ſettled upon his preſent Majeſty who then was Prince of *Wales*; and it having been found during his late Majeſty's Reign, that the *Civil Liſt Revenue* particularly appropriated for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown was too ſmall, therefore a very large new Addition was granted by the firſt Parliament of his preſent Majeſty's Reign, in order that he might be enabled to continue the ſame Proviſion for the preſent Prince of *Wales*, which he himſelf had enjoyed in the Life-Time of his Father; from all which I muſt conclude that the Motion I am to make, for having a ſufficient Proviſion ſettled upon his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, is a Motion founded upon Law, upon Equity, upon Wiſdom and good Policy, and upon Precedent.

But before I make my Motion, give me leave, Sir, to inquire particularly into theſe ſeveral Foundations;

tions; and to begin with the laſt, I ſhall ſhew from many undoubted Authorities, that the Prince of *Wales* has always had, and ought to have a ſufficient Proviſion ſettled upon him, in ſuch a Manner as to render him as independent of the Crown, as any other Subject can be. To recount all the Precedents that occur in our Hiſtories and Records, would take up too much of your Time, and therefore I ſhall take Notice only of ſome of the moſt remarkable. King *Henry* III. granted to his eldeſt Son *Edward*, afterwards King *Edward* I. the Dutchy of *Guienne*, before he was *fourteen* Years of Age, and the Moment the *Prince* was married, he not only confirmed his former Grant by a new Patent, but likewiſe granted him, and put him in Poſſeſſion of the Earldom of *Cheſter*, the Cities and Towns of *Briſtol*, *Stamford*, and *Grantham*, with ſeveral other Caſtles and Manors, created him *Prince of Wales*, to which he annexed all the conquered Lands in that Principality, and appointed him Lieutenant Governor of *Ireland*, tho' he was then but juſt turned of *fourteen*; all which was done, as the Hiſtorians expreſs it, *ut maturius ad res graviores gerendas expertus redderetur*. By this Generoſity and Benevolence of the King towards his eldeſt Son, that *Prince* was early in his Youth eſtabliſh'd in a State of Independency and Grandeur, and thoſe paternal Favours were afterwards fully repaid by that illuſtrious and moſt heroick *Prince*; for he afterwards proved his Father's chief and only Support. Every one knows how by his Courage and Conduct at the Battle of *Eveſham* he relieved his Father out of the Hands of his Enemies, and reſtored his Affairs after they were brought into a moſt deſperate State. Nay, not only the King himſelf, but the whole Nation reaped ſignal Benefit from the free and independent Circumſtances in which that King had ſo early placed his eldeſt Son. A State of Independency naturally ennobles and exalts the Mind of Man; and the Effects of it were moſt conſpicuous in this wiſe and brave *Prince*, for he afterwards became the Glory of *England* and the Terror of *Europe*.

The next Precedent I ſhall take Notice of is, That of *Edward the black Prince*, upon whom *Edward* III. his Father, ſettled at different Times the Earldom of *Cheſter*, the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, the Principality of *Wales*, the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and the Principality of *Aquitain*. That wiſe and great King, Sir, was ſo ſenſible of the Reaſonableneſs of the antient Maxim of *England*, with regard to the King's eldeſt Son, that he took Care every future *Prince of Wales* ſhould have ſomething to depend on, independent of his Father, from the very Moment of his Birth; for which Purpoſe he ſettled by Act of Parliament the Dutchy of *Cornwall* in ſuch a Manner, that the King's eldeſt Son, and Heir apparent of the Crown, has ever ſince been Duke of *Cornwall* as ſoon as born, and without any new Grant from the King, from whence has riſen the common Proverb, *Natus eſt, non datus dux Cornubiæ*. Some of the later Grants of that King might, indeed, proceed from the great perſonal Merit of the Son; but the firſt Grants could not proceed from any ſuch Conſideration; they could proceed only from his own Wiſdom, and from the general Maxim I have mentioned; for the *Prince* was not *three* Years old when his Father ſettled upon him by Patent the Earldom of *Cheſter*, he was but *ſeven* Years old when *Cornwall* was erected into a Dutchy and ſettled upon him by Act of Parliament as before mentioned, and he was but *thirteen* when the Principality of *Wales* was ſettled upon him. Soon after that Time indeed, his perſonal Merit began to appear; but

how came it to appear? Its early Appearance did proceed, and could only proceed from his Father's having put him so early into an independent Situation, and from his having imployed him in, and inured him to the Study of weighty Affairs, at an Age when most *Princes* are industriously taught to think of nothing but Baubles and Toys.

The same Conduct, Sir, that wise King observed during that brave *Prince*'s Life: He was continually heaping Favours upon the *Prince* his Son, and the *Prince* was continually repaying them with glorious Acts of Gratitude and filial Duty. When he was but *seventeen*, he fully repaid all former Favours by having the chief Share in the Victory obtained over the *French* at the famous Battle of *Creſſy*. In the 24th or 25th Year of this *Prince*'s Age, the King invested him with the Dutchy of *Guienne*, which new Favour he soon after repaid by sending the *King of France* home Prisoner to his Father, after having defeated and taken him at the memorable Battle of *Poictiers*. And in the *two and thirtieth* Year of that *Prince*'s Age, a great Part of *France* having been conquered and subdued by his Valour, the King his Father erected *Guienne*, *Gascony*, and several other Provinces of *France*, into a Principality under the Name of the Principality of *Aquitain*, with which he invested the *Prince* his Son: This new Favour likewise the *Prince* soon repaid by carrying the Glory of the *Engliſh* Arms into *Spain*, and replacing *Peter* upon the Throne of *Caſtile*, after having defeated the Usurper *Henry* at the Battle of *Nejara* in that Kingdom; for all which glorious Victories, and many other great Services done to his native Country, the Nation was so grateful to his Memory, that immediately after his Death, or at least so soon as their Grief for the Loss of so brave a *Prince* would give them Leave, the *House of Commons* addressed the King to create his Son *Prince of Wales* and Duke of *Cornwall*, which that wise King immediately agreed to; for his Grandson being then Heir Apparent to the Crown, he became intitled by the Maxim I have mentioned to an independent Settlement; but as he was not the King's eldest Son, he had no Pretence from any former Precedent to the Principality of *Wales*, and his Right by the late Act to the Dutchy of *Cornwall* was thought to be doubtful by the Lawyers of that Age, the Lawyers being then, it seems, as dextrous at starting Doubts and Scruples as the Lawyers of the Age we now live in.

Give me leave, Sir, to mention one other Precedent, That of Prince *Henry*, afterwards the glorious King *Henry* V. whom his Father *Henry* IV. in the very first Year of his Reign, created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, tho' the Prince was then but twelve Years of Age; all which Grants were recorded upon the Parliament's Request, in order to prevent any Possibility of a Revocation; and tho' that King was naturally of a jealous and suspicious Temper, yet, we find, during his whole Reign, he was every now and then making new Grants to the Prince his Son, even tho' he was sometimes maliciously made believe, the Prince was conspiring against him. This Prince, 'tis true, fell into some Excesses incident to Youth and Idleness, but from the first Part of his Life, and from his Conduct after he became King, we may judge that those Excesses were rather owing to his Father's Jealousy than to his own natural Temper, for when he was but about sixteen, he by his Valour contributed greatly to his Father's Victory over the Rebels at *Shrewsbury*, and the very next Year, having been entrusted with the Command of his Father's Army against the Rebels in *Wales*,

Wales, by his Conduct and Courage, he gave them two signal Defeats, by which he gained so much Esteem that the King his Father, from his own natural and unhappy Temper, and not from any undutiful Behaviour in his Son, began to grow jealous of him, and therefore never afterwards employed him in any publick Affairs; so that the Excesses he fell into probably proceeded from the Idleness of his Life, and the Activity of his Genius, or perhaps rather from a Design of removing from his Father all future Occasions of Jealousy. This, indeed, seems to be confirmed, or at least rendered the most probable Conjecture, by his Conduct after he became King; for immediately upon his Accession, he banished from his Presence all the Companions and sycophant Upholders of his former Debauches, and became one of the greatest, and one of the most glorious Kings, that ever sat upon the *English* Throne.

But, Sir, 'tis quite unnecessary to mention particularly all the Examples that could be brought, of the great and irrevocable Provisions that have been made for the eldest Sons of our Kings. We have not, 'tis true, had many Princes that have come to Man's Estate in the Life-time of their Fathers; but every one of them that has done so, has had an independent Settlement made upon him long before he was of Age. Nay even the presumptive Heirs of the Crown have always had an independent Settlement made upon them, generally as soon as they began to be the presumptive Heirs of the Crown: For Proof of this I need bring no other Example but that of the late King *James* II. when Duke of *York*, and that of the late Queen *Anne*, when Princess of *Denmark*; for the Duke of *York* had a great Settlement made upon him by Parliament, soon after the Restoration, tho' he was but presumptive Heir of the Crown; his Brother King *Charles* being then in a Capacity of having Children, who would have given him a more effectual Exclusion than could ever be attained by Parliament, till his own ridiculous Measures put it in their Power; and the late Queen *Anne*, when Princess of *Denmark*, had likewise a great Settlement made upon her by Authority of Parliament, tho' King *William* and Queen *Mary* were both then alive, and in a Capacity of having Children; so that the Princess *Anne*, when that Settlement was made, was but the presumptive Heir of the Crown,

From these Precedents it appears, Sir, that the Maxim of having an independent Provision settled upon the Apparent or Presumptive Heir of the Crown, is a Maxim which has always been observed in this Nation; and that the Parliament may interpose for that Purpose, I shall likewise shew from several Precedents. I have already mentioned to you the Address of the House of Commons in favour of *Edward* the black Prince's eldest Son, therefore I shall proceed to mention some others of a later Date. In the first Year of King *Henry* IV. the Lords and Commons, upon proper Motions for that Purpose, desired of the King that his eldest Son, Prince *Henry*, might be created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Chester*; and in the same Parliament the Commons petitioned the King that the Charter of the said Principality and Earldom, and an Act of the said Creation, might be enrolled and entered upon Record, as an Article agreed upon by Parliament; both which that King immediately complied with; for as he had been called in by the People, and raised to the Throne by the Parliament, he had so just a Sense of the Obligations he lay under both to his People and Parliament, as not to refuse any just Request they could make. In the

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Reign of *Henry* VI. the Parliament not only took Care to have the Principality of *Wales* settled upon Prince *Edward*, eldest Son of the King; but likewise declared and ascertained the particular Sums that were to be allowed for his Table, till he came to be of the Age of Fourteen, when he was to be put in Possession of the whole Revenues of the Principality of *Wales*, Dutchy of *Cornwall*, and County *Palatine* of *Chester*. And but lately, in the Beginning of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, the House of Commons resolved to address their Majesties to make a Settlement on the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, who was then but presumptive Heir of the Crown; which Resolution does not, 'tis true, seem to have been very agreeable to the Court, with Regard to the Sum at first proposed, but the Right the Parliament had to present such an Address was so far from being controverted, that after the Dispute about the Sum was settled, even the Courtiers themselves joined, the next Session, in the Resolution for that Purpose; which plainly evinces the Power and the Duty of Parliament, with respect to their addressing for having a sufficient Provision settled independently upon the Heir Apparent or Presumptive of the Crown, and consequently will from Precedent justify the Motion I am to make.

Now, Sir, with respect to Wisdom and good Policy, That of having the Heir Apparent to the Crown bred up in a State of Grandeur and Independency, is certainly a Maxim of great Use in all Countries, but in a free Country it is absolutely necessary. A free and generous Education tends greatly to open the Mind, to endow it with noble and right Sentiments, and to shut out all mean, narrow, and selfish Views, therefore it is the only proper Education for one who is by his Birth to have the chief Rule over any People; but for one who is to have the chief Rule over a free People, such an Education becomes absolutely necessary; for, besides the Advantages already mentioned, a Prince who has lived in a State of Freedom and Independency before he begins his Reign, thereby learns how to be a dutiful and obedient Subject without being an abject Slave, and by tasting in his Youth the Sweets of such a delicious State, he comes to know the true Value of it, from whence he must necessarily conclude his Subjects will not easily part with it, and therefore, when he comes to mount the Throne, he not only knows how to exact a dutiful Obedience without expecting a slavish Submission, but he will in common Prudence content himself with the former, because he knows he cannot without great Danger aim at the latter. Such a Prince will always be sure of being well served, because he can with Patience receive an honest and a free Advice from his Ministers and Favourites, he will not take it ill to be even controlled by his Council or his Parliament; whereas a *Prince* educated in Slavery, and advanced to Power, being unacquainted with any Sort of Submission but that he has himself been bred to, is apt to look upon every honest Freedom as a Mark of Disrespect or Disobedience, and as he cannot bear Sincerity, he may expect never to meet with it from any of his pretended Friends or Favourites. Thus it appears to be requisite both for the Honour and Prosperity of the *Prince* who is to reign, and for the Ease and Happiness of the People over whom he is to reign, that he should be bred up in a State of Freedom and Independency.

But farther, Sir, even with Regard to the King upon the Throne, especially in this Nation, the Grandeur and Independency of his Heir Apparent must be of great Service to him.

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The Affection and Eſteem which the Heir Apparent acquires among the People, is ſo far from being a Diſadvantage to the King, that it muſt always be, and has always been reckoned one of the moſt ſolid Supports of the Crown. The great and the wiſe King *Edward* III. was ſo far from being jealous of any Glory or Eſteem the *Prince* his Son might acquire, that at the famous Battle of *Creſſy*, he gave his Son the chief Command of that Part of his Army which was to attack the Enemy, in order that he might have the ſole Glory of the Victory, reſerving to himſelf only the Command of a great Body of Reſerve in Caſe of Accidents; and when Word was brought him that his Son was in great Danger and hardly preſſed by the Enemy, his Anſwer was, *I know my Boy has Courage, let him but puſh the Enemy, he will certainly conquer: I am loth to rob him of any Share of that Glory I ſee he is in a fair Way of obtaining.* Such were that King's great Sentiments; and in the Charter of *Henry* VI. to his Son *Edward*, it is expreſsly declared, that by giving due Honours to the Prince, the Throne was eſtabliſhed, and the Royal Scepter exalted; and that therefore, by granting the Principality of *Wales* and County Palatine of *Cheſter* to his Son, he conſulted his own Honour, the Security of the Royal Family, and the Good of his People, rather than the *Prince*'s Honour. From the Behaviour of all our Kings towards their eldeſt Sons, we may judge their Sentiments have been the ſame: They have all been of Opinion, that their eldeſt Sons ought to live in Grandeur, and that the more Honour and Eſteem they acquired, the more they added to the Security of the Throne; but how can a *Prince* live in Grandeur who has nothing of his own, or not a Sufficiency, to ſubſiſt on? How can a *Prince* who is in a continual State of Dependency, a continual State of Slavery, acquire Eſteem from thoſe who are themſelves free and independent? The very ſubmitting tamely to live in ſuch a State, muſt derogate from his Honour, and render him deſpicable in the Eyes of a brave and a free People, which the People of this Nation will, I hope, for ever continue to be.

Suppoſe then, Sir, there were no Precedent for having a ſufficient and an independent Proviſion ſettled upon the *Prince* of *Wales*, ſuppoſe there were no Example of the Parliament's having ever interpoſed for that Purpoſe; yet if true Wiſdom and good Policy require that it ſhould be done, if the making of ſuch a Settlement can contribute to the Honour of the King, to the Security of the Royal Family, and to the Happineſs of the People, it is a Thing that ought to be done, and if it ſhould be unneceſſarily delay'd, has not the Parliament a Right, are we not in Honour, in Duty, bound to interpoſe, and to adviſe or petition our Sovereign that it may be done as ſoon as poſſible? But when we conſider the conſtant Courſe of Proceeding in this Particular, when we ſee how often the Parliament has interpoſed, even when this Proviſion was not to be made out of any Grants from the People, but out of the King's own Eſtate, out of the Lands and Revenues properly belonging to the Crown, can we balance a Moment about our Right, can we in Duty to our King, or to that moſt illuſtrious and moſt deſerving *Prince* his eldeſt Son, delay requeſting that to be done which ought to have been done long before this Time? eſpecially now, Sir, that no Part of that Proviſion is to come out of the Lands or Revenues properly belonging to the Crown, but is wholly to be taken from a very liberal Grant long ſince made by the People to the Crown, and which has been of late greatly increaſed with this very View, that an honourable

rable and a ſufficient Settlement might be made upon his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, as ſoon as the ſame ſhould become neceſſary.

This, Sir, of courſe leads me to conſider the Nature of that Parliamentary Grant, now called the *Civil Liſt Revenue*, from which 'twill appear that what I am now going to propoſe, is founded both upon Law and Equity. In antient Times the Eſtates and Revenues properly belonging to the Crown, were ſufficient for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown and Royal Family; the People were charged with no Taxes for that Purpoſe, except a ſmall Cuſtom upon the Importation and Exportation of Goods and Merchandize: No Grant, no Aid was ever deſired from them, but when ſome extraordinary Expence became neceſſary, for defending the Nation againſt Pyrates or threatned Invaſions, or for vindicating and ſupporting its Honour in ſome Affair of great Conſequence and of an extraordinary Nature; but by the profuſe Liberalities of ſome of our former Kings, and by other Accidents, the proper Eſtate and Revenue of the Crown came at laſt to be ſo much diminiſhed, that it was not near ſufficient for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown and Royal Family; and therefore at the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. the dangerous Tax called *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and the more dangerous Tax called *Exciſe*, were eſtabliſhed, and granted to that King for his Life; and at the ſame Time an additional *Exciſe* was eſtabliſhed, in lieu of the *Wards* and *Liveries* which were then aboliſhed, and ſettled upon that King and his Heirs and Succeſſors forever; which Taxes were deſigned partly for what is now called the *Civil Liſt*, and the Reſidue for what we now call the Current Service. Several other Taxes were eſtabliſhed in that and the following Reign, and intended for the ſame Purpoſes, without diſtinguiſhing or ſpecifying any particular Uſes; but it having been found that the Money granted by Parliament was often applied to Purpoſes very different from thoſe intended by Parliament, therefore, after the happy Revolution, which put us in a Condition of rectifying ſome former Errors, and removing ſome of our former Grievances, the Cuſtom of appropriating each reſpective Grant to its proper Uſe, was introduced and eſtabliſhed; and from that Time the Revenues granted to the Crown by Parliament came to be diſtinguiſhed into the Civil Liſt Revenue, and the Current Service Revenue; the former being that which was granted and appropriated by Parliament for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and providing for the Royal Family; and the latter, that which was granted and appropriated by Parliament for maintaining our Fleets and Armies, or providing for any other extraordinary publick Services.

In order therefore to determine what Branches of the publick Charge were deſigned by Parliament, and ought in Law and Equity, to be defrayed out of thoſe Grants appropriated to the Civil Liſt, we muſt examine, Sir, what Uſes that Revenue was applied to, immediately after its being firſt diſtinctly eſtabliſhed, which was in the Reign of the late King *William*; and we find that, during his whole Reign, the Proviſion appointed for the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* was always charged upon, and paid out of his Civil Liſt Revenue. Then again upon his late Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, the Parliament granted and appropriated to the Civil Liſt, the ſame Taxes and Revenues, which had been granted and appropriated to the Civil Liſt, during the Reign of his Predeceſſor Queen *Anne*; but his late Majeſty, in his firſt Speech to his Par-

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Parliament, took Notice, *That the Branches of the Revenue formerly granted for the Support of the civil Government, were so far incumbered and alienated, that the Produce of the Funds which remained, and had been granted to him would fall much short of what was at first designed for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown.* To which he added, *That since it was his Happiness to see a* Prince *of* Wales, *who might in due Time succeed him on the Throne, and to see that* Prince *blessed with many Children, the best and most valuable Pledges for his Care and Concern for our Posterity; That must occasion an Expence to which the Nation had not of many Years been accustomed, but such as surely no Man would grudge.* Do not these Words shew that his late Majesty was of Opinion, the Civil List Revenue was unquestionably to be charged with making an honourable Provision for the *Prince of Wales?* And is it not as apparent that the Addition granted to the Civil List by Parliament, in Consequence of that Speech, was granted with an Intention, that such a Settlement should be granted out of that Revenue to the *Prince of Wales* as should be sufficient for supporting the Dignity of his high Birth, and the Honour of the Crown of *Great Britain*, to which he was Heir Apparent? 'Tis plain his late Majesty meant so, and took the Intention of Parliament to be so; for within *ten Days* after that Law passed, he notified to his Parliament, that he had ordered Letters Patent for 100,000*l.* a Year to his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales* out of the Civil List Revenue; and the same Session an Act passed for freeing the 100,000*l.* so granted by his Majesty to the *Prince of Wales* from Payment of any Fees or Taxes, and for impowering the Commissioners of Excise and Customs to pay directly to the *Prince*, or his Treasurer, the Produce of such Branches of the Civil List Revenue, as his Majesty should appoint for answering that Settlement; by which his *Royal Highness* was rendered so absolutely independent of the Crown, with respect to his own proper Revenue, that he was not so much as obliged to apply to his Majesty's Exchequer for the Payment of it: His Revenue could not run in Arrear, even his Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer could not put him off with that common Excuse for not answering a just Demand, that there was no Money in the Exchequer: And I cannot omit taking Notice, that at the very same Time, in the very same Session, there was also another Act passed, for enabling his Majesty to grant to him the Principality of *Wales*, and County Palatine of *Chester*, which were immediately after granted to him accordingly.

But now, Sir, to come to his present Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, and that Parliament which established the large Civil List now settled upon the Crown. During his late Majesty's Reign, by Reason of some very extraordinary and uncommon Disbursements, it had been found, that a Civil List Revenue even of 700,000*l.* a Year, as it had been managed, was not sufficient to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and to pay 100,000*l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; for which Reason several additional Sums had been granted in that Reign to the Civil List, amounting in the Whole to 1,300,000*l.* which made the Civil List during that Reign amount, at an Average, to 800,000*l.* a Year; therefore his present Majesty, in his first Speech from the Throne, told his Parliament, *he was perswaded that the Experience of past Times would prevail upon them to shew a due Regard to the Honour and Dignity of the Crown*; which the Parliament, without examining into the

Reasons of that past Experience, immediately complied with, and settled upon his present Majesty for his Life, what the *Experience of past Times* had shewn to be necessary, and what had actually been given to, tho' not settled upon his Father, with this remarkable Improvement, that, if the Taxes appropriated for that Purpose produced more, the Surplus should belong to his Majesty, but if they produced less than 800,000*l.* a Year, the Deficiency should be made good by Parliament; which new Improvement seems to have had great Influence upon some of our Measures since that Time; for it seems to have made us endeavour, as much as possible, to increase the Produce of those Taxes in which the Civil List has the greatest Share. Now I would gladly know, what his present Majesty meant, or what the Parliament meant by the *Experience of past Times*, which was the only Ground for the Resolution they came to with respect to the Civil List: Surely they both meant that an honourable and a sufficient Provision for the *Prince of Wales* should be chargeable upon the Civil List Revenue, and upon that only; for the *Experience of past Times* had shewn that 700,000*l.* a Year was not sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and for allowing 100,000*l.* a Year for the *Prince of Wales*; but the same Experience had shewn that 800,000*l. per Annum* was sufficient both for the one, and for the other; and therefore by proceeding upon the *Experience of past Times*, and upon that only, and from thence settling 800,000*l.* a Year for his present Majesty's Civil List, both his Majesty and his Parliament must then certainly have meant, that out of that Revenue a sufficient Provision should be settled upon his *Royal Highness*, as soon as his future Circumstances should require such a Settlement to be made: From all which I must conclude, that the Motion I am to make for this Purpose is a Motion founded both upon Law and Equity.

I think, Sir, I have now shewn that according to Law, according to Equity and Conscience, according to Wisdom and good Policy, and according to Precedent, his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales* ought to have a Provision settled upon him, sufficient for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of his high Birth; and that the Parliament not only has a Right, but ought to interpose, and advise his Majesty to do that which in Law, in Equity, in Wisdom, and according to Precedent, ought to be done. The next two Questions that will naturally occur in this Affair, are, when that Settlement ought to be made? And what may be thought a sufficient Settlement? As to the Time when it ought to be made: It ought certainly to have been made long before now. The Mind of every Man is formed early in his Youth. Those Notions and Sentiments which are early imbibed, take deep Root, and are seldom or never shaken off. If then an independent State can any Way contribute to the Improvement of a Prince's Mind, the more early he is put into such a State, the better. According to this has the constant Practice in this Kingdom always been: *King Henry* III. made a Settlement upon his eldest Son *Edward*, afterwards *King Edward* I. before he was *Fourteen*. *Edward* III. made a Settlement upon his eldest Son, *Edward the black Prince*, before he was *three* Years of Age; and within *a few Months* after the Death of that Prince, the Commons addressed the King to make a Settlement upon that Prince's eldest Son, who by his Father's Death was become Heir Apparent to the Crown. The *Post-Office* and *Wine-Licence* Revenues were settled by Parliament upon the *Duke of York*, who was but Presumptive Heir of

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the Crown, within *three* Years after his Brother *King Charles* IId's Reſtoration. A Settlement was made upon the *Princeſs Anne of Denmark*, who was likewiſe but Preſumptive Heir of the Crown, in Purſuance of an Addreſs for that Purpoſe from the Houſe of Commons, the very *firſt* Year, or the Beginning of the ſecond Year of the Reign of *King William and Queen Mary*. And his late Majeſty ordered Letters Patent for making a Settlement upon the *preſent King*, then *Prince of Wales*, within *ten Days* after the Parliament had granted him a Fund for that Purpoſe. In ſhort, Sir, look over all our Hiſtories, examine all former Precedents, I believe no Example can be found, where the Making of ſuch a Settlement has been ſo long delayed, as in the preſent Reign: What may be the Reaſon I ſhall not pretend to determine; but I am ſure there never was a *Prince of Wales* who better deſerved it, nor a Crown Revenue that could better ſpare it. It ought, in my Opinion, to have been done as ſoon as his *Royal Highneſs* arrived in *England*, eſpecially as he was then of full Age, and, as every one that has the Honour and Happineſs to know him muſt grant, extremely capable to govern his own Affairs; and ſince it is not yet done, it is high Time for us to uſe the ſame Liberty former Parliaments have often taken, it is high Time for us to deſire that it may be done.

Now, Sir, with Regard to what may be deemed a ſufficient Settlement for his *Royal Highneſs*, I think there cannot properly be any Queſtion about it, becauſe it ſeems to have been determined by that Parliament which eſtabliſhed the Civil Liſt in the late King's Reign, and alſo by that Parliament which eſtabliſhed, and from the *Experience of paſt Times* increaſed the preſent Civil Liſt Revenue. Both were certainly of Opinion, and the latter have, I think, very expreſly determined, that his *Royal Highneſs the preſent Prince of Wales* was, and ought to have, at leaſt 100,000*l.* a Year ſettled upon him, out of the large Civil Liſt they then granted; for what elſe could they mean by ſettling a Civil Liſt Revenue of 800,000*l.* a Year? The *Experience of paſt Times*, which, as I have ſaid, was then the only Ground for increaſing that Revenue, had ſhewn that 700,000*l.* a Year was ſufficient for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, without including what was to be allowed the *Prince of Wales*; and therefore by their adding to that yearly Sum, 100,000*l.* a Year more, and granting a Civil Liſt Revenue of 800,000*l.* a Year at leaſt, it muſt be ſuppoſed they meant and intended that the 100,000*l.* they had ſo added to the Civil Liſt Revenue, more than what the *Experience of paſt Times* had ſhewn to be ſufficient for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, ſhould be ſettled upon the preſent *Prince of Wales*, beſides the Principality of *Wales*, Dutchy of *Cornwall*, and County *Palatine* of *Cheſter*, in the ſame Manner as it had been ſettled upon the preſent King, while he was *Prince of Wales*: And indeed from the very Nature of the Thing we are to judge ſo; for what Reaſon could they then think of, or what Reaſon can now be aſſigned, why the *preſent Prince of Wales* ſhould live in leſs Grandeur than his Father did whilſt he was *Prince of Wales*, or why the ſame Grandeur might be ſupported at a leſs Expence than had been before neceſſary? I can think of no Reaſon but one, which is, That the Nation is not now ſo rich as it was formerly: This, indeed, may at laſt come to be a good Reaſon for diminiſhing the Allowance or Settlement for the *Prince of Wales*, and it is a Reaſon for which, I am ſorry to ſay it, I think there is too good a Foundation; but then

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it is a Reaſon for diminiſhing every other Article of the publick Expence, eſpecially that belonging to the Civil Liſt; and I am far from thinking the Proviſion for the *Prince of Wales* is the Firſt we ought to begin with; for if any Judgment can be formed from the *Experience of paſt Times*, 100,000*l.* a Year, beſides the now exhauſted Revenues of *Wales*, *Cornwall*, and *Cheſter*, is the leaſt Proviſion we can as yet think of allowing for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur of the Heir Apparent to our Crown. I ſhall therefore take it for granted, till I hear it contradicted, that it is now high Time the Proviſion for the *Prince of Wales* ſhould be ſettled in the uſual Way, and that 100,000*l.* a Year out of the Civil Liſt is the leaſt Proviſion we can ſuppoſe neceſſary, and the leaſt the Parliament that eſtabliſhed the preſent Civil Liſt deſigned he ſhould have: Theſe two Points I ſhall now, I ſay, take for granted, but if both, or either, be controverted, I ſhall beg Leave to explain myſelf more fully upon this Head, unleſs ſome other Gentleman who is of the ſame Opinion with me, and more capable of giving the Reaſons for his Opinion, riſes up and ſaves me that Trouble. For this Reaſon I ſhall not now take up your Time with enlarging further upon theſe two Queſtions, but ſhall take the Liberty to make you this Motion.

'That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to expreſs the juſt Senſe this Houſe has of his Majeſty's great Goodneſs and tender Regard for the laſting Welfare and Happineſs of his People, in the Marriage of his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*; and as this Houſe cannot omit any Opportunity of ſhewing their Zeal and Regard for his Majeſty's Honour, and the Proſperity of his Family, humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, that, in Conſideration of the high Rank and Dignity of their Royal Highneſſes the *Prince* and *Princeſs of Wales*, and their many eminent Virtues and Merits, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſettle 100,000*l.* a Year on the *Prince of Wales*, out of the Revenues clearly granted to his Majeſty, for the Expences of his Civil Government, and better ſupporting the Dignity of the Crown, and for enabling his Majeſty to make an honourable Proviſion for his Royal Family, in the ſame Manner his Majeſty enjoyed it before his happy Acceſſion to the Throne; and alſo humbly to beſeech his Majeſty to ſettle the like Jointure on her Royal Highneſs the *Princeſs of Wales* as her Majeſty had, when ſhe was *Princeſs of Wales*; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that this Houſe will enable him effectually to perform the ſame, as nothing will more conduce to the Strengthning his Majeſty's Government, than honourably ſupporting the Dignity of their *Royal Highneſſes*, from whom we hope to ſee a numerous Iſſue, to deliver down the Bleſſings of his Majeſty's Reign to lateſt Poſterity.'

I know, Sir, that ſeveral Arguments may be made uſe of againſt this Motion, Arguments which may ſeem to be of Dignity and Weight, becauſe they can come from none but ſuch as are in high Stations, who for that Reaſon ought never to oppoſe what is juſt and honourable, and much leſs ought they upon any Occaſion to make uſe of weak or trifling Objections. By ſuch Perſons it may be ſaid, that the preſenting of ſuch an Addreſs will be a Sort of Intermeddling in the domeſtick Affairs between Father and Son, which the Parliament has no Title, nor ever ought to intermeddle with upon any Occaſion: But, Sir, I muſt beg Leave to inſiſt upon it, that our preſenting ſuch an Addreſs cannot be called Intermeddling in any Affairs either publick or private; it is only offering Advice to our Sove-

reign

reign in an Affair of great Conſequence to the Nation in general, and that we have not only a Right, but are in Duty bound to do, as often as we find it neceſſary. It is an Advice which I am ſure his Majeſty's Miniſters ought to have given him; if they have not, they have been deficient in their Duty, and the Parliament ought to make up that Deficiency: If they have been ſo faithful as to offer the ſame Advice, and have not ſucceeded, which, for what I know, may be the Caſe, the Addreſs propoſed becomes abſolutely neceſſary, it is what the Miniſters ought to be fond of, becauſe the Addreſs of Parliament will add Weight to the good, though unſucceſsful, Advice they have given. Then, Sir, with reſpect even to the domeſtick Affairs of the Royal Family, they ought to be conſidered in a twofold Reſpect: If they are ſuch as may contribute to the Honour and Happineſs of the Nation in general, or ſuch as may tend to the Diſhonour of the Kingdom, or to the bringing of any Misfortune upon the People, they then come to be of a publick Nature, and if any falſe Step be made or any neceſſary Step neglected or too long delayed, it is the Duty of Parliament to interpoſe; and of this Sort ſurely is that Affair to which the Addreſs now propoſed relates.

It may likewiſe be ſaid, that the King is the only Judge of the Time when it is proper to make a Settlement upon his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*, and of the Amount of the Revenue that may be proper or neceſſary for that Purpoſe. To this, Sir, the Anſwer is very plain and eaſy. There are many Things in which the King has by his Prerogative the ſole Power of Judging or Acting, and yet in ſuch Caſes, if any wrong Meaſure happens to be purſued, or any proper Meaſure neglected, the Parliament is in Duty bound to act the Part of a faithful Counſellor to their Sovereign, and advertiſe him of what they imagine to be wrong. The two Houſes of Parliament, or either of them, may not only offer their Advice, but they may go much further, they may examine into the Affair, and may puniſh thoſe who by their Weakneſs or Wickedneſs have given his Majeſty bad Counſel. The King has the ſole Power of making Treaties of Peace or Alliance, and of declaring War, and yet I hope it will not be ſaid that the Parliament ought never to interfere, no not ſo much as by an Addreſs, in any Caſe of that Nature: I hope it will not be ſaid but that the Parliament may not only addreſs upon ſuch Occaſions, but may puniſh thoſe Miniſters who ſhall adviſe his Majeſty to engage the Nation in dangerous and deſtructive Treaties, or who ſhall adviſe him to avoid a War, when both the Honour and the Intereſt of the Nation make it neceſſary. Therefore, tho' his Majeſty be the only Judge, when a Settlement ought to be made upon the *Prince of Wales*, and what that Settlement ought to be, yet the Parliament may certainly interpoſe by an Addreſs, when the making of that Settlement is too long delayed; and now that his *Royal Highneſs* is not only of Age, but is married, and as it were emancipated out of his Father's Family, it is certainly high Time for the Parliament to interpoſe: Surely it is not fit his *Royal Highneſs* ſhould now depend upon his Father, or rather upon his Father's Miniſters, for every Shilling he may have occaſion for: The very Thought raiſes in my Mind ſuch ridiculous Ideas, that it is with the utmoſt Difficulty I can refrain from expreſſing my ſelf in a Manner far below the Dignity of the Subject: Nothing, indeed, could prevent it but the great Eſteem, the high Regard I have for the illuſtrious Perſons who ſeem to be concerned.

In the next Place, Sir, it may be ſaid

said that his Majesty has a legal Right to the Civil List Revenue as now established, and that the Address proposed would be a Sort of Incroachment upon that Right. I shall readily grant that his Majesty has a legal Right to the Civil List Revenue, so he likewise has a legal Right to the Revenue provided for the current Service of the Year, and, I think, we but lately passed a Law for hanging or transporting those who go armed with a Design to rob or disappoint him either of the one or the other, which is more than any Subject in the Kingdom has for the Protection of any Sort of Property; but both these Revenues are granted by Parliament for certain and particular Uses, both ought to be applied to those Uses for which they were granted, and the Parliament has a Right to insist upon their being so applied. The Civil List Revenue was granted for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and making a sufficient Provision for the whole Royal Family; and if any Part of that Revenue should be purloined, hoarded, or misapplied by the King's Ministers, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown neglected, or any Branch of the Royal Family not sufficiently provided for, the Parliament has as good Right to address, and even to inquire into that Misapplication, as they would have to inquire into the Misapplication of the Revenue provided for the current Service, in Case any Part of that Revenue should be applied to other Purposes, and those Services neglected for which it was intended by Parliament.

Lastly, Sir, it may be said, that such an Address would look something like a Parliamentary Resumption, that it would look as if the Parliament were going to resume and take back from his Majesty what was long since granted by Parliament, and settled upon him during his Life. I confess, Sir, I do not like Resumptions of any Kind, I am always sorry when I find there is Occasion for them; but nevertheless a Resumption may sometimes become reasonable: When the Cause of granting any Revenue ceases, the Grant itself ought to cease, and therefore ought to be resumed, or applied to some other Purpose. For this, even with respect to the Civil List Revenue, we have a late Precedent in Point: In 1699 the Parliament granted to *King William* a Civil List Revenue of 700,000 *l. per Annum, for the Service of his Houshold and Family, and other his necessary Expences and Occasions.* This Grant was by Law settled upon that King during his Life, yet in 1701, we find the Parliament resumed 100,000 *l.* a Year, Part of this 700,000 *l.* Civil List Revenue, and applied it toward the Payment of the publick Debts, for this express Reason, *because the Occasions for which the said* 100,000 l. *was given, were then ceased.* This, I say, is a Precedent in Point, for a Resumption after the Cause of granting has ceased; and from a Parity of Reason, if it should be afterwards found that the Cause of granting did not require near so large a Grant as was at first imagined, and therefore actually granted, ought not some Part of that Grant to be resumed, or applied to some other Purpose? So that if it could be supposed that a less Revenue than what was intended by Parliament would be sufficient for the *Prince of Wales*, there would be some Reason for a Resumption; but I am far from supposing any such Thing, the Address I have proposed shews the contrary, and therefore it cannot be presumed that my Motion has the least Tendency towards a designed Resumption: It is only for having a Part of the Civil List Revenue applied to that Use for which it was granted by Parliament, and to which it ought in Law, in Equity, and in Wisdom and good Policy, to be applied; therefore I hope my

Motion

Motion for that Purpose will be unanimously agreed to.

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, *viz.*

Sir, I rise up to offer you my Sentiments upon the Motion which the honourable Gentleman has now been pleased to make to you, but I must begin with declaring, that I never rose up to speak upon any Affair in this House with a deeper Concern, a greater Reluctancy, than I do upon the Affair now before you. I shall most readily agree with the hon. Gentleman that it is a Matter of the highest Importance, it is indeed of the utmost Importance, but it is of so sad, of so melancholy a Concern, that I am sorry it ever should have been mentioned, or that any such Motion should have been made in this House. I am sure the hon. Gentleman does not view it in the same Light I do; if he did, I am convinced he would have been the last to have mentioned it, or to have advised its being mentioned in either House of Parliament; and therefore, when he considers it seriously, I hope he will withdraw the Motion he has made; for if he should insist upon it, he must necessarily bring every Gentleman of this House under one of the greatest Difficulties any Man ever was or ever can be in. It is an Affair of Property, it is a Question by which the legal Property of the Crown itself is to be determined; and in such a Case, must not every Gentleman be under the greatest Difficulty how to give his Vote or his Opinion; By declaring in favour of the Motion, he may seem to injure the Royal Father, his Sovereign; by declaring against it, he may seem to injure the Royal Son, and Apparent Heir to the Crown. As I have the Honour to know particularly the Wisdom and the Virtue of both the Royal Persons concerned, I can give my Opinion with the more Freedom; because I am sure neither of them will think himself injured by a Gentleman's giving his Opinion or his Vote freely in Parliament; and I am sure his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* has so much Wisdom, and so true a Sense of filial Duty, that he will never look upon any Thing as a Favour done to him, if it has the least Tendency towards offering an Indignity to his Royal Father.

That there is no Affair of an Importance too high for the Consideration of Parliament I shall admit; but, Sir, there are many Affairs of a Nature so delicate, that neither Wisdom nor good Policy will allow of the Parliament's taking them into their Consideration; and if ever there was an Affair in which the Parliament ought to avoid giving Judgment, the Affair now before you is one. From our passing Judgment in such an Affair, every Man without Doors will imagine there is a private Mistake or Dispute between his Majesty and his *Royal Highness*, and such an Opinion, if it should generally prevail, may be of the most dangerous Consequence to both: We should therefore if possible avoid giving any Judgment in this Affair; but as for complying with the Motion, if it were in our Inclination, I do not think it is in our Power: It would be a Violation of Property, a taking from the King a Part of that Property which is already established in him by Act of Parliament, and to which he has as good a Right as any private Man in the Kingdom has to any private Property he does or can possess; for tho' the Parliament has a Power to appropriate Money to particular Uses at the Time it is granted, yet afterwards they have no such Power; and it has always been a Rule of this House, not to enter into any Consideration about Money once granted to the Crown, without first having the Consent of the Crown. The Civil List Revenue has already been granted to his Majesty; when we made

made that Grant, we might have ordered the Application of it to particular Uſes, and might have gone ſo far as to have appropriated a particular Sum to each reſpective Uſe; ſuch a particular Appropriation might perhaps, and I think with Reaſon too, have been thought derogatory to the Honour of the Crown; but I ſhall not now controvert that Point; no ſuch particular Appropriation was then made, and as it was not made at the Time that Revenue was granted, we have now no Power to make any ſuch particular Appropriation, with reſpect to any Part of it, or with reſpect to any Uſe to which any Part of it ought to be applied; and much leſs have we now a Right or a Power to preſcribe to his Majeſty, what Part of the Civil Liſt Revenue ought to be applied towards maintaining the Honour and Dignity of his eldeſt Son, or in what Manner that Application ought to be made: However, this will beſt appear from conſidering the ſeveral Arguments made uſe of in favour of the Motion, which I ſhall take upon me to do in as brief a Manner as I can.

As for the Maxim ſo much inſiſted on, That the *Prince of Wales* ought always to have a ſeparate and diſtinct Proviſion, and ſettled upon him in ſuch a Manner as to be quite independent of the King his Father, I never heard we had ſuch a Maxim in our Conſtitution, nor can I ſee how it is poſſible to make a Son altogether independent of his Father, and much leſs to make a Subject altogether independent of his Sovereign. The latter would, I am ſure, be a very great Soleciſm in Politicks, and the former, whatever may be the Caſe with reſpect to Royal Families, has, I am certain, often produced great Misfortunes in private. 'Tis true, the Cuſtom has generally been for our Kings to ſettle ſome Eſtate by Patent or Charter upon their eldeſt Sons, and thoſe Charters have often been confirmed by Act of Parliament; but I cannot ſee a good Reaſon for ſaying, that the making of ſuch a Settlement is abſolutely neceſſary, or that the Heir Apparent of the Crown cannot be educated, or cannot live in a proper Manner without it; for that Dependency which the Son of a great Family naturally has upon his Father, can no way tend towards the Debaſing of his Mind; and the Dignity and Grandeur even of a *Prince of Wales* may be as well ſupported by a yearly Allowance as by a perpetual and independent Settlement. For this Reaſon there never was any Regulation expreſly eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom for providing an independent Settlement for the *Prince of Wales*, but on the contrary, the making of ſuch a Proviſion, and the Manner of ſettling that Proviſion, has always been left intirely to the King upon the Throne, nor has the Parliament ever, or but very ſeldom, intermeddled in that Affair, unleſs when applied to by the King, or by ſome Perſons under his Direction, and that Application has generally proceeded from ſome other Reaſon beſides that of making a Settlement upon the *Prince of Wales*.

It is not ſo much as pretended, Sir, that any of thoſe Grants made by *King Henry* III. to his Son *Edward* proceeded from the Interpoſition of Parliament: On the contrary, 'tis evident, they proceeded entirely from the Politicks of the Court at that Time, and thoſe Politicks were not founded upon the Maxim of making the *Prince* independent, but upon a Deſign of gaining the Affections of the People in thoſe Countries which had been but lately ſubdued, it having been thought more honourable for them to be governed by the King's eldeſt Son, than by any other Subject. In like Manner we know that none of the Grants made by *Edward* III. to his Son, *Edward the black Prince*, proceeded from

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from any Addreſs or Application from Parliament; for tho' they were, moſt of them, confirmed by Parliament, yet it appears that all thoſe Confirmations were obtained and paſſed at the Deſire of the King himſelf; and here likewiſe it may be ſaid, and I believe with Juſtice too, that the erecting of *Cornwall* into a Dutchy, and ſettling it upon the eldeſt Son of every future King, as alſo the erecting of *Guienne* and *Gaſcony* into a Principality, and granting it to the *Prince of Wales*, proceeded rather from a Deſign of doing Honour to thoſe Countries, than from any Deſign of making the *Prince* abſolutely independent of his Father; for we find it was a common Practice in former Days, to erect a County or Province into a Dutchy or Principality, by way of doing Honour to the Country, and in Recompence for ſome good Services performed by the Inhabitants: Thus we find the County of *Cheſter* was erected into a Principality by *Richard* II. becauſe the Militia of that County had countenanced and enforced his moſt arbitrary Meaſures during his famous Parliament at *Shrewsbury*; and every one knows that it has always been reckoned an Honour to any City or Province to adopt it as a Title for any of the Princes of the Royal Family; therefore we are not to conclude that the Grants made to former *Princes of Wales* are a ſufficient Authority for eſtabliſhing it as a Maxim, that every *Prince of Wales* ought to have a ſeparate and independent Proviſion ſettled upon him.

Now, Sir, with regard to thoſe Caſes mentioned where the Parliament have actually interpoſed. In the Caſe of *Prince Richard*, eldeſt Son of *Edward the black Prince*, it is very probable that Application from Parliament was procured by the King himſelf, in order to diſappoint any Hopes the *Duke of Lancaſter*, his ſecond Son, might have of ſucceeding to the Throne; but ſuppoſe it was not procured by the King himſelf, as there was then ſome Jealouſy in the Nation that the *Duke of Lancaſter* would endeavour to uſurp the Crown after his Father's Deceaſe, who was then very old, the Parliament had great Reaſon to addreſs for having the eldeſt Son of the deceaſed *Prince of Wales*, created *Prince of Wales* in the Room of his Father, in order to avoid all Diſputes about the Succeſſion to the Crown; which is a Reaſon cannot be ſaid now to ſubſiſt, and is a Reaſon very different from that of having an independent Proviſion ſettled upon the *Prince of Wales*. As for the Application from Parliament for having *Prince Henry*, eldeſt Son of *Henry* IV. created *Prince of Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Cheſter*, it plainly appears to have proceeded from the King's particular Favourites in Parliament, therefore we muſt ſuppoſe it was with the Approbation, or rather Procurement, of the King himſelf; and his Reaſon for procuring ſuch an Application was very far from being founded upon any Maxim or Deſign of ſettling an independent Proviſion upon the *Prince* his eldeſt Son; but as his own Title to the Crown was a little doubtful, 'tis evident he procured that Application from Parliament, with a Deſign to have his Son declared his lawful Succeſſor, and only rightful Heir to the Crown. Then as to what was done in the Reign of *Henry* VI. I hope none of the Tranſactions of that unfortunate Reign will be inſiſted on as good Precedents for any Thing that ought to be done in this; for that whole Reign was a continued Series of weak and deſtructive Meaſures on the Part of the Court, and very unjuſtifiable Incroachments on the Part of the Parliament.

Thus, Sir, none of the Precedents mentioned relating to the Heir Apparent of the Crown, can be any Way taken as a good Precedent for our agreeing to the Motion now before us;

and of the two Precedents mentioned relating to the Presumptive Heirs of the Crown, that relating to the late *King James*, when *Duke of York*, can have nothing to do in the present Question; for the making of a Settlement upon him was so far from proceeding upon any Address or other Application from the Parliament to the King, that it proceeded rather from the King's applying to his Parliament for that Purpose; and the Parliament's having any Thing at all to do in that Affair proceeded from Necessity not Choice; because the Revenues of the Post Office and Wine Licence Office could not be settled upon the *Duke of York* but by Authority of Parliament. And as for that relating to the late *Queen Anne*, when *Princess of Denmark*, it appears probable, indeed, that that Affair was first brought into Parliament, not only without the Approbation, but contrary to the Inclination of the Court at that Time; but what was the Consequence? It occasioned an unseasonable Prorogation of that Session, by which the Affairs of the Nation were very much embarrassed; and if such were to be the Consequence of our agreeing to this Motion, I am convinced the honourable Gentleman that made it, would not so much as desire any Gentleman to agree to it. Nay even that very Parliament could never come to any fix'd Resolution in that Affair, till they had obtained the King's Approbation of what they were about to do, and then they unanimously agreed to address his Majesty to make a Provision for the *Prince* and *Princess of Denmark* of 50,000 *l.* a Year; so that even that Affair can be no Precedent for our agreeing to this Motion, till it be some Way or other signified to us, that his Majesty approves of what we are about to do.

From these Observations, I think, Sir, it will appear, that the Precedents which have been mentioned are either such as ought not to be followed, or such as are no Way applicable to the Case now before us; therefore it cannot be said that the Motion is founded upon any proper Precedent; and whatever the Wisdom and Policy of our Kings may have been with respect to the Settling of an independent Provision upon the Heir Apparent to the Crown, it seems it has always been the Wisdom and Policy of the Nation, to leave that Affair entirely to the Option of the King upon the Throne, and never to intermeddle but when it has appeared, or has even been signified to the Parliament, that their Intermeddling would be agreeable to both the Parties concerned. This, Sir, is true Wisdom, this is right Policy. Even in private Life, it is generally held to be officious and imprudent for a Stranger to intermeddle in the Family Affairs of his Neighbour, without any Call from the Parties concerned; if there was no Breach before, it generally occasions one, and if there was a Breach, it makes the Breach wider much more often than it occasions a Reconcilement. The Parliament has a Right, the Parliament is often in Duty bound to offer Advice to their Sovereign; but in determining when, or upon what Occasions, we may or can offer our Advice, we ought to consider our Sovereign in a twofold Respect: We ought to consider him in his political and royal Capacity, and in his natural and paternal Capacity. In all Cases which regard his political and royal Capacity we have certainly a Right to judge of the Measures that are taken, and may recommend what we think most expedient; but in Affairs which regard only his natural and paternal Capacity, we have no Right to judge, it would be officious in us to recommend, without some Sort of Application from him for that Purpose; and as the Providing for every Branch of the Royal Family

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mily is an Affair which regards only his natural and paternal Capacity, it would be officious in us, it is inconſiſtent with true Wiſdom or good Policy for us to pretend to judge, or to preſcribe what ought to be done, or in what Manner it ought to be done.

That the *Prince of Wales* ought to be ſupported, that he ought to be honourably ſupported, I ſhall moſt readily grant; and I ſhall likewiſe grant that the Support of the *Prince of Wales* is and ought to be a Charge upon the Civil Liſt Revenue; but, Sir, that he has either a legal or an equitable Right to any particular Share of that Revenue, or to any Share but ſuch as the King his Father pleaſes to allow him, is what I cannot ſo eaſily admit. I have peruſed all the Acts of Parliament that were ever made, relating to that Revenue, I have particularly conſidered that Act by which the Civil Liſt Revenue was ſettled upon his preſent Majeſty, and neither in that Act, nor in any of the other, can I find any Words for giving the *Prince of Wales* a legal Right to any other Share than what his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to allow him, nor can I find any Words from which a Right to any Share can be equitably inferred. To me it ſeems his Majeſty has as abſolute a Right to the whole Civil Liſt Revenue, during his Life, as any Gentleman in *England* can have to his own Eſtate. The eldeſt Son of every Landed Gentleman in *England* ought to be ſupported out of his Father's Eſtate, and that Support ought to be according to the Character and Circumſtances of the Family; yet I hope it will not be ſaid that the eldeſt Son has any legal or equitable Right to any particular Share of his Father's Eſtate, or to any Share but ſuch as his Father pleaſes to allow him, unleſs that Right be eſtabliſhed by ſome Conveyance made to the Father, or by ſome Settlement before made and agreed to by the Father.

In all Caſes of Equity, to be ſure, Sir, the Intention of an Act of Parliament is to be chiefly regarded; but that Intention muſt ſome Way or other appear from the Words. We are not to take the Intention of a Law from the Intention this or that Gentleman really had, or may ſay he had, when he agreed to the Paſſing of that Law. When a Law is to be paſſed, and under the Conſideration of Parliament, every Gentleman may have his own Intention, his own Reaſons for agreeing to it, and ſome may have Reaſons quite contrary to thoſe of others. One Gentleman may have an Intention that it ſhould be interpreted in one Way, another may intend that it ſhould be interpreted in a quite different; but when that Law is paſſed, and comes afterwards to be applied to any particular Caſe, neither the Reaſons nor the Intentions of thoſe that paſſed it, are to be regarded: There is nothing to be regarded but the Context and the Words of the Law, in order to put upon them the moſt equitable Conſtruction they will bear; and to put ſuch a Conſtruction upon any of thoſe general Words in the Act for eſtabliſhing the Civil Liſt Revenue, by which that Revenue is appropriated to the Support of his Majeſty's Houſhold, as would take from his Majeſty the Power of judging what was fit to be done in his own Family, would, I am ſure, be a very unnatural Conſtruction, and conſequently, I muſt think, a very unequitable one. It is a Conſtruction the Words themſelves will no Way admit of, it is an Intention I am convinced no Gentleman could have when he agreed to them.

I hope, Sir, from what I have ſaid it will appear, that there is no abſolute Neceſſity, either from the Nature of the Thing, or from any Maxim in our Conſtitution, that a certain, perpetual, and independent Proviſion ſhould be ſettled upon the *Prince of Wales*; that if there were,

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it would be very improper for the Parliament to intermeddle in the Affair; and that his Majesty is the sole and only Judge, whether such a Settlement ought to be made or not. Therefore we must conclude, that his Majesty is the sole and only Judge, when that Settlement ought to be made. But to take away all further Dispute upon either of these Heads, I must acquaint you, That I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint this House, that his Majesty Yesterday sent a Message to his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*, by the *Lord Chancellor*, *Lord President*, *Lord Steward*, *Lord Chamberlain*, *Duke of* Richmond, *Duke of* Argyle, *Duke of* Newcastle, *Earl of* Pembroke, *Earl of* Scarborough, *and Lord* Harrington; which Message, so sent by those Lords, being in Writing, I shall now, Sir, deliver to you.

This Message was as follows, *viz.*

'His Majesty has commanded us to acquaint your *Royal Highness*, in his Name, That, upon your *Royal Highness*'s Marriage, he immediately took into his Royal Consideration the settling a proper Jointure upon the *Princess of Wales*; but his sudden going Abroad, and his late Indisposition since his Return, had hitherto retarded the Execution of these his gracious Intentions; from which short Delay his Majesty did not apprehend any Inconveniences could arise, especially since no Application had, in any Manner, been made to him upon this Subject by your *Royal Highness*; and that his Majesty hath now given Orders for settling a Jointure upon the *Princess of Wales*, as far as he is enabled by Law, suitable to her high Rank and Dignity; which he will, in proper Time, lay before his Parliament, in order to be rendered certain and effectual, for the Benefit of her *Royal Highness*.

'The King has further commanded us to acquaint your *Royal Highness* that, altho' your *Royal Highness* has not thought fit, by any Application to his Majesty, to desire, that your Allowance of 50,000 *l. per Annum*, which is now paid by Monthly Payments, at the Choice of your *Royal Highness*, preferably to Quarterly Payments, might, by his Majesty's further Grace and Favour, be rendered less precarious, his Majesty, to prevent the bad Consequences, which, he apprehends, may follow from the undutiful Measures, which, his Majesty is informed, your *Royal Highness* has been advised to pursue, will grant to your *Royal Highness*, for his Majesty's Life, the said 50,000 *l. per Annum*, to be issuing out of his Majesty's Civil List Revenues, over and above your *Royal Highness*'s Revenues arising from the *Dutchy of Cornwall*; which his Majesty thinks a very competent Allowance, considering his numerous Issue, and the great Expences, which do and must necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family.

And that to this Message his *Royal Highness the Prince* returned a verbal Answer, which, according to the best Recollection and Remembrance of the Lords, was in Substance as follows, *viz.*

That his *Royal Highness* desired the Lords to lay him, with all Humility, at his Majesty's Feet; and to assure his Majesty, that he had, and ever should retain, the utmost Duty for his Royal Person; that his *Royal Highness* was very thankful for any Instance of his Majesty's Goodness to him, or the *Princess*, and particularly for his Majesty's gracious Intention of settling a Jointure upon *her Royal Highness*; but that, as to the Message, the Affair was now out of his Hands, and therefore he could give no Answer to it.

After which, his *Royal Highness* used many dutiful Expressions towards his Majesty, and then added, *Indeed, my Lords, it is in other Hands*;

Hands; *I am ſorry for it.* Or to that Effect.

His *Royal Highneſs* concluded with earneſtly deſiring the Lords to repreſent his Anſwer to his Majeſty in the moſt reſpectful and dutiful Manner.'

From this moſt gracious Meſſage it appears, Sir, that his Majeſty has for ſome Time given a yearly Allowance to his *Royal Highneſs*, and ſuch an Allowance as his Majeſty thought a very competent Allowance, conſidering his numerous Iſſue, and the great Expences, which do and muſt neceſſarily attend an honourable Proviſion for his whole Royal Family; and it appears further, that this Allowance has been regularly paid in that Manner which his *Royal Highneſs* himſelf choſe as the moſt proper and convenient for him; therefore it cannot be ſaid that the making of ſuch an Allowance has been in the leaſt delayed; and if the Converting of that Allowance into a perpetual and independent Settlement had been abſolutely neceſſary, or were now abſolutely neceſſary, it cannot be ſaid that there has been any ſuch Delay as can give Occaſion for the Interpoſition of Parliament; becauſe, if his *Royal Highneſs* had not before his Marriage been ſatisfied with the Manner in which his Allowance was made to him, or had but ſignified that he thought it was eſtabliſhed upon too precarious a Foundation, his Majeſty would have eſtabliſhed it in any Manner he deſired; and conſidering how ſoon his Majeſty went abroad after the happy Marriage of his *Royal Highneſs*, it cannot be pretended that the leaſt unneceſſary Delay has ſince that Time been made, with reſpect to the making of a Settlement upon his *Royal Highneſs*, even in that Manner which is ſaid to be abſolutely neceſſary by the Maxims and Cuſtom of the Kingdom. But ſuppoſing that the making of that Settlement had been unneceſſarily delayed, whatever Delay or Neglect may have happened in that Reſpect is now made up by his Majeſty's Meſſage to his *Royal Highneſs*; and the Communicating of that Meſſage to this Houſe, which I have now done by his Majeſty's Command, muſt be a full Anſwer to every Thing that can be ſaid, with reſpect to Time at leaſt, in Favour of the Motion now before us. Nay, from his *Royal Highneſs*'s Anſwer to his Majeſty's Meſſage, it ſeems reaſonable to believe that his *Royal Highneſs* is himſelf ſatisfied with what his Majeſty offers, and that he would be ſorry to hear of our having agreed to the Motion now made to us; for what other Meaning can be put upon his *Royal Highneſs*'s ſaying, that *he was ſorry for the Affair's being then in other Hands?*

For this Reaſon, Sir, I muſt think the Debate will now be brought within a very narrow Compaſs; for if the Motion ſhould now be inſiſted on, it can proceed from nothing but Gentlemens taking upon them to differ in Opinion from his Majeſty, and to think that 50,000 *l.* a Year out of the Civil Liſt, beſides his *Royal Highneſs*'s Revenues ariſing from the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, is not a competent Allowance, conſidering his Majeſty's numerous Iſſue, and the great Expences, which do and muſt neceſſarily attend an honourable Proviſion for his whole Royal Family. As this has been already inſiſted on, as it has been ſaid that 100,000 *l.* a Year is the leaſt his *Royal Highneſs* ought to have out of the Civil Liſt, beſides the Revenues of the Principality of *Wales* and Dutchy of *Cornwall*, and that it was the leaſt the Parliament that eſtabliſhed the preſent Civil Liſt intended he ſhould have, I muſt beg Leave to anſwer in as few Words as poſſible to what has been ſaid upon that Head, and to give my Reaſons for being of the ſame Opinion with his Majeſty.

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By what I have ſaid, or am to ſay upon this Head, I would not have it underſtood, Sir, as if I believed his *Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales* ought not to have more than 50,000*l.* a Year: On the contrary, I think he ought to have a great deal more than double that Sum, if it were poſſible for his Majeſty to ſpare ſo much from the Civil Liſt Revenue, or if the Nation were ſo happy as to be in a Condition to increaſe the Civil Liſt, ſo as to enable his Majeſty to make ſuch an Allowance to his *Royal Highneſs* as he deſerves, and as his Majeſty would incline to give him. Were we to meaſure his Allowance by his Merit, as we know no Bounds to the latter, we could preſcribe no Bounds to the former: The only Courſe we could take would be, to offer whatever he pleaſed to demand; and even in that Caſe we would have Reaſon to fear leſt his Modeſty might do an Injury to his Generoſity, by making him confine his Demand within the ſtricteſt Bounds of Neceſſity. I am not therefore to examine what his *Royal Highneſs* ought to have, I am only to endeavour to ſhew that we have no Right to preſcribe to his Majeſty, what he ought to give; that it could not be the Intention of that Parliament which eſtabliſhed the preſent Civil Liſt, to grant 100,000*l.* a Year, or any other certain yearly Sum out of the Civil Liſt Revenue to his *Royal Highneſs*; and that his Majeſty cannot at preſent conveniently ſpare more than 50,000*l.* a Year out of that Revenue.

To ſay, Sir, that the Parliament has a Right to preſcribe to his Majeſty, what Proviſion he ſhall make out of his own Eſtate for any one of his Children, has ſomething in it at firſt View ſo very extraordinary, that I am ſurprized, to hear it inſiſted on. Such a Right would put the King in a much worſe State than any one of his Subjects; and I muſt deſire Gentlemen would conſider, what a Foreigner would think of this Nation, if he ſhould be told, we entruſt the King with the Government of the whole Kingdom, but we will not entruſt him with the Government of his own Family. I do not know that there is in all our Hiſtories or Records any one Precedent or Foundation for ſuch a Parliamentary Claim, but that ſingle one in the Reign of *Henry* VI. and that was, we know, ſo weak a Reign, that it became neceſſary for the Parliament to aſſume ſeveral Rights and Privileges which they were not properly, and by the Nature of our Conſtitution, intitled to. As for what the Parliament did in Relation to the *Princeſs Anne of Denmark*, it can no Way be made uſe of in the preſent Caſe; that Affair was firſt brought into Parliament when they were conſidering how much it would be neceſſary to allow for the Support of our Civil Government, and then it became very proper to take into their Conſideration what particular Sum was to be allowed for the Support of the *Prince and Princeſs of Denmark*; for tho' they were of the Royal Family, they were not of the King's own Family; and therefore the Appropriating of a certain particular Sum for their Support, or the Addreſſing to have a certain Sum appropriated for that Purpoſe, could not be called an Intermeddling in the King's domeſtick Affairs.

Beſides, Sir, it is not ſo natural for any Man to provide honourably for his preſumptive Heir, as for any one of his own Children: The preſumptive Heir is ſometimes look'd on even with Jealouſy and Envy; and therefore, there is a very ſtrong Reaſon for the Parliament's interfering more particularly in one Caſe, than common Decency can admit of in the other.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, the Parliament had a Right to preſcribe to his Majeſty, what Proviſion he ſhall make out of his own Eſtate for any, or

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for every one of his Children, how is it poſſible for us to exerciſe that Right in our preſent Situation? Before we can with any Countenance pretend to exerciſe ſuch a Right, we ought to examine narrowly into the Produce of the Civil Liſt Revenue, and the ſeveral Uſes to which it muſt neceſſarily be applied, in order to ſee how much his Majeſty can conveniently ſpare out of that Revenue: We ought likewiſe to examine particularly into the Eſtabliſhment of his *Royal Highneſs*'s Houſhold, and all the Expences he may neceſſarily be put to for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur in which the Heir Apparent to the Crown of *Great Britain* ought to live; in order that we may determine what particular Sum his Majeſty ſhall allow him annually out of the Civil Liſt Revenue. Is it poſſible for us in our preſent Situation to examine into either of theſe Particulars? We have at preſent no Account relating to the Civil Liſt, nor any Account relating to his *Royal Highneſs*'s Houſhold before us, and without a Multitude of ſuch Accounts it is not poſſible for us to go through with any ſuch Examination.

Now, Sir, with regard to the Intention of that Parliament by whom the preſent Civil Liſt was eſtabliſhed; if we conſider the Circumſtances of the Royal Family at that Time, and the Circumſtances of the Royal Family when the Civil Liſt was eſtabliſhed in the former Reign, we ſhall very eaſily find a Meaning for the *Experience of paſt Times* very different from what is now put upon theſe Words. When the Civil Liſt Revenue was eſtabliſhed upon his late Majeſty, a very narrow Scrutiny was made into the whole Articles of the Expence of our Civil Government, and particularly into the Expence neceſſary for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur of the *Prince of Wales*; from which Scrutiny 'twas computed that 600,000*l.* a Year at leaſt would be neceſſary for ſupporting the King's Houſhold and civil Government; but let us conſider that the King had then no Queen, nor any Children to provide for: From the ſame Scrutiny it was computed that 100,000*l.* a Year out of the Civil Liſt Revenue was the leaſt Sum that would be neceſſary for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur of the *Prince of Wales*; but let us remember that the *Prince of Wales* had then a *Princeſs of Wales*, and, to our Happineſs, ſeveral Children to provide for. During that Reign it had been found that 100,000*l.* a Year, was ſufficient for ſupporting the *Prince and Princeſs of Wales* and all their Children; but it had likewiſe been found that it requir'd 700,000*l.* a Year to ſupport the King's Houſehold and Civil Government, tho' he had no Queen nor any Children to provide for.

This, Sir, was the *Experience of paſt Times*, which gave Occaſion to the Increaſing of his preſent Majeſty's Civil Liſt Revenue to 800,000*l.* a Year; but if we conſider the Circumſtances of the Royal Family at the Time of his Majeſty's Acceſſion, we muſt ſee that the Parliament from *this very Experience* could not but conclude, that it would require more than 700,000*l.* a Year to ſupport his preſent Majeſty's Houſhold and Civil Government; becauſe he had a Queen and ſeveral younger Children to provide for, which the late King had not; and from *the ſame Experience* they muſt likewiſe have concluded, that it would not require 100,000*l.* a Year to ſupport the *Prince of Wales*, becauſe he had then neither *a Princeſs*, nor any Children to provide for; for if they had concluded that 100,000*l.* a Year would be neceſſary for ſupporting the *Prince of Wales* ſingly, they muſt from the *Experience of paſt Times* have granted more than 700,000*l.* a Year for ſupporting the preſent

present King's Houshold and Civil Government, considering that he had a Queen and several younger Children to provide for, which the late King had not; and since they granted for the Support of the present King's Houshold and Civil Government, but exactly the same Sum that had been found from the *Experience of past Times* to be necessary, and had been actually given for the Support of the late King's Houshold and Civil Government, it is apparent to me they concluded his Majesty might save and deduct as much from the Allowance to be made to the *Prince of Wales*, as would be sufficient for providing for her present Majesty the Queen, and all their other Children. From all which it is to me evident that the Parliament that established the present Civil List did not intend his *Royal Highness* should have out of it a full 100,000*l.* a Year. They intended only what was right they should intend, and what only in due Deference to their Sovereign they could intend, which was, that his Majesty should allow the *Prince of Wales* what he, in his great Wisdom, might think a competent Allowance for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Heir Apparent to the Crown, considering his Majesty's numerous Issue, and the great Expences, which would necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family.

I think, Sir, I have now clearly shewn what his Majesty meant by, and what the Parliament could only intend from the *Experience of past Times*; and, if we now proceed upon the same Foundation, we must conclude, that 50,000*l.* a Year is the most his Majesty can spare out of the Civil List for the Support of his *Royal Highness*. His Majesty allows 8000*l.* a Year for the Support of his *Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland*, 5000*l.* a Year to her *Royal Highness the Princess of Orange*, 5,300*l.* a Year for the *two eldest Princesses*, and 2000*l.* a Year for the *two youngest*; all which are extraordinary Expences unknown in the late Reign: To these if we add the 50,000*l.* a Year for the Support of her Majesty, which was likewise unknown in the late Reign, and a proportionable additional Allowance for Bed and Board, and other extraordinary Expences in the several Palaces, we must conclude that his Majesty must necessarily be at 100,000*l.* a Year Expence more than was found, or could be necessary in the late Reign, which will make the whole Expence of his Majesty's Houshold, and Civil Government, without including the Allowance to the *Prince of Wales*, amount, according to the *Experience of past Times*, to at least 800,000*l.* a Year; so that every Shilling his Majesty allows for the Support of the *Prince of Wales*, must arise from Frugality and good Management, and from contracting, and saving a Part of that Expence which was found necessary in the late Reign. Therefore, so far from concluding or imagining that his Majesty may spare more than 50,000*l.* a Year for his *Royal Highness*, we have Reason to be surprized how he can spare so much.

But this, Sir, will appear still more evident by an Example in private Life. Suppose two Country Gentlemen, each of 8000*l.* a Year Estate in Land: Suppose their Rents equally good, and equally well paid, and that their Lands are equally taxed; and suppose that one of these Gentlemen has but one only Son, but that the other has five or six Children: Can we suppose the latter able to settle upon his eldest Son as large a Part of his Estate as the former may spare to settle upon his only Son? Surely, Sir, no Man in Reason can suppose any such Thing; the latter has his younger Children not only to maintain but to provide for,

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ſor, and therefore neither he nor his eldeſt Son can live in ſuch Grandeur as the former and his only Son may do. This is the very Caſe before us: His preſent Majeſty has but 800000*l.* a Year Eſtate, the late King had the ſame, if we add to his late Majeſty's ſettled Revenue, the ſeveral additional Grants that were occaſionally made to the Civil Liſt in his Reign. His late Majeſty had but one only Son, his preſent Majeſty, to our Comfort and Happineſs, has ſeveral Children; and therefore it is not to be ſuppoſed that the preſent King, or the preſent *Prince of Wales*, can live in ſuch Grandeur, as the late King, and the preſent, whilſt *Prince of Wales*, were able to do, unleſs the Parliament ſhould think fit to increaſe the Eſtate of the Crown, by a new additional Grant to the Civil Liſt Revenue.

I ſhall take no Notice, Sir, of the Inſinuations that were made againſt the Management of the Civil Liſt Revenue in the late Reign, or the Method of ſettling it in this. I do not think they any Way relate to the preſent Debate. The Management in the late Reign, might, if neceſſary, be eaſily accounted for; and the Method of ſettling the Civil Liſt Revenue in this Reign, hardly deſerves the Name of an Improvement. But now after having ſhewn that we have not properly any Right to preſent ſuch an Addreſs as is propoſed; that we ought not either in Wiſdom, or Policy, or even common Decency to preſent ſuch an Addreſs, I muſt beg, I muſt intreat of Gentlemen to conſider what they are about. Gentlemen may call it, if they pleaſe, offering our Advice to our Sovereign; but it is really bringing his Majeſty and his eldeſt Son as Plaintiff and Defendant before us. In this Light it will be look'd on by every Man without Doors. It is ſtating ourſelves as the higher Power, and bringing his *Royal Highneſs* to ſue for Juſtice before us: Our agreeing to the Queſtion, would be a Determining that his Majeſty had done Injuſtice to his eldeſt Son: It would be giving a Victory to the Son over the Father, which might prove, the Lord have Mercy on us, the Deſtruction of both. No Man can patiently bear an Inquiry into his Family Affairs; no Father can eaſily forgive a Son for appealing to a higher Power: For Godſake, let us ſtop in Time this breaching Gap, which may make Way for an Inundation to drown us all. Our agreeing to ſuch a Queſtion might occaſion a perpetual Breach, an *Immedicabile Vulnus*, tho' not, I hope, *Enſe recidendum*; I hope the Wiſdom of this Houſe will timeouſly prevent any Amputation.

The Queſtion now before us, Sir, is of a moſt dangerous Nature, it may be the Occaſion of ſuch fatal Conſequences to the Royal Family and to the whole Kingdom, that I muſt think, the original Authors and Contrivers of it can be no Friends to either. I am far from ſuſpecting any Gentleman of this Houſe, or any Member of either Houſe of Parliament. It is not poſſible for me to ſuppoſe that either of them could have been the original Author or Contriver of ſuch a Queſtion; and I am ſure no Gentleman of either Houſe would have attempted to have brought ſuch a Queſtion into Parliament, if he had viewed it in the ſame Light as I do. We may remember, Sir, the fatal Diviſion that happened between his late Majeſty, and his preſent Majeſty when *Prince of Wales:* We may remember to what a Height that fatal Diviſion was carried. The *Prince of Wales*, the eldeſt, the only Son of the King, and Heir Apparent to the Crown, was turned out of the Royal Palace, was excluded from every one of the Royal Palaces, and was obliged to live like a private Nobleman, in a

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private House, and without any Guards, or other Ensigns of Royalty. Nay, his very Servants were tempted and hired to forsake him, and were even threatned and bullied if they refused; yet it cannot be said that the Son was ever guilty of any undutiful Behaviour, or that the Father was deficient in natural Affection. To what then could this terrible Division be owing? It could be owing to nothing but little malicious Slanderers and Tale-Bearers, who, for their own private Ends, stirred up a Division in the Royal Family: But it is well known they were all Foreigners who were the original Authors of it: We know there was not a *British* Subject had the least Hand in it. However, be they who they will, it is certain they could be no real Friends either to the Father or the Son, or to any of the Royal Family.

I am surprized, Sir, to hear it now so much insisted on, that the Heir Apparent or Presumptive of the Crown has a Right to have a distinct and independent Provision settled upon him. I remember a Time when this Doctrine was far from being admitted as one of the Maxims of our Constitution. I remember a Time when the present Royal Family, who were then the Presumptive Heirs of the Crown by Act of Parliament, were so far from being allowed a distinct and independent Settlement, that they had no Allowance at all: Nay even when the Question was moved, the Parliament would not so much as give any of them Leave to come and reside in the Kingdom. The Maxim now insisted on was therefore very far from being thought a Maxim at that Time, and I should think it very strange, if those who were then so regardless of the Presumptive Heir of the Crown, should now shew themselves so careful of the Apparent Heir, as to do an Injury to the King upon the Throne, for the Sake of providing a very large independent Settlement for the Apparent Heir.

I am likewise surprized, Sir, to hear the Term, Emancipation, made use of in this Debate. In this Kingdom to talk of the Son's being emancipated by Marriage out of the Family of his Father, is certainly not a proper and just Way of Speaking. In those Countries where the Term Emancipation was first made use of, the Son was in some Manner the Slave of his Father. In those Countries Fathers had at *first* even a Power of Life and Death over their Children, and a Right to every Thing the Son could acquire either by his own Industry, or by Gift, or otherwise; nor was the Son freed from this paternal Power by Marriage: The only Way of freeing him was by a solemn Act of the Father, an Edict of the Prince, or a Decree of the Magistrate; and the Freeing of the Son from the paternal Power by either of these Ways was called Emancipation. But in this Kingdom we can have no such Term, because the Father has not properly any Power over his Children; a Son after he comes of Age has no further Dependence upon his Father, than what proceeds from filial Affection and Duty, and this continues after his Marriage the same it was before; it is a Dependence, which never can, nor ever ought to be taken away: It is a Dependence which, I am sure, no Member of this House would endeavour to diminish; for whoever endeavours to diminish it can have no true Regard either for the Son or the Father.

But, Sir, I must confess, I am no way surprized to find that those who were some Time ago for incroaching upon the King's Prerogative with respect to the Officers of his Army, should now be for incroaching upon his paternal Power with respect to

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the providing in whatever Manner he may think moſt proper for his own Children. I am perſuaded neither of theſe Attempts proceeded from any real Diſaffection to his Majeſty, or his illuſtrious Family: I believe both proceeded from miſtaken Notions of Liberty, or from an erroneous Idea of our Conſtitution; but I hope thoſe Gentlemen will conſider, that what they now propoſe is really in ſome Manner, as I have ſaid, accuſing his Majeſty of Injuſtice towards his eldeſt Son. It will be ſo look'd on by the whole Nation. This will of courſe very much leſſen the Eſteem the People have, and ought to have for his Majeſty; and will certainly make many of them ſuppoſe he is no longer fit to rule over us. The Conſequences of ſuch an Opinion may be extremely fatal. For my own Part, if I were of a different Nation, and ſhould hear that ſuch a Queſtion as this had been brought into the Parliament of *Great Britain*, and carried againſt the Father, I ſhould expect to hear, by the next Poſt, that the ſame Parliament had depoſed the Father, and had ſet the Crown upon the Head of the Son. This is a Conſequence which, I am ſure, the Son would be far from deſiring to ſee, it is a Conſequence which I am convinced no Gentleman in this Houſe deſigns; but as it is a Conſequence which I think ſooner or later might be juſtly apprehended from this Queſtion's being carried in the Affirmative, therefore I thought myſelf obliged to riſe up and give my Reaſons for being againſt it; and now that I have done ſo, whatever may happen to be the Fate of the Queſtion, I am ſure I ſhall ſleep this Night much ſounder in my Bed, and with a ſafer Conſcience, than I could have done, if I had given only a bare Negative to a Queſtion in which I think the Happineſs of my King, the Happineſs of the Royal Family, and the Happineſs of my Country ſo deeply concerned.

To conclude, Sir, as the Hon. Gentleman who moved you this Queſtion, has told us that ſeveral Arguments of great Dignity and Weight might be made uſe of againſt it, I have and ſhall always have ſo great a Deference for that Hon. Gentleman's Opinion, that I ſhall, upon all Occaſions, be extremely cautious of giving my Aſſent to any Queſtion againſt which he thinks any Argument of Dignity and Weight may be made uſe of. 'Tis true, he endeavoured to evade thoſe Arguments by making ſome Sort of Anſwer to each; but thoſe Anſwers will, from what I have already ſaid, appear, I think, to be very inſufficient; ſo that the Arguments he made uſe of againſt his own Motion muſt now ſtand in their full Force. In all Queſtions, even where the Prerogative is concerned, which relate to Affairs of a publick Nature, the Parliament may interpoſe; but in thoſe which relate only to the Royal Family, the Parliament can have no Concern: Even his Majeſty's Miniſters cannot properly or prudently intermeddle, unleſs ſpecially called upon. As for the Parliament's reſuming any Grant, when the Cauſe of granting ceaſes, it can have nothing to do in the preſent Debate; for there is no Pretence for ſaying that any one of the Cauſes for granting the preſent Civil Liſt Revenue has ceaſed. And as to the Amount of the Civil Liſt Revenue, and the Manner in which it is eſtabliſhed, or the Uſes for which it ought to be applied, I am ſurprized to hear any Objections made to the former, or any Attempt made for directing the latter, ſince at the Time of granting, as I am told, it was unanimouſly agreed to in one Houſe, and with but one contradictory Vote in the other; and I do not hear that in either Houſe there was the leaſt Mention made of the Uſes to which the Whole, or any Part, ought to be applied. In ſhort, Sir, there was

never any Thing happened in Parliament, gave me so great a Concern as the hearing of this Motion made. The very making of such a Motion may be attended with cruel Consequences; but if it should be agreed to, after having used my utmost Endeavours to prevent it, I shall pray to God to avert those Judgments which may be brought upon the whole Nation by our agreeing to such a Motion. This I take to be my next indispensable Duty; but I hope the Success of my Endeavours will prevent such a melancholy Occasion for my Prayers.

N. B. This Journal to be continued in our next, in which will be the Arguments made use of by Way of Reply in this remarkable Debate.

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Weekly Miscellany, July 1. Nº 236

Mirth and Chearfulness consistent with Religion.

THERE are in every Thing, *Extremes*; and we are very apt to run into one or other of them. *Religion* has suffered very much by this Proneness to carry any Notion too far. The *Gloomy* and *Morose* dress up Religion in the Habit of their own melancholy or sour Temper, which has given Rise to *superstitious* and *rigid* Doctrines and Practices; the *Gay* and *Sprightly*, are as forward to mould Religion to their own Genius, and to fancy they are acting agreeably to the Intention of their Maker, whenever they are indulging their Inclinations towards Mirth and Pleasantry. The former think it a Sin to take any Pleasure, and the latter seem to imagine that we come into the World for *nothing else*.

A Person indeed, who is conscious to himself of *notorious* Offences against *God*, or of an *irreligious Habit* of Life, has no Opportunity for Chearfulness, while he ought to be confessing his own Wickedness and Folly, and labouring to reform his Nature, by getting rid of old, stubborn Habits, and introducing new ones. A State of *Repentance* must, in the Nature of Things, be a State of *Sorrow*, and *Uneasiness*; and the Business of *Amendment* being a continual Opposition to our *Inclinations* and Dispositions, it is impossible we can reasonably be in a Humour to be very chearful till the Difficulties are over, and we have more Reason to be satisfied with our own Conduct, and to think ourselves in the Favour of God. But I would now speak of those who have the Testimony of their Conscience, that, in the *general Tenour* of their Lives, they honestly endeavour to know and do their Duty. And who can have so much Reason to be merry, as one who has Reason to think that *God* is his Friend, and that he is intitled to eternal Happiness? Is not an uniform Habit of Religion the most pleasant Thing in Nature? And while we are naturally and rationally pleased with our Conduct, and full of joyful Expectations, is not this a proper Fund of perpetual Chearfulness?

Besides, the very *Inclination* to Mirth, is a plain Indication that Providence intended that we *should* be merry; as Hunger and Thirst shew that it is lawful, because natural, to eat and drink. Our animal Spirits, our Sprightliness of Constitution, our Aptness for Wit and Pleasantry, were not given us by a good and bountiful *God*, only that we should be at the Trouble and Uneasiness of denying ourselves all Indulgence of them, but for our Com-

Comfort in Life, to ſweeten and enliven it, and render ourſelves more agreeable to one another. But then our Mirth and Chearfulneſs like our Paſſions, are liable to Exceſs, and muſt be under the watchful Reſtraint of *Reaſon*. They are apt to degenerate into *Levity*, and by being too often, or too long indulged at any one Time, to beget an Inaptneſs for the Duties of Religion and common Life, to throw the Mind off its Guard, and to betray us frequently into *Indiſcretions*, often into *Vices*. Our Mirth, like all other Diverſions, was deſigned by way of Refreſhment, or Relaxation of the Mind; by unbending it and giving it Time to recover and recruit itſelf, after it had been a ſufficient Time employed in a ſerious Way.

The whole in ſhort is this: Without Mirth and Chearfulneſs we ſhould ſink into Superſtition and Dejection; if not into Deſpair: but our Mirth muſt not be too frequent, nor too long at one Time, for then it will deſtroy the true Frame of Mind, and interrupt the proper Buſineſs of a religious and rational Creature in this Life. The old Proverb is a very ſignificant one, *Be merry and wiſe*.

London Journal, July 2. N° 937.

Of the Mixture of Good and Evil.

IT is the Nature of rich Soils, that they not only multiply Grain, but Weeds; and Experience teaches us, that where Things the moſt excellent are found, there alſo we may find Things the moſt noxious. Thoſe who have viſited the *Indies*, know that where they collect Cargoes of the richeſt Drugs, and moſt noble Medicines, there the Natives are moſt skilled in poiſoning, and are ſo perfectly well verſed in the various Efficacies of their deteſtable Ingredients, that they aſſign Death a Time, and tho' they are ſure to deſtroy, do it leiſurely, and with Variety of Torments. But theſe Things are Accidents, and the Places where they are found, will not appear leſs excellent on this Account in the Eye of a wiſe Man; he will make it his Buſineſs to profit by their good Things, and to provide againſt the bad; he will impute the Mixture to the Laws of Nature, and be thankful to Providence for Reaſon, which enables him to diſtinguiſh and make a right Uſe of both.

It is the ſame Thing with reſpect to the Moral World; where-ever the greateſt and moſt ſublime Virtues are required, there the blackeſt and moſt deteſtable Vices will alſo be found, tho' in the old Maſquerade of Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing: There are Pettifoggers in Law, Quacks in Phyſick, and Hereticks among Divines, who all appear to be Sages, and are in high Eſteem with every Body, except him who can penetrate their bad Qualities. In theſe, and in all other Profeſſions, it is the Deſire of excelling in a laudable Science, and Ambition of exalting the Talents received from Nature as far as they can be carried, and a glorious Inclination to contribute as far as their Faculties will give them leave, to the Good of Mankind, which induces wiſe and honeſt Men to puſh for Eminence, and to ſeek to render themſelves conſpicuous by their Labours.

To repine at this Situation of Things, is either ſilly or impious; ſilly, if we comprehend not its Reaſon; and impious, if we imagine that the Laws of Nature want our Help. He who beſt knew this World, and thoſe who inhabit it, confirmed the Notions I have been laying down, by the Parable of the *Tares* and the *Wheat*, which were ſuffered to grow together till the Harveſt, and then were ſeparated, in order to their being properly dealt with. In the Œconomy of Nature, all Things have their Uſes, and particular Evils are

are by the Hand of Providence made to promote general Good.

But it is clear, from a ſtrict Contemplation of Cauſes and Effects, That *Virtue is invulnerable*, and that *Vice deſtroys itſelf*; that the Man of Honour is *always* ſafe, and his Oppoſite *never* ſo; that to *love Virtue*, and *follow Truth*, is the beſt Policy in the World; or, in the Words of an inſpired Writer, *What Man is he that deſireth Life, and loveth many Days, that he may ſee Good? Keep thy Tongue from Evil, and thy Lips from ſpeaking Guile.*

Grubſtreet Journal, Nº 392.

Horn-Book-Lane, June 25, 1737.

Gentlemen,

THO' *And per ſe And* be a near Relation of mine, yet I ſhall not ſcruple to give you his true Character. He is then, you muſt know, *a fuſty old Bachelor*, prejudiced againſt Matrimony, only becauſe he don't know how to begin a Courtſhip; and he has been guilty of Partiality in the higheſt Degree, in his unfair Repreſentation of our Proceedings at the Convention of the Members of the Alphabet. (See p. 322.) He has falſely affirm'd, that *we* married Men (tho' he choſe indeed not to mention *my* Name) hung down our Heads, and had nothing to ſay for ourſelves: But the Caſe was ſo far from being ſo, that we really had the beſt Side of the Diſpute, and each deliver'd his Opinion in our Turns to the following Purpoſe.

P was very *poſitive*, that the Bachelors were all Fools.

Q *queſtioned* whether the Matter of Fact about the Man's hanging himſelf were true.

R *reſolved* to enquire further into it.

S *ſmiled* and *ſaid*, that he *ſuppoſed* the Man *ſuſpected ſome* old Bachelor to have been too great with his Wife.

T *talked* a great while in Vindication of the Phraſe, *tuck'd himſelf up*.

U *undertook* to prove, that a married Man lived, generally ſpeaking, happier than a Bachelor.

W *wiſhed* that the Accident had never happen'd; and ſaid, it *would* be *worſe* for ſome of the Butchers if the Man ſhould die..

X *excuſed* himſelf from talking much, being ſomewhat out of order.

Y *yielded* ſo far, that the Man ought not to have hang'd himſelf.

Z was very *zealous* in defence of Matrimony.

You will eaſily gueſs by my *Name*, what I ſaid, when I tell you that I am

Your humble Servant,
ET CAETERA.

Common Senſe, July 2. Nº 22.

A Letter from an Officer of the Army.

SIR,

THO' I am by Profeſſion a Soldier, I am not aſhamed to own that I can both Read and Write. I have made it a Rule to live always in Quarters, for I look upon it as my Duty to accompany thoſe brave Fellows I have the Honour to command; tho' we have ſeveral Officers who think me an old-faſhion'd Fellow, for having ſuch vulgar Notions of Duty; they are of Opinion, that an Officer has nothing to do but to receive his Pay punctually, and ſpend it where he can divert himſelf moſt agreeably, or where he can beſt make his Court for farther Preferment. Theſe are a Kind of Officers that are thruſt in upon us, by what is call'd a P—m—y Intereſt; a military Term invented ſince the laſt War.

But to come to my preſent Purpoſe, As I have liv'd ſeveral Years remote from *London*, and can know nothing of what paſſes with you, except by common Fame, which is much given to Lying; or by the com-

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common News-Papers, which lye more than Fame with both her Trumpets; I ſhou'd be glad to be inform'd of the Truth of a very odd Report lately come down to us, *viz.* that ſeveral military Officers, of a conſiderable Rank in the Army, have been lately treated in ſuch a Manner, as a Footman, of any Spirit, would ſcarce take from a Man who paid him his Wages.

In ſhort, it is reported here, that a certain Perſon, puff'd up with Pride to the Size of a *Coloſſus*, ſhou'd tell ſeveral of them to their Faces, that they were no better than a Parcel of Scavengers kept to do his dirty Work; and that if the beſt of them ſhould refuſe any Drudgery he ſhould think fit to lay upon them, he would ſend them *faire* f—, or Words that ſignified the ſame Thing.

If it ſhould prove to be true, you would oblige a great many old Soldiers, in letting us know what was the Conſequence of it; what Number of Cudgels was broke eroſs his Shoulders, and what particular Correction every one of the Perſons, ſo inſulted, thought fit to give him.

As to me, who began my Trade under the Victorious Duke of *Marlborough*, it is ſo amazing to hear that Officers ſhould be talk'd to in ſuch a Style, that I think it would be a proper Queſtion to ask, whether the Man's Head was not turned, and whether he has not been ſent to *Bedlam*?

When I firſt went into the Army, I carried a Pair of Colours. In two Campaigns I was made a Lieutenant, and in two more commanded a Company of Foot. In this Time I was preſent in three Battles and ſix Sieges, and roſe by having the good Fortune to ſurvive many a braver Man, who fell by my Side.

As ſoon as the Peace was concluded, the whole Army was disbanded, and I was put upon Half-Pay. I was content to be ſo, ſince it was for the Publick Good; for when I engaged in that Way of Life, my Notion was, that I was to ſerve my Country, not to be an uſeleſs Burden upon it.

In my ſeveral Advances, the only Enquiry was, how I had behav'd, and whether the Poſt I pretended to was my Right? But I ſhould have as much expected to have been ask'd if I was Circumciſed, as what P—m—y Intereſt I had.

I remember the Time when the Profeſſion of a Soldier was the moſt honour'd of any in the Nation. But Things are ſtrangely alter'd ſince the Days of *Blenheim* and *Ramellies*. The People are chang'd in Town, but much more in the Country, with Reſpect to us. I am told, that among the People of Faſhion, indeed, a General Officer is ſtill admitted; that is to ſay, when the Company is not ingaged with ſome great Man, ſuch as an *Italian* Fidler or Singer; but with us in the Country it is much worſe, for the better Sort will not converſe with us at all, and the inferior People look upon us as their Enemies.

I have been examining into the Cauſes of this Change. I believe it is one of the unavoidable Conſequences of a long Peace, that the Soldiers (if they do not take Care) muſt fall into Contempt. In other Parts of Life it is natural to deſpiſe thoſe who do not underſtand the Trade they profeſs. We muſt expect the ſame Fate: It is the Fatigues and Dangers of the Profeſſion that adorn the Soldier with the Honour; it is being accuſtom'd frequently to expoſe his Life, that makes him deſpiſe thoſe ſordid Ways by which other Men riſe in the World; but a long State of Inactivity is apt to make the Soldier and his Arms both grow ruſty; nay, which is worſe, he often contracts little Meanneſſes of Mind; he has no more that frank generous Heart, and that open eaſy Behaviour he

he had. If this be the Case of the Man who only lies by for a while, I am afraid it is much worse with him who never was acquainted with any Thing of Service beyond receiving the Pay.

I believe I may say, that not One in Twenty of our Officers ever knew any Service, except that at *Reviews*. If you were to talk of a Siege, and to mention Counterscarps, and Glacis, and cover'd Ways, some of them are so delicate, the very Terms wou'd choak them. You will say, it is not their Faults that they have not been put upon Service; but what I can't help observing, is, that the Notion that they are never to be employ'd against an Enemy, has given them other Views, and other Sentiments; nay, has given their Minds, and their very Persons, a different Turn. You find it out immediately in their Conversation; instead of entertaining each other with military Actions, you hear who will get a Company, or be made a Lieutenant Colonel, if his Kinsman carries such an Election. I am deaf with hearing of Bribery, and the Management of Elections; I can't deny, but it is most natural for Men to talk of those Actions by which they expect to rise.

I am sorry to say it, there are some Officers who never desire to make a Campaign, except against the Smugglers; some who wou'd be much better pleas'd to watch all Night for a Seizure of Tea or Brandy, than to march into Trenches, where there is nothing to be got but Honour and broken Bones; and I do assure you, they had much rather be commanded by a Custom-House Officer, than Prince *Eugene* or the Duke of *Marlborough*; but I would not have you think that we are all such; no, Sir, there are some amongst us who retain a little of the ancient Spirit, and are stung to the Quick to be put upon any ignominious Service.

But, Sir, I must return to the Insult I mention'd before; I hope you will let us know (in Case there be any Thing in it) whether those who received it, have had the Assurance to shew their Faces since. If they come into a Coffee, or Chocolate House, does any Body speak to them? —— If they are met in the Streets, or the Park, does any Gentleman take off his Hat to one of them? —— Will a Lady give her Hand to be led out of the Opera, or Play, or receive a Compliment, from such *pitiful Fellows?* I remember the Time, that no Gentleman in the Army would have rolled upon Duty with such pitiful Officers.

If we are kept standing to defend our Country from Invasions, and I hope, Sir, we are not kept for any other Use, I ask you, What Security a Nation can depend upon, in an Army commanded by Officers who have lost all Sense of Honour? I must tell you farther, Sir, that nothing great has ever been done in Armies, but where the private Men have had a good Opinion of those who commanded them; but I leave you to judge what Opinion the Soldiers must conceive of Officers, who, they hear, have been treated like Scoundrels.

What is become of all those brave Officers that carried the Reputation of this Nation so high under our glorious Q. *Anne?* Are they all dead, and is their Spirit dead with them? The first Regiment in which I serv'd, was commanded by a Colonel, who was as elegant in his Manners, as if he had been bred up in the politest Court in *Europe*, with the Bravery of an old *Roman*. I have often seen him at the Mouth of the Enemies Cannon, at the very Time that some, who now give themselves great Airs, were stealing the publick Money by little fraudulent Contracts at Home. This great Man, I am told,

told, has quitted the Service. Is he ashamed to be seen amongst us? I am sure he'll do no dirty Work; but if Officers will take such Treatment, I suppose no Man will serve amongst us, that has the Courage to snuff a Candle.

But there is one Thing I hear with Pleasure, and that is, that there was one Officer who took a proper Occasion, in a publick Place, to shew this insolent Fellow his Cane; this was right, for no Man of Honour would lay his Hand to his Sword, much less draw his Sword upon a noted Poltroon. I wish I knew who this Officer was, I am persuaded he must have good Blood in him: I desire, Sir, you will let us know his Name, or his Title, if he be noble; and I promise you, that from henceforth, his Health shall be drank every Day,

By your humble Servant,

FRANK FIRELOCK.

The Craftsman of this Day contains several Passages of Plays, *which in a sneering Way he says ought to be left out in all future Representations of them. For* this Paper *the Printer, &c. of the* Craftsman *were taken into Custody: So that we can give no farther Account of it.*

Grubstreet Journal, July 7. N° 393.

Of the Growth of Popery.

Gentlemen,

THE Writer of this is a Protestant Member of the Church of *England*, as by Law established; and to say no more in the third Person, I am exceedingly glad to see Popery boldly attacked in any Shape. That great Industry is used to gain Proselytes to it here, and with equal Success, is too notorious. For Atheism, a scandalous Corruption of Manners, and an utter Depravation of common Faith and Humanity, are a sure Foundation on which to build that Superstructure. But you do not go to the Bottom, when you point out our Errors and Misconduct in those Circumstances only. Popery is a Religion derived neither from God nor Nature; and a national Disbelief of the one, or deserting the Dictates of the other, will hardly (without the Help of temporal Motives) carry us all those Lengths which we are required to go, in order to arrive at the Heights of it.

Therefore give me leave, Gentlemen, to ask you a few sober Questions. Why are Beads, Crucifixes, *Agnus Deis* ('tis a Parliamentary Expression) sacring Bells, and Popish Manuals, sold as openly and publickly as the Bible and Common-prayer Book? Why are so many private Popish Chapels (equal in Number to the several Priests) in *Soho*, *Bloomsbury*, *Hanover*, *Red-Lyon*, and *Golden-Squares*, and in numberless other Places in and about this and other great Cities, suffered to remain? Who is it, that encourages, protects, and cherishes *Scotch* (I give them the upper Hand now) *Irish*, and *English Roman* Missionaries, daring to own their Religion and Want of publick Countenance, tho' presenting themselves under feigned and fictitious Names? If you answer these Questions, you will give the Publick a very needful Satisfaction: If not, you leave it under the melancholy Apprehensions, that the Body of the People are leagued against themselves and their Country; which (however bad they may be) is not the Case yet.

As I join in Opinion with you, about the Quakers, I shall give you a small Specimen of a notable Step, which the People of that Profession have taken towards the Propagation of Popery abroad; and as I have it from a Gentleman who has lived many Years in *Pensylvania*, I confide in the Truth of it; let the Quakers deny it if they can. In the Town of *Philadelphia*, in that Colony, is a publick Popish Chapel where that Religion has free and open Exercise, and in it all the superstitious Rites of that Church are as avowedly performed, as those of the Church of *England* are in the Royal Chapel at St. *James's*. And this Chapel is not only open upon Fasts and Festivals, but is so all Day, and every Day in the Week, and exceedingly frequented at all Hours, either for publick or private Devotion; tho' it is fullest (as my Friend observes) at those Times when the Meeting-House of the Men of St. *Omer's* is thinnest, and so *vice versa*. This Chapel, slightly built, and for a very good Reason, is but small at present, tho' there is much more Land purchased round it, for the same pious Purposes, than would contain *Westminster-Abbey*, and the Apartments, Offices, *&c.* thereunto belonging. That these are Truths (whatever Use you are pleased to make of them) you may, at any Time, be satisfied by any Trader or Gentleman who has been there within a few Years, (except he be a Quaker) at the *Carolina* and *Pensylvania* Coffee-House, near the *Royal-Exchange*.

Old Whig, July, 7. N° 122.

Causes of Superstition: Extracted from a late Author.

THE Causes of Superstition are as various as the Weaknesses and Fancies of Men; for they are indeed those very Weaknesses and Fancies. Whatever we perceive in ourselves, and esteem a Perfection, that we naturally ascribe to any one, whom we would mightily extol and honour. Hence it follows, that according to the good or ill Qualities of Men, their Apprehensions of

a Deity will differ. The wife and good Man will naturally be led to attribute infinite Wifdom and perfect Goodneſs to his God. The ill-natured Man will be apt to make him a peeviſh croſs-grain'd Being, that takes Pleaſure in the Unhappineſs and Uneaſineſs of his Dependents, and places his Glory in doing what he wills, and not in willing what is Good and Right; requiring the moſt unreaſonable Service, and diſdaining to let his Subjects enquire why he demands it: In ſhort, a Being, who is a Maſter of Slaves, rather than a Governor of Subjects. The fooliſh vain Man will be apt to fancy that his Deity takes Pleaſure in what he finds himſelf to be moſt delighted with. He is raviſhed with Flattery and fawning Addreſſes; and therefore he reckons the ſureſt Way to pleaſe his God is by ceremonious Compliments and Cringes. As his own Vanity makes him delight in coſtly Apparel, with a glaring Equipage, and love to ſee himſelf ſurrounded with Pomp and Pageantry; ſo he thinks to gain his Deity's Favour by the like Trifles.

But then, in order to make theſe ill Qualities a ſufficient Cauſe to produce all the Idolatries of Superſtition, they muſt be accompanied with an uncommon Stupidity and Inattention of the Mind; which ſoon prevailed in the World, and depraved the Minds of Men to ſuch a Degree, that they forgot not only all the true Notions of Divinity, but even of every Thing that was good and excellent; by which Means they became obnoxious to any Abſurdities that came in their Way. When they had loſt all the natural Notions of an infinite, immenſe Being, they deviſed innumerable Crowds of Deities, confined like themſelves, and moving from Place to Place. Theſe Gods they ſuppoſed to be in all Things like Men; luſtful and quarrelſome; falſe and deceitful; full of Revenge, and inexorable to their Enemies.

The cunning and artful Part of Mankind, taking Advantage of this Corruption, which the Stupidity and Inadvertency of the Multitude had introduced, improved mightily upon it, and impoſed upon the World all the wildeſt Inconſiſtencies, which the Brain of Man could invent; and by that means moulded the Underſtandings of the Generality as they pleaſed; making them believe, that the Gods approved of every Thing they thought fit to d ſtate. Wherever the *Magus*, the *Augur*, or the *Druid* pleas'd to point, there they fell proſtrate, and paid divine Honours.

Mankind is remarkably ſubject to two prevalent Frailties, which give an advantageous Handle to thoſe, who govern them in their religious Concerns, to hold them faſt under the Power of Superſtition. The firſt is a vehement Deſire to be indulged in their Vices and Irregularities. This blinds them to ſuch a Degree, that they are ready to believe and do any Thing, which they think will ſtand them in the Stead of Virtue, and ſave them the Expence of a good Life. By this Weakneſs they are powerfully governed: Their Maſters indulge them in every Kind of Vice; and oblige them ſo vaſtly by theſe endearing Favours, that they may impoſe upon them any painful or ridiculous Duties and Incumbrances.

The other Frailty is a ſtrong Propenſity of Mind towards every Thing that is Myſterious, Dark, and Incomprehenſible, as well as to what is Marvellous and full of Surprize. This makes ſo many Men deſpiſe plain good Senſe, and run after every Thing which they do not underſtand. A Religion that is intelligible, is to them no Religion at all; neither can they admire any Thing they can comprehend.

Wherever Superſtition has prevailed, the Managers have always taken Care to give the very Outſide of it a dark and myſterious Appearance, to anſwer to the inward Gloominеſs which it caſts over the Underſtanding. Their Oracles are delivered from horrid and obſcure Receſſes. Their Gods lie hid in the thick Shades of Groves, or in Temples where the Chearfulneſs of the Light is not permitted to enter. Some Perſons have fancied, that without theſe gloomy Structures Religion would ſoon decay; the Truth of the Matter is, that without them Superſtition would ſpeedily decline: For the Minds of Men would not be long awed by ſuch an empty Phantom, without ſome viſible Images of it to ſtrike upon their Senſes and terrify their Souls.

I ſhall only add this one Remark, That as the Chriſtian Religion is the beſt of all Religions; ſo Chriſtian Superſtition, which is the Corruption of it, is the worſt of all Superſtitions.

Weekly Miſcellany, July 8. N° 237.

THIS Paper is on the Frequency of *Self-Murders*, which the Writer imputes chiefly to the Increaſe of Infidelity; and concludes thus:

Cannot therefore Reaſon of itſelf ſtrike out right Principles as well as draw right Concluſions from them, for the Conduct of human Life? I anſwer, in Fact that it has not done it, as appears from the Miſtakes it has made in every Age, in relation to Life and Death. For, alas! after all, what is *Reaſon*, conſidered independent of *Revelation*? The Reaſon of every Man is to *him* Reaſon: And this admits of almoſt as great Variety as the Faces of Men. The Reaſon of *Socrates* told him, *God* could not be the Author of natural Evils: A juſt Concluſion from hence might be, that he was not pleaſed with them and conſequently did not deſire Men to ſuffer them, conſequently they might refuſe to ſuffer them, and if no other Way offered, they might go out of Life to avoid them. The Reaſon of *Cato* told him, that a great Man ſhould

should die a thousand Deaths, rather than submit to Slavery; the Conclusion was, he must kill himself rather than yield to *Cæsar*. The *Indian Philosophers* thought Life no longer a Truft, than while it was ſerviceable to the Owner and others, and then infers'd, that in Sickneſs and old Age it was Wiſdom and Virtue to quit it; in this Caſe they aſcended a wooden Pile and were burn'd to Aſhes; as one was before *Alexander*, and another in the Preſence of *Auguſtus Cæſar*. Others have gone a Step further, directed by the ſame Premiſes, and concluded, what was a Benefit to themſelves, muſt be ſo to others, and in conſequence of this believed it their Duty to murder their Parents and neareſt Relations, when in the Circumſtances of Infirmity and Pain. A *late Gentleman*, who choſe to drown himſelf, ſeemed to jump with theſe Men in the Concluſion, whatever were his Principles; for he uſed much Perſuaſion with his Miſtreſs and natural Daughter to make the laſt Voyage with him, not to be Spectators, but Sharers of his Fate, as was juſtly apprehended. (See p. 274.) A conſiderable Sect among the Wiſe-ones avow'd a perfect Indifference in Nature, and gave no Preference to Truth above Falſhood in Words, nor diſtinguiſh'd Right from Wrong in Actions: They might therefore refuſe their Life to their Country's Safety, and the next Hour ſacrifice it to their own Humour. O Reaſon, falſe, deluſive, ſpecious Name! What art thou, but Ignorance, Pride, Fancy, Whim and Chance? Since thou canſt draw out and confirm contradictory Rules of Action, and art what every Man happens or pleaſes to make thee!

Craftſman, July 9. N° 575.

Of the ARMY.

THE moſt plauſible Argument for keeping up the *preſent Number of Forces*, in Times of *Peace*, hath always been, that it is not properly a *ſtanding Army*, nor a *royal Army*, tho' the *King* hath the ſole Command and Direction of it; but a *national* or *popular Army*, becauſe it comes annually under the Conſideration of *Parliament*, and is granted only *from Year to Year*. What Weight there is in this Argument, hath been formerly examined. But if it is the *People's Army*, in any Senſe, it ought certainly to be employ'd for *their Service* who are at the whole Expence of maintaining it, and made as little burdenſome to them as poſſible. For this Reaſon, both *Officers* and *Soldiers* ought not only to be kept under a ſtrict Diſcipline in their *Quarters*, as well as in the *Field*, but all *unneceſſary Charges* ſhould be avoided.

I have often heard it obſerved, by *Officers of Experience*, that a very conſiderable Saving might be made by a Reduction of our *Cavalry*, which is of the leaſt Service *abroad*, and of much leſs *at home*; tho' vaſtly more burdenſom to the People, upon whom they are *quarter'd*, as well as expenſive to the Publick. This is more particularly true of what are commonly call'd *Horſe*, in Contradiſtinction to *Dragoons*; tho' the *latter*, according to their preſent Eſtabliſhment, are full as uſeful in every Reſpect as the *former*, notwithſtanding the great Difference in their *Pay*. I ſhall ſay nothing of the *King's Body-Guard*, either *Horſe* or *Foot*; becauſe the extraordinary Charge of living *in Town*, and more coſtly *Cloathing*, may be thought a juſt Reaſon for making ſome Diſtinction between *them* (eſpecially the *Subalterns*) and the *marching Regiments*.

As the chief Expence of our Army conſiſts in the great Number of *Commiſſion* and *Non-Commiſſion Officers*, the moſt effectual Method of relieving us, would be to break *whole Corps*, or *Regiments*, if it ſhould be ever thought proper to make any Reduction; but having very little Hopes of ſuch Relief at preſent, it is in the Power of our *Superiors* to give us ſome Eaſe another Way: I mean by regularly applying to the *publick Uſe* the Profits of all *vacant Commiſſions* and *military Governments*, which it may be thought proper, not to be fill'd up, for any conſiderable Time. This, I am ſure, is highly reaſonable; for ſince the *People* are at the whole Expence of the *Army*, without having any Share in the Command, or Diſpoſition of it, all Deductions from the general Charge ought to be refunded and apply'd to *their Uſe*. An Account of the Savings upon *this Head*, was call'd for ſome Years ago in *Parliament*; and tho' it was not granted, at that Time, we can make no Doubt that the *Publick* will have a particular Account, next Seſſion, of the Profits accruing from the *great Commiſſions* and *other military Employments*, which have been ſo long kept vacant.

In former Reigns, when *Prerogative* and *arbitrary Power* prevail'd, it was a common Practice for our Princes to keep the *richeſt Biſhopricks* vacant for ſeveral Years, and ſink the Revenues of them in their *own Coffers*. This was the Subject of frequent Complaints, both in *Parliament* and out of it, which at laſt put a Stop to *that iniquitous Practice*; and the ſame Reaſons will hold as ſtrongly in the *other Caſe*; for a *Diocefe*, without a *Biſhop*, is not a more abſurd Thing than a *Regiment* without a *Colonel*, or a *Gariſon* without a *Governor*; and if it ſhould be ſaid that an *inferior Officer* is able to ſupply their Places, eſpecially in Times of *Peace*, what Occaſion is there for *ſuch expenſive Commands*; or, at leaſt, why ſhould not the *Publick* have the Benefit of all *Savings* to be made, whilſt they continue vacant?

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I could mention ſeveral *other Savings*, which might be made by a proper Regulation of the *Army*, even without any *Reduction*; but I ſhall proceed at preſent to another Conſideration, which affects the *Officers* themſelves, as well as the *People*.

It hath been formerly urged, that we have nothing to apprehend from the *preſent Army*, becauſe there are ſo many *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen of Fortune* in it, who will never ſacrifice the *Liberties of their Country*, in which *their own Eſtates* are ſo nearly concern'd, for the Sake of a *temporary Commiſſion*. Time, indeed, hath verify'd the Truth of this Obſervation, in ſome Meaſure, by the glorious Conduct of *ſeveral great Officers*, who have given us the moſt convincing Teſtimony that they prefer the *publick Good* to their *own private Intereſt*. But if the *Maxim* lately advanced, *That he muſt be a* pitiful Fellow of *a Miniſter, who will ſuffer any Perſon to continue in Employment, if he preſumes to oppoſe or cenſure any of his Meaſures*; if *this Maxim*, I ſay, ſhould be once eſtabliſh'd, the whole Force of the Argument before-mention'd, whatever there is in it, will fall to the Ground; for this is a publick Declaration that all *military Officers*, as well as *others*, are only *Creatures of the Miniſter*, for the Time being.

There is a Paſſage in *Rapin's Hiſtory of England*, concerning the Emperor *Commodus*, that, I believe, the Reader will be pleas'd with a Citation of. *Commodus* was not only a very *bad Prince*, but affected the Character of a *Gladiator*, dreſs'd himſelf up in the *Skins of wild Beaſts* to make himſelf look terrible, and was properly what we call, in modern Language, a *Martinet*. The Paſſage I am now going to quote from *Rapin* relates to the Government of *Britain*, in his Reign.

' * In the Reign of *Commodus*, the *Caledonians* taking up Arms, cut in Pieces the *Roman* Army, commanded by an *unexperienced General*, and ravaged the Country in a terrible Manner. The whole Province was in Danger of being over-run, had not the *Emperor* ſent over with all Speed *Ulpius Marcellus*, who in a very little Time put an End to this dangerous War. He obſerved that theſe Commotions and Inroads of the *Caledonians* were owing to Want of Diſcipline in the *Roman* Army, and therefore he ſet about to bring it to its antient Strictneſs, which he happily accompliſh'd. But notwithſtanding *theſe* and *all his other Services*, the *Emperor* ungratefully deprived him of his *Government*, and had like to have put him to Death. *Marcellus* was no ſooner gone, but the *Army* began to mutiny; upon which *Perennius*, the *Emperor's Favourite*, broke or call'd home all the *old Officers*, putting in their Places ſuch as were devoted to *himſelf*. The *Army* exaſperated the more at this, ſent a Detachment of 1500 *Men* to accuſe him before the *Emperor*, of treaſonable Practices. *Commodus*, having been jealous of him for ſome Time, deliver'd him up to the *Soldiers*, who executed him upon the Spot.'

If *the Maxim* abovemention'd ſhould prevail, *thoſe Officers*, who ſhall be Members of *either Houſe of Parliament*, will be in a worſe Condition then the reſt; unleſs they ſhould be reſolved to ſacrifice every Thing to their *Intereſt* and *Preferment*; for voting againſt *an arbitrary Miniſter*, in any ſingle Point, or only abſenting from their *Duty*, will be reſented in a much ſtronger Manner than any *other Act of Diſobedience*, which they can be guilty of *without Doors*. They will be regularly ſummon'd, upon all great Points, by the *Miniſter's Aid de Camps*, and no Excuſes of *Illneſs*, or *Buſineſs*, will be able to ſave them from the Effects of his Revenge.

I have taken Notice more than once, for the Honour of K. *William*, that when his *Miniſters* preſs'd him to diſcharge Sir *George Rooke*, for voting againſt ſome of their Meaſures in Parliament, the *King* wiſely aſk'd them, whether they had any Thing to object againſt him as an *Admiral*; and being dumb-founded upon this Head, he told them that he would never turn out a *brave old Officer*, for his Conduct in *Parliament*, which was a quite *different Duty*, and ought to be executed, according to every Man's Conſcience, without the Imputation of being *diſaffected*.

Towards the latter End of Q. *Anne's* Reign, when ſhe had entirely changed her *Miniſtry*, and diſplaced her *victorious General*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, it cannot be forgot that *three great Officers* were turn'd out of their *Commiſſions*, for expreſſing their Affection for their *old General*, in a Manner, which gave great Offence to the *Court*; but, if I am not miſinform'd, they had all *Sums of Money* granted them, in Lieu of their *Commiſſions*.

Upon the *Queen's* Death, *ſeveral other Officers*, who were ſuppoſed to be in a different Intereſt from the *Government*, were likewiſe caſhier'd; but I am told that even *they* were order'd to *ſell*, or had *Money* given them for their *Commiſſions*.

I ſhall not here enter into the Diſpute, whether any Employments, *civil* or *military*, (to ſay nothing of *eccleſiaſtical ones*) ought to be *bought*, or *ſold*; but if any Man is allow'd to lay out a great Sum of Money in *buying*, he ought certainly to be allow'd to *ſell*, unleſs he hath forfeited all Pretenſions to it by his *ill Behaviour* in the Poſt, which he enjoy'd.

* *Vol.* 1. *p.* 61. 8*vo Edit.*

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How *this Maxim* may affect the *lower Officers* is very obvious; for if Perſons, who were either born, created, or have ſucceeded to the *higheſt Titles*, and of the moſt eminent Affection to the *Government*, ſhould be diſcharged, for only offending *ſuch an arbitrary Miniſter*; how can thoſe, of *inferior Degree*, expect to eſcape; much leſs to be promoted, according to their Rank, unleſs they have *ſome other Qualification* to recommend them, beſides their *Services in the Army?*—— But the Wickedneſs, Abſurdity, and Folly of what is call'd *P——l——m——y Intereſt*, upon this Account, is ſo well expoſed in *Common Senſe* of laſt *Saturday*, (p. 370.) that I ſhall only add an Obſervation or two upon it.

If the Practice of turning out *military Officers*, without any other Reaſon than doing their Duty in *Parliament*, ſhould be eſtabliſh'd; they ought either to be reſtrain'd from ſitting there, or to have ſuch an Independency as becomes *Members of Parliament*. This is not only agreeable to the Nature of our *Conſtitution*, but would be of great Advantage to the *old Officers*, whoſe Services ought to be their only Recommendation, in their *military Capacity*; for if any Thing elſe is to be conſider'd, they muſt either forfeit their Honour as *Soldiers*, and caſt off all Regard for their Country as *Engliſhmen*, or loſe the Reward of their *paſt Services*, and the Hopes of all *future Preferment*.

In ſhort, if *this Doctrine* ſhould ever be put compleatly in Execution, I am ready to agree with the *miniſterial Writers*, that our *preſent Army* is, in the ſtricteſt Senſe, a *P——n——y Army*, tho' not a *National one*.

Common Senſe, July 9. N° 23.

Of FRIENDSHIP.

WHoever ſhall confound Friendſhip with that Correſpondence which Buſineſs, or common Civility have eſtabliſhed, will fall into a great Error; theſe are no more than an Exchange of Compliments and Viſits, a Kind of Commerce of Sound and Grimace.

Friendſhip is a Union of Hearts by the Means of Virtue and Merit, confirm'd by a certain Reſemblance and Conformity of Manners. A brilliant Wit, ſolid and agreeable Talents, may gain upon our Eſteem, but they have no Right to our Friendſhip, unleſs they are accompanied with Virtue. We ought to diſtinguiſh that which pleaſes now and then, from that which will pleaſe for ever.

We muſt behave with Gentleneſs and Politeneſs to thoſe with whom we are to live, becauſe, we cannot have too many People to wiſh us well; but we are not to take the Meaſures of a laſting Friendſhip with any Man, except with one who has a generous noble Mind, as well as a ſound Judgment.

Caution and Management are neceſſary in the Choice of our Friends; and we muſt not deliver ourſelves up, upon a ſlight Acquaintance. Friendſhips ſuddenly form'd, commonly end as ſoon as they are begun.

One of the chief Obligations of Friendſhip, is, to communicate ſome ſecret Charm to every Thing that happens in the Life of a Friend, whether good or bad; ſomething that may leſſen the Senſe of the bad, and raiſe the Senſe of the Good; ſo that no Misfortune may be inſupportable, nor any Pleaſure may be loſt to him.

The Duties of Friendſhip are not confined to this alone; it conſiſts alſo in ſetting us right in our Notions, in correcting our falſe Steps, in favouring our Enterprizes, in making us moderate in our Succeſſes, and in ſupporting us in Adverſity.

We muſt excuſe the Faults of our Friends; for to expect that our Friends ſhall have no Faults, is as much as to reſolve to love Nobody.

If the Reputation of our Friends is attack'd in their Abſence, we muſt ingage in their Defence. If they are preſent, we muſt ſecond them with Prudence; and, in private, we ought to have the Courage to reprehend them for their Faults.

Politicians have laid it down as a Rule, that we ſhould love in ſuch a Manner, as if we were one Day to hate; and hate, as if we were one Day to love. I think this Maxim is very good with Reſpect to Hatred, but that it cannot be applied to true Friendſhip: It is a Conduct that can be follow'd only in that Kind of Friendſhip, which Chance, ſome trifling Pleaſures, common Intereſt, or ſome accidental Liking happen to form.

Amongſt true Friends there muſt be no ſuch Thing as Diſtruſt; there muſt be no Secrets, except thoſe which have been confided to you by a third Perſon; which is a ſacred Truſt you are not to make uſe of upon any Occaſion whatſoever.

Let the Ties of Friendſhip be never ſo ſtrict, yet they have their Bounds, and they muſt be ſubſervient to three principal Duties. We are all born ſubject to certain Obligations; we owe a Duty to God, to our Country, and laſt of all to our Family.

Theſe ſeveral Duties have their different Degrees; thoſe of Friendſhip are in the laſt Rank. As Creatures, we belong to our great Creator; as Subjects, to the State; and as Men, to our Family. We are born Creatures, Subjects, and Kinſmen; but we become Friends. We come into the World, chaig'd with theſe firſt Debts, which we are obliged to pay, preferable to thoſe which we contract by our own Choice.

There are Accidents not to be foreſeen, which

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which often break Friendſhip. In this Caſe, we muſt take Care of being too eaſy in liſtening to bad Suggeſtions, too ready to believe, and too rigorous to condemn. Reaſon and Juſtice forbid us to condemn any Perſon without hearing; by a much ſtronger Reaſon, Common Senſe and Humanity exact it of us, in the Caſe of a Friend. We ſhould, on the contrary, with great Calmneſs examine into the Truth, and, above all, avoid making uſe of any ſevere Terms in coming to an *Eclairciſſement*; there are ſome who, for want of this Diſcretion alone, have given Wounds to the Heart of a Friend, which are never to be cured.

If, after all, one ſhould be under an indiſpenſable Neceſſity of breaking off intirely, there are Meaſures to be kept even in Caſe of a Rupture. There is a Reſpect to be paid to paſt Friendſhip, at the Time that it is no more. All Noiſe and Eclat muſt particularly be avoided, and we ought to take ſpecial Care that this Rupture is neither to be begun nor followed by Paſſion. Above all, we are not to diſcover former Secrets. The Myſteries of ancient Friendſhip muſt never be profaned. We owe this Regard to ourſelves.

To conclude, Happy is he who can find a true Friend, and happy is he who has the Qualities neceſſary to make a Friend!

Fog's *Journal*, N° 5.

The SPEECH *of a noble Lord in the* DEBATE *on the Bill for* reſtraining the Licentiouſneſs of the STAGE.

My Lords,

THE Bill now before your Lordſhips having paſs'd the Houſe of Commons with ſo much *Precipitancy*, as even to get the *Start* of *one* that deſerved all the *Reſpect* which could be paid it, has ſet me on conſidering why *ſo much regard* has been paid to *this*; why it has been puſhed into the Houſe at the *Cloſe* of a Seſſion, and preſſed in ſo ſingular a Manner; but I confeſs, I am yet at a Loſs to find out the *great Occaſion*. My Lords, I apprehend it to be a Bill of *a very* extraordinary, *a very* dangerous Nature, and altho' it *ſeems deſigned* only as a *Reſtraint* on the Licentiouſneſs of *the Stage*, I fear, it looks farther and tends to a Reſtraint on the *Liberty* of the *Preſs*, a Reſtraint even on *Liberty itſelf*. —— I have gather'd from common Talk, while this Bill was moving in the Houſe of Commons, that a Play was offer'd the Players, which if my Account was right, is truly of a moſt ſcandalous, a moſt flagitious Nature. What was the Effect? Why they not only *refuſed to act* it, but carried it to a certain Perſon in the Adminiſtration, as a ſure Method to have it ſuppreſs'd. Could *this* be the Occaſion of the Bill? Surely no, *the Caution* of the Players could never occaſion a *Law* to reſtrain them, it is an Argument in their Favour, and a *material one*, in my Opinion, againſt the Bill, and is to me *a Proof* that the Laws are not only *ſufficient* to deter *them* from acting what *they* know *would offend*, but alſo to puniſh 'em in caſe they ſhould *venture* to do it. —— My Lords, I muſt own I have obſerved of late a remarkable Licentiouſneſs in the Stage: There were two Plays acted laſt Winter that, one would have thought, ſhould have given the *greateſt Offence*, and yet were *ſuffer'd* without any Cenſure whatever; in one of theſe Plays the Author though fit to repreſent *Religion, Phyſick, and the Law*, as *inconſiſtent* with *Common Senſe*; the other was founded on *a Story* very unfit for a Theatrical Entertainment at this Time of Day, a Story ſo *recent* in the Minds of *Engliſhmen*, and of *ſo ſolemn a Nature*, that unleſs it be from the *Pulpit*, we ought not to be reminded of it. The Stage *may* want Regulation, the Stage may have it, and yet be kept within Bounds without *a new Law* for the Purpoſe. I am againſt this Bill, *as* an *unneceſſary*, and *as a dangerous one*, and ſhall give your Lordſhips my Reaſons for this Opinion. — My Lords, I obſerve a *Power* is to be lodged in the Hands of *one Perſon only*, to judge and determine the Offences made puniſhable by this Bill, *a Power too great* to be in the Hands of any one.—When I ſay this, I am ſure I do *not* mean to give the *leaſt*, the moſt *diſtant* Offence, to that noble Perſon who fills the Poſt of L—— C——, and whoſe natural Candour and Love of Juſtice, I know would not *permit* him to exerciſe *that Power* but with the *greateſt* Juſtice and Humanity; and was it *conſiſtent* with the Nature of *Property* or were we ſure that the *Succeſſors* in that Office would always be Perſons of ſuch diſtinguiſhed Qualities, I think ſuch a *Power* could not be truſted in a *ſafer Hand*. — My Lords, one of the *greateſt Goods* we can enjoy is *Liberty*; the beſt Things have *Allays*; *Liberty* has its *Allay*, *Licentiouſneſs* is the *Allay* of *Liberty*, it is the *Exceſcence* and the *Ebullition* of it: When I touch the one, it is with a *fearful*, with a *trembling* Hand, leſt I ſhould *unwarily* do a *Violence* to the other. Is a Play *a Libel* upon *any One*? The Law is ſufficient to puniſh the *Offender*, and the Perſon in this Caſe has a *ſingular* Advantage, he can be at no Difficulty to prove who is the *Publiſher* of it, the *Player* himſelf is the *Publiſher*, and there can be no want of *Evidence* to convict him. —— When we complain of the *Licentiouſneſs* of the *Stage*, I fear we have more Reaſon to complain of *bad Meaſures in our Policy*, and a general *Decay* of *Virtue* and *good Morals* among us. Let the Cenſured *mend their Actions*, and *Cenſure* will retort upon the *Cenſurer*, the *Ridiculer* make only himſelf

himself *ridiculous*, and *Odium* will fall to the *Ground*. In the *Roman Story* there is an Instance applicable to the *present* Occasion: During the Triumvirate of *Pompey*, *Crassus*, and *Sylla*, one *Diphilus* a Poet had wrote a Play wherein *Pompey* was particularly *markt out*, (*Pompey* at that Time was as well known by the Name of *Magnus* as *Pompey*) and in a Speech of the Play where the *bad Measures* of the Time were exploded, it concluded with these Words, *Et miseria nostra tu es Magnus*, upon which the Audience gave a *universal* Clap of Applause and were so *struck* with the *Wit* and *Force* of the Expression, that *Cicero* says, they made the *Actor* repeat it a *hundred Times*.——What did *Pompey?* (who was present on this Occasion) Did he *resent* the Satyr or the People's Applause? *No*, his Conduct was *wise* and *prudent*, he *reflected justly* within himself that *some Actions* he had been *guilty* of had made him *unpopular*; from that Hour he began to *alter his Measures*, he regain'd by Degrees *the People's Esteem*, grew *Popular* again, and then neither *feared* their Wit, nor *felt* their Satyr.——My Lords, the *Stage*, preserved and kept up to its true Purpose, should, no doubt, only represent those Incidents in the Actions and Characters of Men as may tend to the *Discouragement of Vice*, and the *promoting of Virtue*, and *good Life*; nor does it vary from its Institution when it *helps us* to judge of the *Vices* and *Follies* of the Times; and tho' the *Romans*, at the Time I have mentioned, were *declining* in their *Liberty*, yet it is plain they had not then *lost* the *Use* of it; but when the *Stage* is under *Power* and *Controul*, such Instances are not to be met with. In the Life of that wonderful and excellent Genius *Moliere*, the Author tells us, that when his *Tartuffe* was acted, the *Archbishop of Paris* thought the Play reflected upon *him*, and fancied that *Moliere* had taken *his Measure* for one of the principal Characters. Upon this, the Archbishop goes to the King and makes heavy Complaints against *Moliere*; and tho' the Play was justly admired, as an excellent Piece, yet to *please* the Archbishop the King *silenced* the Actors, and *forbid* the Play. *Moliere* some Time after, in the Presence of the *Prince de Conde*, took Notice to him how hard his Fate was, to be under the *King's Displeasure* for a Play that was founded upon the *strictest* Rules of *Morality*, *Virtue*, and *Religion*, when at the same Time *Harlequin* and his *Italian Troop* were *suffered* to act the most indecent Pieces imaginable, notoriously *incouraging Vice* and *Immorality*, and *offensive* to all Religion in the World; the Prince answer'd him very aptly, *I am not at all surprized at it*, says he, *for Harlequin only ridicules Religion in general, whereas you have ventured to ridicule the Prime Minister of it.* I must say *freely*, I am for *no Power* that may exert itself in an *arbitrary* Manner; *the* C—rt is always for favouring its *own Schemes*, and is fond of making every Thing in its Power *subservient* to them; *our Stage* has been formerly made very *useful* in this Particular; in King *Charles the Second's* Time there was a Licenser at Court, which was the *Practice* then. *Why*, when we were out of *Humour* with *Holland*, *Dryden* the Laureat wrote his Play of the *Cruelty* of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*. When the Affair of the *Exclusion Bill* was depending, he wrote his *Duke of Guise*.—When the Court took *Offence at the City*, (where there was some Property to preserve as well as to defend) the Plays represented the *Citizens* as a Parcel of *griping Usurers* and *designing Knaves*, and, to make their Characters compleat, *Cuckolds*. The *Cavaliers* at that Time who were to be *flattered*, tho' the worst of Characters, were always *very worthy honest Gentlemen*; and the *Dissenters*, who were to be *abused*, were always *Scoundrels* and *quaint mischievous Fellows*.—*Teague* (a notorious Rogue that liv'd by Rapine and Plunder) was the *fine Gentleman*; and he that could not *follow Teague* in his *Politicks* was a sad Fellow, and capable of no *Trust* whatsoever.—In this Manner was the Stage managed under a *Licenser*.— And tho' I have the greatest Esteem for that noble Lord in whose Hands this *Power* at present is designed to fall, and whose Impartiality and Judgment I have the greatest Confidence in, yet sometimes a *Leaning* towards the *Fictions of a Court* is hard to be avoided, and as to *Virtue* and *good Morals*, that is not always the *Place* where they are to be found. My Lords, if it were *necessary* a Bill of this Kind should pass, I am of Opinion, the Method proposed in this, to *restrain* the Licentiousness complained of, *will not answer the Purpose*; for if it does not extend to the *Restraint of Printing*, (which I hope it never will) it cannot produce that *desired* Effect. When my L—d C—— has *marked* a Play with his *Refusal*, may it not be *printed?* Will it not be *printed* with *double* the Advantage, when it shall be insinuated, that it was *refused* for having some Character or Strokes of Wit or Satyr in it, that were *not suffered* to come on the *Stage?* And will not the Printer set the *Refusal* in his Title-Page as a *Mark of Value?* Is it not natural to be *found* of every Thing that is *forbid*, and will it not be more likely to have its Effect among the People, by this means, when the *printed Play* may cost but a Shilling, and the *seeing* it acted will cost 3 or 4?—Does not the Satyr *remain* in Print to be read and considered, when the *Offence* in acting is *over* and *forgot?*—I don't doubt but there are People who will *set down* to write a Play *on purpose* to have it refused, and that will be the *only Merit* belonging to it; for I must observe to your Lordships that, altho' it is very difficult

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cult to write one that is fit to be *accepted*, yet it is eaſy enough to write one that is fit to be *refuſed*. The Players, I believe, are pretty ſenſible there are fewer guilty of the former than the latter. *Wit* is the *Property* of thoſe who have it, and very often the *only* Property they have. — Thank God, *we*, my Lords, are better provided than to depend upon ſo precarious a Support. I muſt own, I am not for laying any *particular* Reſtraint upon *Wit*; but by this Bill, Wit is to be delivered out to the Publick by *Retail*, it is to be *Exciſed*, my Lords, and the L—d C—— is to have the Honour of being the *Gager*, the *Exciſeman*, the *Judge*, and *Jury*; and the poor Author, who has not to much as a *worthy Commiſſioner* to appeal to, muſt patiently undergo the *Rummaging* of his Goods for fourteen Days together, before he can have them returned; and return'd how? Why, perhaps, with a *Prohibition* againſt the *Uſe* of them.— *No* Play was ever wrote but *ſome* of the Characters, Speeches, and Expreſſions, might be *interpreted* to point out *ſome* Perſon or another; it is *impoſſible* to write any Thing for the *Stage* that is not liable to the moſt *unthought* of Conſtructions, it is not to be *avoided*, and tho' it may have the *lawful* Paſſport to it, yet when it comes to be acted the People *will* make their *Applications*: And here I cannot help obſerving, what an *unthankful* Office it muſt *prove* to that noble Lord, who is to make the *Piece current*, when Reflection ſhall be fixed upon particular Perſons, and be *authoriz'd* at the ſame Time under his own *Hand*. Such Accidents will be no little Uneaſineſs to that noble Perſon, whoſe great *Conduct* in Life is well known, *always* to *avoid* giving the *leaſt Offence* to any one.—My Lords, from Laws of *this* Nature I ſuſpect *very ill* Conſequences, nor can I frame to myſelf any one good Argument or Reaſon for this Bill. It is *an Arrow* that does but *glance* upon the Stage; it *gives its Wound* at a Diſtance. — No Country ever loſt its *Liberty* at *once*, 'tis by *Degrees* that Work is to be done, by *ſuch* Degrees as creep inſenſibly upon you 'till 'tis *too late* to ſtop the Miſchief; like the *ſhadowing* of a Colour, we may trace it from its *firſt* Light into its *deepeſt Dye*, but are not able to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral *Gradations* of it.—It is neceſſary that the *Briars* and *Thorns* ſhould be removed, before *Power* can clear itſelf for Action; but then we ſee it taking *long Strides over a Land*.—The *Romans* loſt their Liberty by *reſtraining Licentiouſneſs*; I hope *we* ſhall never do it at *ſo dear* a Rate, and yet I fear we are *clearing* the Way for *thoſe* who may thank us *hereafter* for doing ſo much of the Work ready to their Hands. — *Our Laws*, I am well convinced, are already *ſufficient* to puniſh *Licentiouſneſs* in any Shape, and I can ſee no Reaſon for a new one, that *may* be *dangerous*, and, impartially, *muſt* be allowed to be *unneceſſary*.

N. B. *Tho' the foregoing Copy or Abſtract of a Speech made by a noble L—d laſt Seſſion, be very imperfect and erroneous, we have thought fit to give it a Place in this Month's Collection, becauſe it has met with ſome Applauſe among thoſe who had not the good Fortune to hear the Original. We were before furniſhed with a more regular and exact Abſtract of that excellent Speech, which we intended to have communicated to our Readers in its proper Place in our* Journal of the Proceedings and Debates of laſt Seſſion; *but as the Publiſhing of this imperfect and blundering Abſtract has given occaſion to ſome* pitiful Writers *to inſult the noble Author, as if he had been guilty of the Blunders, which they know to be the Blunders of the Publiſher only, therefore we ſhall give our Abſtract of that Speech in the* Magazine *for next Month; for tho' we cannot pretend to equal the beautiful Original, yet we may preſume to ſay it will be found more methodical, and more perfect, or at leaſt not ſo erroneous as that already publiſhed.*

Daily Gazetteer, July 18. N° 645.

Upon the noble Lord's Speech in Fog's Journal *(as above.)*

HE tells us, 'That during the Triumvirate of *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, and *Sylla*,—' I ſuppoſe by a Miſtake of the Printer's, *Sylla* is written for *Cæſar*.—Well then, during this Triumvirate, which is called the firſt, 'One 'of *Diphilus*, a Poet, had wrote a Play, where- 'in *Pompey* was particularly mark'd out, &c. (See p. 379.) Who would not be ſurprized now, if a Fact ſo circumſtantiated as this ſhould happen not to be true? and yet a Man need look no further than *Tully*'s Letters to *Atticus*, to diſprove the greateſt Part of it. One *Diphilus* a Poet, ſays my noble Lord: In what *German* Diſſertation did he find that? Or is it hid ſomewhere in the King's Library? There was, indeed, one *Diphilus* a *Greek* Poet, from whom *Plautus* and *Terence* borrowed, the one his *Commorientes*, a loſt Play, and the other his *Adelphi*. But this is not the Play from whence this Speech is taken. His Lordſhip ſaw *Diphilus Tragœdus*, in *Tully*, and he took him to be a tragick Writer; juſt as if he had miſtaken honeſt *Booth* for *Shakeſpear*.

Diphilus, then, was only a poor ſtrutting Player, and the Play he acted was not made againſt *Pompey*, but many, many Years before. It is thought to have been a Play of *Cæcilius* or *Accius*; the Criticks are not agreed which. And it muſt have been a very ex-

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extraordinary Degree of Vaticination, that should make either of them write againſt *Pompey the Great*.

Another Piece of Learning of his own free Gift is, that *Pompey* was preſent; but the beſt Criticks aſſure us he was not, but was then at *Capua*, and *Cæſar* writ him Word of it. But did *Pompey* reſent the Satyr, ſays he, or the People's Applauſe? I anſwer, no truly: The Satyr lay only in the Application, it was not invented on Purpoſe; and the People of *Rome*, I humbly apprehend to have been his Lords and Maſters; and the kicking Scheme was not then in faſhion from Subjects to their Superiors. (See p. 309 G.) One Way, indeed, *Pompey* might have reſented it, by ſending Troops in amongſt them, and *Tully* frequently expreſſes his Fears of it, that this very Uſage of him, which our Author recommends as ſo ſalutary, would make him *ruere*; that is, come to Violence: But that would have diſſolved the Government at once, and brought in again the Times of *Marius* and *Sylla*.

His Lordſhip ſays, that from that Time, *Pompey* alter'd his Meaſures, and became popular. But pray let us know, what the Word Popular meant at that Time. *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, and *Cæſar*, were then called the popular Party, and their Agent for managing the Rabble was the famous *Clodius*. *Clodius* was at the Head of a furious, hair-brain'd Mob, made up of falſe Patriots, great Aſſertors of Liberty, and great Infringers of it. The worthy Gentlemen that compoſed this political Band, theſe vagabond Stateſmen, that went about with Brick-Bats and Quarter-Staves, were the Dregs and Scum of the People; lawleſs, noiſy, riotous Diſturbers of the publick Peace; to modernize it a little, Incendiaries, Gin-drinkers, and Cuſtom-ſtealers; whom theſe Triumvirs flatter'd with a Reſumption of Grants, and Largeſſes out of the publick Treaſury. Now juſt about the Time that *Tully* is ſpeaking of in this very Letter, from whence the noble Peer has fetch'd this Inundation of Learning, the Pretences of the popular Party began to be found out, and that they really aſpired at Tyranny. So *Tully* ſays, nothing was grown ſo unpopular, as the popular Party; and *Bibulus* who was *Cæſar*'s Collegue, and conſtant Opponent, was cry'd up to the Skies. Thus therefore *Pompey* was grown unpopular, becauſe his falſe Popularity was detected. But, did he mend upon this, as the noble Lord ſays? No. Very ſoon after, to gratify this licentious popular Party, he did the moſt unpopular, and baſeſt Thing that could be: He betray'd to this raſcally Mob, even *Cicero* himſelf, his beſt and faſteſt Friend, the moſt eloquent Miniſter, and wiſeſt Stateſman, that *Rome* ever bred, to whom his Country ow'd not only her Safety, but the very Buildings, and the Stones of her Streets. And how long did he continue to be thus wonderfully popular? Why, till the popular Party deſign'd to take away his own Life. Then, indeed, not at the Inſtigations of Poet *Dipbilus*, but in a juſt Concern for his own Safety, he turn'd about, and became truly popular; he gratify'd all good and honeſt Men, and *Tully* was borne back again from Baniſhment upon the Shoulders of all *Italy*.

And thus, I think, I have made out my Point, that this noble Lord is a little unfortunate in his Learning; and the very Stroke he concludes with is as little founded in Hiſtory, as the reſt. He ſays, the reſtraining Licentiouſneſs, was the Ruin of the *Roman* Liberties: He muſt know the contrary, and that it was *Julius Cæſar*'s encouraging all Sorts of Licentiouſneſs, that was the Deſtruction of the Republick. All the Indebted, the Bankrupt, the vicious Part of the Nobility and Gentry flock'd to his Standard. His Party was compoſed of old *Catilinarians*, of *Clodius*'s Rabble, and ſuch of the Spendthrift Patricians, as he by his Profuſions had attach'd to him; whoſe Eſtates, as he told them himſelf frankly, could never be clear'd but by a Spunge, or a civil War. Theſe, with the Help of two neceſſitous Tribunes, a *Veteran* Army, and unexpected Succeſs, put an End to all true Patriots among them, and virtuous Patriotiſm; and gave the popular Party an Opportunity, they long had wanted, of ruining themſelves as well as others, thereby to eſtabliſh a perfect and laſting Tyranny.

Common Senſe, July 16. N° 24.

Of Party-Diviſions.

IT is the Complaint of moſt Men who have lived any Time in the World, that the preſent Age is much degenerated in its Morals within the Memory of Man. That there has been a gradual Decay of publick Spirit for ſome Years, cannot be denied; which owes its Original, if I am not very much miſtaken, to our Party-Diviſions.

There is a particular Maxim among Parties, which alone is ſufficient to corrupt a whole Nation; which is, to countenance, and protect the moſt infamous Fellows who happen to herd amongſt them. It is ſomething ſhocking to Common Senſe, to ſee the Man of Honour and the Knave, the Man of Parts and the Blockhead put upon an equal Foot; which is often the Caſe amongſt Parties. The Reaſon is, he that has not Senſe enough to diſtinguiſh Right from Wrong, can make a Noiſe; nay, the leſs Senſe the more Obſtinacy, eſpecially in a bad Cauſe; and the greater Knave, the more obedient to his Leaders, eſpecially when they are playing the

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Rogue. These are the best Tools, and such are the Qualities necessary for putting in Execution the bad Measures which the corrupt Leaders of Parties intend to carry on if they are uppermost.

Party Zeal changes the Name of Things; Black is White, Vice is Virtue, a Bribe in an Office is call'd a Perquisite, and the most studied and concerted Fraud that can enter into the Head of the most thorough-paced Knave, shall be voted a little Negligence. He that deserves to be hang'd, by all Laws, Human and Divine, for his Conduct in private Life, may, at the same Time, be an Angel with his Party.

Mendax, while he held an Office in the State, is detected in a little mean Fraud; however, *Mendax* has been always true to the Troop; the Chiefs of the Party having met to consider how to behave with respect to *Mendax*, in this critical Juncture, all the Men of Honour amongst them were for giving him up, and even joining in any Punishment that might be laid upon him; but a *Veteran*, who was grown old in all the iniquitous Practices of Party, and who had acquired Authority by his Experience, was quite of another Opinion; *Mendax*, says he, has always been an active Member of the Cause, and what have we to do with his Morals or his Honour? adding, the Man that is true to the Troop must always be screen'd, let him be guilty of what he will. Thus, by the detestable Politicks of Party, *Mendax* was countenanc'd and caress'd under the Infamy of a most scandalous Fraud, and lived to do his Country more Mischief, by the Corruption which he afterwards spread thro' it, than a Famine, a Plague, or a War could have done.

If we look back into the History of a few Years past, we shall find, that the immense Estates that have been made by the numerous fraudulent Projects with which this virtuous Age has abounded, have been by Persons who pretended to be zealous Party-Men, and have gone great Lengths in Party; nay, some have been so cunning as to shift Sides, and go over to the strongest, just before they have resolved to strike some bold Stroke; so that I have often thought, that a strong Party is the same Thing to a Cheat, that a strong Island in the *West-Indies* is to a Pyrate, a Place of Safety to lay up all he has stole.

As I have intitled my Paper *Common Sense*, the Publick may depend upon it, that I shall not write the Sense of a Party, because Common Sense must be free from all Prejudice, and Party Sense is observ'd to be rarely so. I will farther add, that I take Common Sense and Common Honesty to be so near a-kin, that whenever I see a Man turn Knave, I shall not stick to pronounce him a Fool. I never knew a Man that set out with good Principles, and afterwards became a Prostitute to Men in Power, but some Creature of a little, narrow, mean Understanding. A Piece of Ribbon, or a Word added to a Name, shall reconcile a Fool to the most destructive Measures.

But I am farther of Opinion, that if a Writer should at this Time expect to become popular, by running violently into all the Prejudices of a Party, he would meet with a Reception from the Publick very different from what he expected. Party Prejudice is not the same Thing it was. The Malignity of the Distemper is worn out; and it must be a singular Pleasure to a Man who loves his Country, to find those two odious Distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory*, with which we used formerly to reproach one another, used no more. All Men unplaced, and unpensioned, talk and think alike.

I will not say, that it is Prosperity that has wrought this great Change; but be it as it will, it is certain that the Cure of any Grievances that may fall upon us, can come from nothing else but this Union. This is not only my Opinion, it is certainly the Opinion of those whose Safety, next to the Corruption of the Times, depends upon our Divisions.

When a Nation is divided against itself, how great must be the Providence that must save it from sinking! When the People are broke into Parties and Factions, worrying and reviling one another, what a fine Harvest it yields to the common Enemy! If I should be ask'd, who is that common Enemy? I shall only answer, that there is a Banditti in Time of Peace as well as in Time of War; there are Free-booters who are not regularly listed on either Side, and who, while both Sides are engaged against each other, will certainly plunder the Nation.

I will only say, beware of those who are labouring to keep alive the Animosities of Party; it is true, they have laboured in vain; but they have not yet given up the Game for lost; they are continually throwing out Bones of Contention, they are raking up the dying Embers of Party, in hopes of kindling a new Flame.

There is a Set of Men who are govern'd by no Principles, and have no Friends or Followers but such as are attach'd to them for mercenary Ends; these assume to themselves the Name of a Party; it is they who are for fomenting Divisions, in Hopes, that when the Madness of Party shall again seize the People, both Sides will by Turns fall in with them, in order to be reveng'd and undo each other, which will save a great deal in Bribes. But it happens, that they have been so awkward in concealing their foul Play, that all the World has seen thro' it.

But tho' there may be no dangerous Designs

Signs at present, and the whole Body of the People may entertain the same Opinion of the good Intentions, and of the great Abilities of our present Ministers, as they really merit, yet it is not amiss to have our Eyes about us. Political Jealousy is inseparable from the Minds of good Patriots; it is their Duty to be watchful for the Publick, and suspicious of the Designs of Men in Power. This Jealousy is our great Security; and it cannot decay till publick Spirit decays.

The Individuals of that great Body call'd the People, are so taken up with their several Avocations, that they are not always at Leisure to examine well the Designs of Men in Power; therefore it is the Duty of every private Man to give the Alarm, whenever he perceives any Thing doing which must have a Tendency to alter and impair that Plan of Government under which we, and our Ancestors, have lived free. And this, we propose, shall be partly the Business of this Paper.

The Adversaries that in all Probability will oppose us, are not much to be feared. That Paper which is look'd upon as the Work of the greatest Wits, and most profound Politicians of the Faction we hinted at above, for they are not to be call'd a Party, might be excell'd by the lowest Productions of *Grub-street*; yet here you see all the good Sense that is among them, and it would be Reason enough for making the People uneasy, if they should have a Notion that the publick Affairs were to be managed by such Hands.

I cannot help thinking, that they have taken up a Notion, that the only Qualification of a political Writer, is a hardy and intrepid Manner of asserting what is not, and of denying what is. As to their profligate Manner of endeavouring to turn publick Spirit into Ridicule, they have done it with so little Wit, they have not been able to gain the very Laughers on their Side. He that laughs with them, must laugh without a Jest; and therefore as often as I saw my Predecessors employ their Wit against those who never used that Weapon against them, I own I did not look upon it as very generous in them; methinks, if I were Master of that Weapon call'd Wit, I should be as much asham'd of drawing against an *Osborne*, or a *Walsingham*, as I should be of drawing a Sword against a naked Man.

Upon the Whole, tho' I have promised never to be dull with Design, yet I would not have the Publick expect much from me at such Times as I shall be drawn into Dispute with that Paper which has but a Mob of *Swiss* Writers to support it; it is a *Briareus* with an hundred Hands, but not one Head; and as there is neither Conduct, nor Order, nor Discipline, nor Honour amongst them, they will in as easily defeated as any other Rabble.

There was no Craftsman *on this Day*, viz. *the 16th, on the Account mention'd*, page 373. *The suppos'd Author, Printer, and Publishers of* Fog's Journal *were also taken into Custody, for the Journal of this Day.*

Grubstreet Journal, July 21. N° 395.

A *Answer to the Letter of* July 7. *(See p. 373.)*

Gentlemen,

MR. *A. Z.* seems as fiery a Zealot as any Popish Inquisitor. With his Leave, I cannot forget that any Religion is better than Atheism and its Consequences; I cannot forget, that our Ancestors were Papists; lastly, I cannot forget, that *England* is a Trading Nation, that Liberty and Property is, or ought to be, the inherent Privilege of an *Englishman*.

Our good Friends the *Dutch* are so well apprized of the Advantage of Liberty of Conscience, that the Refugees from all Countries are welcome to reside amongst them, and to write, publish, and maintain their several Opinions.

The oldest *English* Lawyer *Bracton* says very judiciously, that Allegiance is due where ever Protection is: Those two Duties are correlative, from whence it follows, that where Allegiance is expected, Protection ought to be granted.

This being premised, *A. Z*'s sober Questions are easily answered. The illustrious Family which so gloriously fills the *English* Throne, expects the *Papists* to behave like dutiful Subjects: And I hope will protect them, and all others who behave as such. What private Understanding may be betwixt *Papists* and *Quakers*, I know not, nor believe there is any: But it is plain, that Beads, *Agnus Dei*, Bells, or even Mass, are no Ways detrimental to Society; and that the yea-and-nay Folks in *Pensilvania*, find the *Papists* as useful in their Trade, and of as peaceable Behaviour, as any other Sort of Christians. To conclude, every true *Briton* ought to rejoyce, that the present Government is so indulgent to Dissenters of all Denominations. I do not envy the Church by Law established its Preferments civil, military, or Bishopricks, and other ecclesiastical Livings: But I dare put it to the Vote of any sensible Man, whether the Oath of Allegiance alone should not entitle every *Englishman* to be protected in his Life, quiet Exercise of his Religion, Property, and Birth-rights. Dignities in Church and State are no particular Man's Birthright; so let the Ambitious conform to Laws, or be content without them: As for Tythes, let the Quakers get off if they can; 'tis all one to, Gentlemen,

Your humble Servant, C. V.

Craftſman, July 23. N° 576.

Of the Britiſh *Colonies.*

SIR,

I have both read, and been aſſured by thoſe, who have been in *our Colonies* and *Plantations*, that by Care and Encouragement, they may be made an unexhauſtible Mine of Treaſure to *Great Britain*, as well as a Mean to multiply its *Seamen*, increaſe its *Navigation*, enlarge its *Trade*, and advance the *Revenue of the Crown*. The Treaſure, which hath flow'd in from them, or by their Means, ſince their reſpective Settlements, hath been immenſely great and highly advantageous to this Nation.

This makes it highly incumbent both upon the *Legiſlature* and *miniſterial Powers* to exert themſelves at all Times, to preſerve and encourage the *Britiſh Colonies* and *Plantations* in *America*; for as they have, for a great Number of Years, given Employment to many Thouſand of our Artificers of all Kinds, by the great Quantities of Manufactures (eſpecially of our inferior Sorts) which they have taken from us, and by ſending us in Return for them, in our own Shipping, *Sugar*, *Tobacco*, *Indico*, *Ginger*, *Cotton*, ſundry *dying Woods*, *Rice*, *Pitch*, *Tar*, *Oil*, &c. great Part of which is re-exported to *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, *Flanders*, the *Eaſt Country*, *Streights*, &c. ſo, if we take Care to preſerve them from *foreign Inſults*, and *inteſtine Commotions*, and give them Encouragement to proceed in thoſe Products and Manufactures, and ſuch Branches of Trade, as do not interfere with their *Mother Country*, they will neceſſarily, as they encreaſe in People, conſume much more of our Manufactures, and bring a greater Profit, by their Product and Traffic, than they have hitherto done, to this Kingdom. But our primary Regard ſhould be to the *Britiſh Southern Plantations*; ſince ſo great a Part of the *Northern Colonies* make their chief Returns for the Goods they take from this Kingdom, by Means of the *Sugar Iſlands*.

But the *Northern Colonies* might be made more advantageous to this Kingdom than they have hitherto been, provided all neceſſary Encouragement were given by the *Legiſlature*, for their ſupplying it with all Kinds of *naval Stores*, which they may be made capable of doing in very great Quantities, and, in Proceſs of Time, to as great a Degree, and upon as good Terms to this Kingdom, as they now ſupply it with *Pitch* and *Tar*. I believe it will be admitted by all, who have given any Attention to theſe Matters, that the Bounties given by any Acts of Parliament upon any other the Product and Manufactures of our *Northern Colonies*, are not ſufficient Encouragements to the Inhabitants for anſwering the Ends propoſed by them; and that there is likewiſe Encouragement wanting to be given for the Importation, from our Plantations into this Kingdom, of ſeveral other *raw Materials* to be manufactured in it, particularly *Iron* and *Flax*; for which, as well as for *Hemp* and *Timber*, we annually pay ſuch great Sums of Money to *foreign Countries*.

But, beſides theſe Advantages, the Increaſe of the Conſumption of our own Manufactures, of the Seamen and Ships of *Great Britain*, and its bringing a general Security and Profit to its Dominions, it will be the moſt, and only, certain and effectual Means of preventing the Inhabitants of any of the *Northern Colonies* from ſetting up any *new Manufactures*, or purſuing any *Manufactures*, which they may have ſet up already; either of which, were they to proceed in them, would cloath, as well as feed, their *Neighbours*, and probably, in Time, by their Nearneſs, as well as low Prices, come to have ſuch Advantages from them as might prove of very pernicious Conſequence to *Great Britain*.

No Trades deſerve ſo much our Care to procure and preſerve, and give Encouragement to, as thoſe, which employ the moſt *Shipping*, altho' the Commodities carried be of ſmall Value themſelves, as a great Part of the Commodities from *our Plantations* are, and which every Commodity that Encouragement can poſſibly be given to bring from the *Northern Colonies* will be. Beſides, the Gain accruing by any of the Commodities themſelves, and the Freight of ſuch as are re-exported, whether in Kind or *Manufactured*, is all Profit to the Nation; and as ſuch Commodities will likewiſe bring with them a great Acceſs of Power by the Increaſe of *Ships* and *Seamen*, the proper Strength and Security of the Kingdom, ſo the *Britiſh Colonies* and *Plantations* will be both Strength and Riches to their *Mother Country*. It is therefore incumbent upon thoſe, who are intruſted with the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of this Kingdom, that the Perſons, who ſhall at all Times repreſent the Crown in every of the reſpective *Colonies* and *Plantations*, be Men not indigent but of ſome Fortunes, as well as of known Abilities, Experience, Courage, Temper, and Virtue.

In this *Craftſman* was the following Advertiſement.

N. B. *To the Readers of the* Craftſman. *Whereas the* Craftſman *was ſuppreſs'd laſt* Saturday, *in a very extraordinary Manner; This is to aſſure our Readers, that it will be carry'd on with the ſame Spirit, for the future, unleſs we are prevented by ſuch an Authority as we cannot reſiſt. I am, Gentlemen,*

Your oblig'd and devoted Servant,

CALEB D'ANVERS.

The

The following Piece, published in the St. James's Evening-Post of June 7. is by the finest Painter in England, *perhaps in the World, in his Way.*

EVERY good-natur'd Man, and Well-wisher to Arts in *England*, must feel a Kind of Resentment, at a very indecent Paragraph in the *Daily Post* of *Thursday* last, relating to the Death of Mons. *le Moine*, first Painter to the *French* King; in which, very unjust, as well as cruel Reflections are cast on the noblest Performance (in its Way) that *England* has to boast of; I mean the Work of the late Sir *James Thornhill* in *Greenwich-Hall*. It has ever been the Business of narrow, little Genius's, who by a tedious Application to minute Parts, have, (as they fancy) attain'd to a great Insight into the correct Drawing of a Figure, and have acquir'd just Knowledge enough in the Art to tell accurately when a Toe is too short, or a Finger too thick, to endeavour, by detracting from the Merits of great Men, to build themselves a Kind of Reputation. These peddling Demi-Criticks, on the painful Discovery of some little Inaccuracy, (which proceeds mostly from the Freedom of the Pencil) without any Regard to the more noble Parts of a Performance, (which they are totally ignorant of,) with great Satisfaction condemn the Whole, as a bad and incorrect Piece.

The meaneſt artiſt in th' Emelian ſquare
Can imitate in braſs the nails and hair,
Expert at trifles, and a cunning fool,
Able t' expreſs the parts, but not the whole.

There is another Set of Gentry more noxious to the Art than these, and those are your *Picture-Jobbers from abroad*, who are always ready to raise a great Cry in the Prints, whenever they think their Craft is in Danger; and indeed it is their Interest to depreciate every *English* Work, as hurtful to their Trade, of continually importing Ship Loads of dead *Christs*, *Holy Families*, *Madona's*, and other dismal dark Subjects, neither entertaining nor ornamental; on which they scrawl the terrible cramp Names of some *Italian* Masters, and fix upon us poor *Englishmen*, the Character of *Universal Dupes*. If a Man, naturally a Judge of Painting, not bigotted to these Empyricks, should cast his Eye on one of these sham Virtuoso Pieces, he would be very apt to say, 'Mr. *Bubbleman*, that 'Grand *Venus* (as you are pleased to call it) 'has not Beauty enough for the Character of 'an *English* Cook-Maid.' —— Upon which the Quack answers with a confident Air, 'O L—d, Sir, I find you are no *Connoisseur* '—That Picture, I assure you, is in *Altesso* 'Baldovinetto's second and best Manner, 'boldly painted, and truly sublime; the Contour gracious; the Air of the Head in the 'high *Greek* Taste, and a most divine Idea 'it is.' — Then spitting on an obscure Place, and rubbing it with a dirty Handkerchief, takes a Skip to t'other End of the Room, and screams out in Raptures, — 'There's an a-'mazing Touch! A Man should have this 'Picture a Twelve-month in his Collection, 'before he can discover half its Beauties.' The Gentleman, (tho' naturally a Judge of what is beautiful, yet ashamed to be out of the Fashion in judging for himself) with this Cant is struck dumb, gives a vast Sum for the Picture, very modestly confesses he is indeed quite ignorant of Painting, and bestows a Frame worth fifty Pounds on a frightful Thing, without the hard Name on it not worth as many Farthings. Such Impudence, as is now continually practised in the Picture-Trade, must meet with its proper Treatment, would Gentlemen but venture to see with their own Eyes. Let but the Comparison of Pictures with Nature be their only Guide, and let them judge as freely of Painting, as they do of Poetry; they would then take it for granted, that when a Piece gives Pleasure to none but these *Connoisseurs*, or their Adherents, if the Purchase be a thousand Pounds, 'tis nine hundred and ninety-nine too dear. And were all our grand Collections stripp'd of such Sort of Trumpery, then, and not 'till then, it would be worth an *Englishman*'s While to try the Strength of his Genius to supply their Places; which now it were next to Madness to attempt, since there is nothing that has not travell'd a thousand Miles, or has not been done a hundred Years, but is looked upon as mean and ungenteel Furniture. What Mr. *Pope* in his last Works says of Poems, may with much more Propriety be apply'd to Pictures.

Authors like coins, grow dear as they grow old;
It is the rust we value, not the gold.

Sir *James Thornhill*, in a too modest Compliance with the *Connoisseurs* of his Time, call'd in the Assistance of Mr. *Andrea*, a Foreigner, famous for the Justness of his Out-Line, to paint the Royal Family at the Upper-end of *Greenwich-Hall*; to the Beauties or Faults of which I have nothing to say: But, with Regard to the Cieling, which is entirely of his own Hand, I am certain all unprejudic'd Persons, with (or without) much Insight, into the Mechanick Parts of Painting, are at the first View struck with the most agreeable Harmony and Play of Colours, that ever delighted the Eye of a Spectator. The Composition is *altogether* extremely grand, the Groups finely dispos'd, the Light and Shade so contriv'd, as to throw the Eye with Pleasure on the principal Figures, which are drawn with great Fire and Judgment: The Colouring of the Flesh delicious,

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licious, the Drapery great, and well-folded, and upon Examination the Allegory is found clear, well invented, and full of Learning: In ſhort, all that is neceſſary to conſtitute a compleat Cieling-Piece, is apparent in that magnificent Work. Thus much, is in Juſtice due to that great *Engliſh Artiſt* from an *Engliſhman*, BRITOPHIL.

N. B. If the Reputation of this Work were deſtroy'd, it would put a Stop to the Receipt of daily Sums of Money from Spectators, which is applied to the Uſe of Sixty Charity-Children.

Common Senſe, July 23. N° 25.

Terrible Conſequence of a young Woman's loſing her Virtue.

HE that robs a young Woman of her Virtue, robs her of her greateſt Charm, and robs her Parents and Friends of their Peace of Mind. Who can deſcribe the Sorrow of that Parent, who has placed all his Happineſs in the Hopes of a virtuous Child, and ſees her defiled, and numbred among thoſe Proſtitutes who are the Shame of their Family? *To this Purpoſe he tells a Story, out of Chevalier* D' Arviena's *Travels, of one* Abah Rabieh *at* Aleppo, *whoſe only Daughter having ſtain'd the Honour of his Family, by a criminal Amour, he kill'd her with his own Hands, and having invited all his Relations to dine with him, in the Midſt of the Entertainment, caus'd her Head to be ſet before them in a Diſh,* ſwimming in its Blood.

The whole Company was ſeiz'd with Horror at ſo dreadful a Sight.—— ſome fainted, ſome quitted the Table, and all were in Confuſion.

After the firſt Aſtoniſhment was a little over, *Abab Rabieh* begg'd they would hear him; he related to them the paternal Affection he had for his Daughter, the Care he had taken of her, and then her Crime; adding, that ſince he had by this Action, which wounded him to the very Soul, reſtored to them, his Kindred, as well as to his Nation, that Honour which this unhappy Girl had loſt, he hoped they would be ſo kind to perform the laſt Rites to a poor Victim which he had ſacrificed for their Sakes; with that a Flood of Tears burſt from his Eyes, and he threw himſelf upon the Earth, unable to utter another Word.

The Relations put the Body and the Head together into a Coffin, and accompanied it to the uſual Burying-Place, with the ſame Lamentations, and ſame Ceremonies, as if the unhappy young Creature had died a natural Death. As for *Abab Rabieh*, he retired next Day into the Deſerts of *Arabia*, and never was heard of at *Aleppo* more.

Fog's Journal, July 23. N° 8.

A Propoſal for the better preventing of Robberies, and other Crimes.

WHOEVER has often look'd over the Seſſions Papers, may, doubtleſs, have obſerv'd, that Idleneſs, the Mother of all Vices, is the Source of thoſe poor Creatures Misfortunes, who bring themſelves to an untimely End, by the Hand of publick Juſtice, and a Proof that they had rather be hang'd than work; whence 'tis an evident and natural Concluſion, that they dread Labour more than Death.

This being ſo, I am humbly of Opinion, that it would ſtrike a greater Terror in this Claſs of idle Villains, to condemn them to perpetual hard Labour for Capital Crimes; and for ſuch as are puniſh'd with Branding, Whipping, or Tranſportation, to ſentence them to work for a certain Number of Months, or Years; than has yet been impreſs'd on them by Monthly Examples at *Tyburn*: Beſides, the Publick might, by their Labour, receive ſome Satisfaction for the *Depredations* of their former Lives. For Example, if every Pariſh had a Number of theſe Criminals alotted to be under the Care of the Scavenger, and deſtin'd to cleaning the Streets, diſtinguiſh'd by a Chain about the Middle and one Leg, follow'd by a ſmart Driver, who would allow them no idle Minutes; kept upon Bread and Water, ſuffer'd to converſe with none but who were in the ſame miſerable Situation; lock'd up every Night in a dark Dungeon, to lie upon the Pavement; to renew their Labour with the Return of the Light, and condemn'd to this for Life; I believe in a very little Time, by the Dearth of Rogues, the Pariſhes would again be oblig'd to hire Men to clean the Streets. Murderers I except from this Puniſhment, and think, that, now deſtin'd by the Laws, too mild.

I have always thought Death a Puniſhment that was no Way adequate to the Crimes of ſome publick Villains who have been puniſhed with it; and I am certain, the moſt cowardly among Men, would prefer it to the Puniſhment I propoſe. We are condemn'd to Death by Nature; the Sentence of the Law and the Hand of the Hangman only anticipate a few Years, or perhaps a few Months or Days; but to be daily wiſhing for Death, as a Friend, to relieve us, and to be debarr'd of all Means of meeting with him, is ſuch a Quinteſſence of Wretchedneſs as would, I believe, make all Mankind keep a ſtrict Guard upon their Actions, that they may avoid falling into it.

The Papers of next Week muſt be deferr'd to our next; in which will be inſerted the Remainder of the Tattling Traveller's *Letter, and the Criticiſm on the Word* Woman.

On

On HAVOD *near* SWANSEA.

DElightful *Havod*, moſt ſerene abode!
Thou ſweet retreat, fit manſion for a god!
Dame nature, laviſh of her gifts we ſee,
And paradiſe and reſtor'd in thee.
Unrivall'd thou beneath the radiant ſun;
* *Sketty* and *Foreſt* own themſelves out-done.
Thy verdant fields, which wide extended lie,
For ever pleaſe, for ever charm the eye:
Thy ſhady groves afford a ſafe retreat [heat:
From falling ſhow'rs, and ſummer's ſcorching
Thy ſtately oaks to heav'n aſpiring riſe,
And with their utmoſt tops ſalute the ſkies;
While lowlier ſhrubs amidſt thy lawns are ſeen,
All clad in liv'ries of the loveliеſt green:
From ev'ry buſh the feather'd tribe we hear,
Who raviſh with their warbling notes the ear.
But what compleats the beauty of the whole,
And has with raptures often fill'd my ſoul;
Here *Swanſea* virgins ev'ry morn repair,
To range the fields and breathe in purer air;
And ſoon as *Phœbus* uſhers in the day,
Regale themſelves with ſalutary whey.
Here lovely *M*——s charming nymph is ſeen,
Fair as an angel, graceful as a queen:
Here *H*——n too the flow'ry paſture treads,
Whom none in beauty, none in wit exceeds:
Here *R*——s comes, for ever briſk and gay,
Who ſteals inſenſibly our hearts away;
Her killing eyes a frozen prieſt would move,
The youth who ſees her, cannot chuſe but love.
Here *Roſalinda* does uncenſur'd go, [know;
To meet her ſwain, and cares not who ſhall
For what ill-natur'd tongue will dare to ſay
She came to meet him, when ſhe came for whey?
S—t, *W*——r, *W*——s hither all reſort,
Nymphs that would grace the greateſt monarch's court;
So ſweet, ſo charming, ſo divinely fair,
You'd ſwear a train of goddeſſes were there.
Here oft they paſs their bliſsful hours away
In pleaſant chat, or elſe in ſportive play;
Or ſometimes in harmonious concert ſing,
While neighbouring groves with ſweeteſt echoes ring:
The birds are huſh'd, and all amaz'd appear,
Sounds more melodious than their own to hear:
Hard by old *Taway* † gently glides along,
And ſtays his ſtreams to liſten to their ſong;
While t'other ſide a diſtant brook we hear,
Run murm'ring, 'cauſe he can't approach the fair.
O happy place! the world I'd freely give,
That I might always at my *Havod* live:
My *Havod* ſhould in deathleſs pages ſhine,
Were I, like *Pope*, a fav'rite of the nine:
Or on ‡ *Kilvay*, or *Kevenbrin* they dwell,
Or in ‖ *Coomboorla*'s unfrequented vale:
Would they propitious but inſpire my lays,
The world ſhould ring with charming *Havod*'s praiſe.
But oh! the muſes deign not to inſpire,
My boſom burns not with poetick fire;
I then muſt ceaſe and lay aſide my quill,
Leſt I eclipſe thy fame, by praiſing ill.

* *Two pleaſant Places near* Swanſea. † *A River running by* Havod. ‡ *Two Mountains not far from* Swanſea. ‖ *A Vale near* Swanſea.

To SYLVIA *looking kindly.*

YEAR after year have I my *Sylvia* lov'd;
By proofs on proofs have I my paſſion prov'd;
All arts attempted, all perſuaſions try'd,
At once have pray'd and ſcolded, ſtorm'd and ſigh'd:
Eſſay'd each ſtratagem, and each ſurprize;—
Studied her very motions and her eyes.
In vain—her cold neglect, or proud diſdain
Still ſhun'd my ſorrows, or deſpis'd my pain.
At length ſhe views me with a pitying eye:—
Tell me, myſterious *Sylvia*, tell me why?
For never time, nor pray'rs, nor heavens decree
Shall e'er encline thy cruel heart to me!
Was it becauſe the ſun ſerenely ſhin'd?
Or had you won at cards, or had you din'd?
In this ſoft moment, pitying nature, take
My erring ſoul, wrapt up in its miſtake:
Let me no more confront her frowning eye—
But in the preſent fond illuſion die!
Fooliſhly conſtant, obſtinately true;
Sick of amuſements, and of pleaſures too;
By *Flavia*'s, *Delia*'s uſeleſsly approv'd;
Sincerely hated by the nymph I lov'd!

FLORIO.

The Happineſs *of a* COUNTRY LIFE, *continued from p.* 329.

HERE *Pope* the muſes favourite retir'd,
Firſt felt his breaſt with heav'nly raptures fir'd.
'Thy foreſts, *Windſor!* and thy green retreats
'At once the monarch's and the muſes ſeats,
'Invite his numbers: whilſt the *Sylvan* maids
'Unlock their ſprings, and open all their ſhades.'
Envy itſelf delighted with the piece,
Tho' ſore againſt her will, ſhall yet confeſs
The raptur'd bard a monument hath rais'd
As laſting as thoſe groves he ſweetly prais'd.
Again to heav'nly themes he tunes the ſtrings,
The nymphs of *Sion* liſten while he ſings,
And o'er the world extends *Meſſiah*'s throne:
Peruſe his verſes, and impartial own

That the same God by secret influence wrought
The prophet's vision and the poet's thought.
By these inspir'd I attempt to sing, [wing;
They guide my flights and prune my tender
Their perfect standard forms the weak design,
Theirs are the beauties but the failings mine.
Oh! would kind heaven give me to possess
These groves of *Eden*, this admir'd recess;
Wouldst thou, *Urania!* my soul inspire [fire;
With warmth like theirs and raise an equal
Or gently breath into my inmost frame
A *Newton*'s genius, or a *Nasc*'s flame:
Then of my great Creator would I sing,
And trace all nature upward to her spring;
Tell of the various changes of the moon,
Of worlds illumin'd by another sun;
Explain what pow'rs the raging ocean guide,
What cause confines or swells th' alternate tide;
From whence the seasons of the year arise,
Whence winds and hurricanes infest the skies:
Or sing why from the earth's irrupted womb
Convulsive shocks and dire *Vulcano's* come:
Whence rumbling thunder roars and rapid light
Breaks from the cloud and makes a hideous night:
How *Phœbus'* beams reflected thro' the rain
Paint beauteous *Iris'* variegated train:
Or search the surface of congenial earth,
And show each vegetable's latent worth,
Each plant, each reptile nature does produce,
Born to some end, and destin'd to some use:
See wisdom infinite in each express'd,
And all the godhead in his works confess'd.
Thus would I lull away my latter years,
And in a sweet oblivion drown my cares;
Sequester'd from the world, from business free,
No fears intruding on my privacy,
At leisure to pursue what most shall please,
And studies blend with exercise and ease,
Converse with authors of an ancient date,
Who many ages since resign'd to fate:
Yet by their happy art are still alive,
And in their dear remains themselves survive.
The transmigrated soul infused here
As when imbody'd charms the ravish'd ear.
O joy profuse! a rule of life express'd, [dress'd.
And soundest truths in strongest language
Th' inspir'd poet speaks the prophet's thought,
And *Horace* sings what *Solomon* had taught.
Or wandring pensive in the gloomy shade,
Think of the future state of good and bad;
Endeav'ring constantly my life to mend,
And daily looking forward to my end.
This was the life of the *Saturnian* age,
Which shines so splendid in the poet's page;
When goddesses descended from above
To teach the infant world to live and love;
When uncorrupted reason only reign'd
With truth and virtue o'er the happy land.
Then the kind earth bedeck'd with nature's pride,
The wants of men spontaneously supply'd;
Like *Paradise* of old, untill'd the plain
Pour'd forth her fruits, and swell'd the springing grain.
The cluster'd vine adorn'd the fertile field,
And liquid honey from the oak distill'd:
The swain around him looking with surprise
Saw without toil a plenteous harvest rise.
Such was this * Isle e'er foreign foes she knew,
E'er *Rome's* victorious eagles hither flew.
Then falling acorns made man's daily bread,
And milk and roots the brawny mortals fed.
Mankind partook in common nature's fruits,
And dauntless liv'd in lonely caves and huts.
No thefts they dreaded, no injustice fear'd,
For nought but love and honesty appear'd.
As yet no crooked plough had cut the ground,
As yet the root of evil was not found:
For providence foresaw its fatal worth,
And the dire mischief buried deep in earth;
But when the mind of man too curious grown,
Pry'd into nature's secrets then unknown,
No longer was the womb of earth conceal'd,
And the gilt oar lay splendidly reveal'd.
Then houses were erected to defend
The riches which the timorous owner gain'd.
Men of each other soon distrustful grown,
With fences limited to each their own.
Then courts of equity were form'd, and laws
Provided to defend the injured's cause:
All grievances intended to redress,
But hapless made them more instead of less.
Things take a different turn tho' meant for good,
When misapply'd or wrongfully pursu'd.
So that's the cause why discord ne'er shall cease, [peace.
Which was design'd to keep the world in
'Twas then the *Iron* age commenc'd its date,
From this sad æra we may trace our fate.
Truth and plain-dealing were discarded hence,
And fraud esteem'd the mark of men of sense.
Faith was mere folly, conscience but a jest,
When they ran counter to their interest.
God's altars, like their votries, grew to be
No more than mere outsides of piety.
Till griev'd to see the dire contagion spread,
Offended justice to her heavens fled,
And avarice in her room usurp'd the ball,
And reigns with pow'r despotick over all.

On the Report of his Majesty's going to Hanover. *An* ODE *to* Augustus.

O THOU! to whom three Kingdoms bend,
On whom all honest hearts attend,
Our sov'reign, guardian, captain, friend,
No more thy flock expose;
Nor government's auspicious beams,
Eclips'd by envy's pois'nous steams,
Excite the all-confounding schemes
Of thine, and *Britain's* foes.

* *Vid. Cæs. Comment. lib.* 5.

When

When *Neptune*'s trident heaves the ground,
When roaring torrents burſt their bound,
And deſolation pours around,
Each heart reſigns to fear;
So, in thy abſence, ſtorms ariſe,
Stern faction glares with ghaſtly eyes,
Pale loyalty recedes and flies,
And dreads to harbour here.
When *Peleus*' ſon forſook the hoſt
Of *Greece*, encamp'd on *Ilion*'s coaſt,
Where then was all their valiant boaſt
Of *Troy* in aſhes laid?
Back to their ſhips the chiefs retreat,
While hoſtile rage, and ſtern defeat
In thunder, ſtorm'd their camp and fleet,
And horrid pomp display'd.
In *Britain*'s law-protected iſle,
Where *Phœbus* deigns his gentler ſmile,
Where liberty rewards our toil,
And bounteous harveſts riſe;
If great *Auguſtus* leaves the ſhore,
Our laws reſtrain our feuds no more,
But meek obedience triumph'd o'er,
Subſiding, fainting, dies.
The god of day, envellop'd, ſhrouds,
His rays, obſcur'd by duſky clouds,
A horrid gloom imbrowns the woods,
All nature ſighs, oppreſt;
Again the radiant orb appears,
The fogs diſperſe, the proſpect clears:
Thus loyalty contemns her fears,
In *Cæſar*'s preſence bleſt.
O, let that hand our ſceptre ſway,
See ſour ſedition ſtalks away;
Unfading glories round him play,
From whom ſuch bleſſings flow.
May heav'n protract, to longeſt date,
The ſixt, irrevocable fate,
And then to endleſs joys tranſlate
His regent here below.

An Epiſtle from a late Purſer of a Man of War at Jamaica, *to his Friend in* London.

WHILE the long ſilence of your friend you blame,
And think he ſcarce deſerves the ſacred name;
While you, dear *Will*, the hidden cauſe explore,
I'll own the charge, and ſilent be no more.
Since, then, to reconcile your juſt diſdain,
And bring ſtray'd friendſhip to its home again;
Since, to becalm the breaſt to doubts inclin'd,
To change belief once fix'd upon the mind,
Requires the ſtrong attractions that abound
In magick numbers and perſuaſive ſound;
Much aid I need implore to tune my tongue,
To grace my notes, and elevate my ſong.
But you, who know the dictates of my heart,
Know I deſpiſe diſſembled uſe of art:
Truth, honeſt truth, can beſt the cauſe declare,
In artleſs numbers, ſuch as truth may bear.
Tho' long your letters have unanſwer'd lain,
Yet oft in ſolitude they entertain:
Sweet ſolitude (in which our minds improve)
Oft glads remembrance with the man I love.
Buſineſs on buſineſs multiplies my care;
Full oft I labour in the fatal ſnare,
And labour on: 'till ev'ry other end
Becomes a while forgotten with my friend;
The ſnare which caught far wiſer men of old,
Who God forſook for impious thirſt of gold.
Such is the fate of mortals doom'd to roam,
For painful ſuſtenance, from friends and home.
How bleſt is he! whoſe lands enough produce
(Void of all luxury) for nature's uſe;
Contented who enjoys a ſlender ſtore, [more.
That well employs, nor aſks the gods for
By no adverſity reduced to try
His fate beneath a more inclement ſky:
Nor forc'd, by ſad neceſſity, to yield
To griping uſury his paternal field:
But bleſt at home, unenvy'd to reſide,
And live in peace, as his foreſathers dy'd:
His new year comes, and paſſes, as the old,
Void of ambition and the thirſt of gold:
His ev'ry moment brings a new delight,
In ſummer's morning, and in winter's night.
Not ſuch the wretch, whoſe leſs indulging fates
Compel him to purſue the life he hates,
In ſtorms and earthquakes, various ſcenes of death!
Perhaps, this now he thinks, his laſt of breath!
His health and ſtrength the different climes impair;
And, oh! too oft, he breathes in tainted air.
Who, thus to rove, from ſea to ſea, is born,
Nor winter's eve delights, nor ſummer's morn.
Nor ſuch the man, diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt,
By thirſt of glory lab'ring in his breaſt;
Prompted by hopes of riches, and of fame;
With all the titles that can ſwell a name;
E'en he, at laſt, by ſome corruptive ſtrains,
May want the peace, that in a cottage reigns.
Yet have we ſeen the happy *man of late,
Who ſafe, ſecluded from the leading great,
Calm and ſerene amidſt the ſpurns of ſtate:
In ev'ry ſtorm preſerv'd his honour clear,
And felt the peace of mind the juſt revere;
From buſineſs and an angry c—rt retir'd,
Implor'd no favour, nor no minion hir'd;
Till rous'd, at length, by the rapacious *Gaul*,
Chearful obeys his king's and country's call.
Fam'd *Athens* thus her *Ariſtides* ſcorn'd;
But ſoon the injur'd hero's abſence mourn'd;
Soon ſhe recall'd him, who all good and great,
Shew'd the firm patriot, and preſerv'd the ſtate.
But theſe are ſuch, (not read in ev'ry page,)
As prove immortal wonders of the age.

* *Sir* John Norris.

When late I heard of *Gallia*'s loud alarms,
And saw all *Europe* rising up to arms;
When I beheld the chief conduct again
Britannia's bulwark, o'er the wat'ry main;
My wonder sought my muse; the muse confest,
No chief more glorious, and few men so blest.
What tides of joy must in his bosom flow,
When fresh he saw his faded laurels blow;
To think (unask'd for by himself or friend)
He sought for glory, when most others end!
While some are, thus, in honour's cause employ'd;
Midst smiling pleasures some at home reside;
Me my hard fortune leads, from clime to clime,
Condemn'd to banishment for half my time;
Condemn'd, for bread, to hold a place of shame, [fame;
In which, tho' honest, damn'd must be my
And bear, by custom, an opprobrious name:
To hear the fool in office, oft compell'd,
A wretch with empty pride and power swell'd:
Honour, their frequent boast, we see profan'd
By knaves in trust, or infants in command.
Thus ill-bred insolence shall lord it o'er
Superior virtue, subject to its pow'r. [own;
Tho' pleasures flow in distant climes, I
Yet none to me, beneath the torrid-zone:
Here gay variety hath scarce a name;
To morrow, and to morrow, still the same:
If joy, by chance, appears, 'tis often seen
Disturb'd by head-ach, fevers, or the spleen:
Few pleasures here we banish'd wretches find;
No kind diversions, to unbend the mind:
No social love, nor solitude can please, [breeze.
While death stalks forth in almost ev'ry
Who dies this morn, ere night is in the grave;
His friends too late implore the pow'r to save:
His virtues with his crimes they reckon o'er,
Till the fourth day, then think of him no more.
Yet here, sometimes, the mountains give delight,
The shady valleys, and the groves invite:
To these, sometimes, I seek a fond retreat,
My passions to indulge, and joy compleat:
Where breezes fan, and shades with shades conspire
To hide th' offending sun, I oft retire:
There gentle physic to the soul infuse,
Instructed by my books, and faithful muse:
There bless my friends, whose absence I bemoan,
Till all the sweets of solitude are gone;
For, wanting those, whom I am us'd to love,
Breezes, nor shades delight, nor citron grove,
Guide me, my better stars! to *Britain*'s isle,
Where peace and plenty, love and pleasure smile;
Give me once more *Maria* to behold,
I'll bid farewell to future thirst of gold.
But oh! that name, so us'd my soul to cheer,
Now gives a melancholy too severe. [light,
She whose whole days were scenes of fresh de-
Must now, I fear, be join'd to gloomy night.
Forbid it heaven! suspend the last adieu!
And spare, oh! spare the tender and the true.
But if, ordain'd by fate, no art can save
The much-lov'd partner longer from the grave;
If doom'd alone to wear my future years,
Joyless must be my days, and full of tears;
(For never did to death's abodes descend
A more endearing, or more faithful friend)
Ne'er from my soul shall eating time divide
That form, while memory and reason guide:
While heaven shall please my being to prolong,
Still shall *Maria* dignify my song.
When death shall me, as others he controuls;
Our clay be mingled, as have been our souls!

Dame JANE; *or, The* PENITENT NUN. *By Mr.* Lockman.

A Nun there was, as primrose gay,
And form'd of very yielding clay,
Who long had resolutely strove
To guard against the shafts of *love*,
Till *Cupid* whisp'ring soft *the fair*,
Her pious *vows* dissolves in air.——
The stolen sweets she now would smother,
In vain——poor *Jenny*'s made a mother.
These youthful pranks quite giv'n o'er,
Sighing, she cries, 'I'll sin no more;
'No more become man's sensual prey,
'But spend in prayer each fleeting day.'—
Lo! in her cell she weeping lies,
Nor from the cross once moves her eyes;
Whilst fifters, tittering at the grate,
Pass all their hours in wanton prate.
The abbess overjoy'd to find
This blissful change in *Jenny*'s mind,
With face demure, the girls addressing,
'Ah daughters! if you hope—— a blessing,
'From righteous *Jane* example take;
'The world, its pomps, and joys forsake.'—
'Ay—so we will,'—cries ev'ry nun—
'When we,—as righteous *Jane*, have done.'

To the Memory of my dear Friend, Mrs. ——

'TIS true, indeed, the mournful news we hear
Pierces each heart, strikes every tender ear.
Cordelia's *death* runs swiftly thro' the throng,
Accents of grief depress each fault'ring tongue:
A heavy gloom on every face appears,
And all her *pensive friends* dissolve in tears.
As fragrant flowers, crop't in their early bloom,
Diffuse their balmy odours round the room;
So when *Cordelia* yields her lateſt breath,
Tho' lov'd in life, she's more esteem'd at death.
Gently she steals out of my folding arms,
And every grace appears in dying charms;
I press her hand, and softly raise her head,
But oh! the generous, nobler part is fled:
Her lips grow pale, and the sweet rosy breath
Pas'd in a sigh, she falls a prey to death.
Incessant grief my wand'ring thoughts confuse,
And floods of tears o'erflow my fainting muse:
In vain I grieve, I sigh, I weep, and mourn;
My lov'd *Cordelia* will no more return.

Nor

Nor can I yet withdraw my eager eyes,
Which in idea trace her thro' the skies;
View her attendants, all seraphick bright,
Wafting her safely to the realms of light:
Each seraph sings, and none to aid disdains,
While *angels* hail her thro' th' etherial plains,
Where each obtains th' omnipotent regard,
And all her virtues meet their due reward.
Behold them shine amidst the rising throng,
Brighten the passage as she glides along,
And bless the *morn* * her glorious race begun;
As chanting larks, who meet the rising sun,
Create a spring between the earth and sky,
To chear the heavenly soul, when passing by.
What pen can thy united virtues trace,
Thou bright example of the female race?
Or to thy memory a trophy raise,
So far above my elegiack praise?
Live thy own monument, and scorn a stone;
Marbles have flaws--*Cordelia*'s name has none.
If friends from sighs and tears cannot refrain,
Oh what must be the *husband lover*'s pain!
While thus disconsolate thy *Strephon* mourns,
And every tender passion wounds by turns.
Adieu, dear friend, I long to be with thee,
From all the vain fatigues of life set free, [be.
Where friendship shall in death consummate

To the present Bishop of Peterborough.

WHEN *Bion*, gentlest bard! resign'd his breath,
And with th' accursed poison drank his death,
Moschus no more would charm the rural grove
With wanton tales of *Venus* or of *Jove*;
But smit with grief, and studious to relate
His honour'd master's much-lamented fate,
The gen'rous youth commenc'd a nobler song,
And *Bion*'s name dwelt ever on his tongue:
His melancholy numbers fill'd the plains,
And neighb'ring valleys echo'd with his strains:
The list'ning shepherds, while he sang the praise
Of heav'nly *Bion*, gladly heard his lays.
Disdain not then, my lord, if I inspir'd
With equal love, with equal ardor fir'd, [tend,
Presume to mourn, where trees their shades ex-
Th' untimely loss of your departed friend:
But gracious deign to take the gift I bring,
Assist my verse, and teach me how to sing.

To sing—alas! I need not tell my theme:
See! show'rs of tears from ev'ry *Briton* stream:
See! the whole nation wrapt in deep distress:
See! conscious grief each lab'ring mind oppress:
Smalridge is dead! for him *Britannia* bows
To earth, and binds the cypress on her brows.

With what a lustre did she still appear,
While safe she saw the rev'rend father here!
Around her front what beaming splendors shone!
How strengthen'd by his presence was her throne!
But now all dark and dreadful to her eyes
Far diff'rent scenes in sad succession rise:
Stretch'd on his couch the patriot yields his breath,
And sudden sleeps in the cold arms of death.
Relentless death! with whom entreaties fail,
With whom nor cries nor off'rings can prevail.
Could not thy hand the flying jav'lin stay
And stop, retarded, till another day
Its vengeful fury? or, if it was decreed [ceed,
That some great man should to thy stroke suc-
Why wouldst thou, tyrant! aggravate our woe?
And mark the greatest to sustain the blow?
Who labour'd more by worthy deeds to raise
His country's glory, and advance her praise?
To mount her domes and sacred temples high,
And lift 'em nearer to the starry sky?
Who with more zeal th' eternal king ador'd?
Or with more rev'rence preach'd his holy word?
Soon as the chearful morn's returning light
Dispers'd the darksom shades of gloomy night,
In joyful raptures join'd with sacred songs
He prais'd the God to whom all praise belongs.
Nor did he cease when hast'ning from our view
The setting sun's departing rays withdrew,
But still to heav'n the pious saint would pray,
And own his Maker, and confess his sway.

That glorious queen, whose potent arm of late
From ev'ry foe preserv'd the *British* state,
Immortal *Anne*! of all the virtuous train
That flourish'd under her illustrious reign,
Thought him the †worthiest to direct her store,
And deal her bounteous blessings to the poor:
But ah! the poor no longer now shall stand
Their food expecting from his op'ning hand:
No longer shall they melt him with their cries;
For lo! among the dead entomb'd he lies.

What then remains, but that (for 'tis but just)
We give ourselves to ‡*Boulter*'s care and trust?
'Tis you, my lord, to whom our *Oxford* bends,
To whom her sinking fortune she commends:
'Tis you must succour her declining state,
Assuage her grief, and meliorate her fate:
And sure you shall if to the muse 'tis giv'n
To trace the secret purposes of heav'n,
In those glad omens which it sent before
Your distant vessel reach'd our happy shore:
When purer breezes rose, and gentler gales
Smooth'd the rough waves, and stretch'd the swelling sails;
When silver-footed *Thetis* push'd with ease
The swimming timber thro' the parting seas,
That you might make us smile once more, and bless
Our learned seats with plenty and with peace,
While mighty *Marlbro*'s dreadful squadrons shine
In arms, and thunder on the banks of *Rhine*.

* *She dy'd at her House in* Birmingham, *June the* 22*d, about* 4 *o' Clock in the Morning.* † *He was Almoner to her Majesty.* ‡ *The present Archbishop of* Armagh, *who succeeded Dr.* Smalridge *in the Bishoprick of* Bristol, *and Deanry of* Christ-Church, 1719; *about which Time these Verses for the most Part were written.*

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'Tis you ſhall ſtill the ſacred church attend,
Aſſert her cuſtoms, and her laws defend:
'Tis you ſhall feed the needy with your ſtore,
And be a conſtant father to the poor;
Shall make the pitious orphan ceaſe his moan,
And help forſaken widows to their own:
So ſhall the grateful world record your name,
And late poſterity your praiſe proclaim.

Poole, July 16. H. PRICE.

A RIDDLE *for the* LADIES.

TO you fair maidens, I addreſs;
Sent to adorn your life:
And ſhe who firſt my name can gueſs,
Shall firſt be made a wife.

From the dark womb of mother earth,
To mortals aid I come,
But e'er I can receive my birth,
I many ſhapes aſſume.

Paſſive my nature, yet I'm made
As active as the roe;
And oftentimes, with equal ſpeed,
Thro' flow'ry lawns I go.

When wicked men their wealth conſume,
And leave their children poor,
To me their daughters often come,
And I increaſe their ſtore.

The women of the wiſer kind
Did never yet refuſe me;
And yet I never once could find,
The maids of honour uſe me.

The lily hand, the brilliant eye,
Can charm without my aid;
Beauty may prompt the lover's ſighs,
And celebrate the maid:

But let th' inchanting nymph be told,
Unleſs I grace her life,
She muſt have wondrous ſtore of gold;
Or make a wretched wife.

Altho' I never hope for reſt,
With chriſtians I go forth,
And while they worſhip towards the eaſt,
I proſtrate to the north.

If you ſuſpect hypocriſy,
Or think me inſincere,
Produce the zealot, who like me,
Can tremble and adhere.

The INTESTINE WAR.

ONE night I ſtartled in my bed,
A *noiſe*, methought, was o'er my head;
Or elſe the watchman ſeem'd to *roar*;
Or elſe was *thumping* at the door;
Perhaps a rat might be the cauſe;
Or puſs had got her game in paws;
I fancy'd all the dreads of night,
As folks are us'd to do in fright:
At length being thoroughly awake,
I quickly found out my miſtake;
And that, as now I am to tell you,
The *rumbling* was within my belly.

I ſtraightway call'd for *man of arts*;
Who told me, he would do his part,
And ſend *Cathartick* to my aid,
This bold *intruder* to invade.
Down went the *heroe* to his *foe*,
And found him well *intrench'd* below.
How now, quoth he, what's doing here?
Who's this, that's got into my *ſphere*?
Within this *province* all I find,
Flee out *before*, or elſe *behind*;
And tho' ſecure thou think'ſt thyſelf,
I'll drive thee out, thou *filthy* elf.
A mighty ſtruggle ſtraight there roſe,
Hot the diſpute, and fierce the blows;
Yet what will be moſt wond'rous thought,
Chiefly by *pinch* and *gripe* they fought.
But whilſt they kept this mighty *pother*,
And ſeem'd ſuch foes to one another;
Both *pinch'd* me ſo, I could not know,
Which was my friend, and which my foe;
I therefore ſent pacifick *gruel*,
To end this ſad inteſtine *duel*;
Who ſhewing no reſpect to either,
Took 'em and jumble 'em together;
And finding both ſo *looſely* bent,
The quickeſt way to *work* he went;
His *motion* was to quit the place,
And he'd join *iſſue* in the *caſe*;
So out they went with clam'rous *roar*,
And with a *bang* ſhut the back door.

An EPITAPH *on* Paſſive-obedience. *Wrote by the Rev. Mr.* Johnſon, *ſometime School-Maſter at* Nottingham.

IN hopes of reſurrection
Sure and certain under this ſtone,
Paſſive-obedience lies interr'd,
By church of *England* men rever'd,
So long as for't they were prefer'd.
'Twas not long ſince in as great favour,
As any doctrine of our Savour,
With *Burnet*, *Tillotſon*, and *Patrick*,
Tho' ſome will tell you 'twas but a trick,
To curry favour with the crown,
And make preferments all their own;
For when ſhe brought 'em into danger,
With one conſent they all cry'd hang her;
For which ſhe was arraign'd and try'd,
Condemn'd and ſentenc'd, and ſo dy'd,
In 1688.
Beware, ye chriſtian doctrines all,
And ſet before your eyes her fall;
Beware, I ſay, you don't conteſt
With the *ſupreme grace* INTEREST;
For her great crime upon her trial,
Was antichriſtian ſelf-denial.

A LETTER *from a* Lady *to her* Huſband, *when given over by her Phyſicians.*

OH you, who all my worldly thoughts employ,
Thou pleaſing ſource of ev'ry earthly joy;
Thou

Thou tend'reſt huſband, and thou deareſt friend,
To thee this ſond, this laſt adieu I ſend.
At length the conqueror death aſſerts his right,
And will for ever tear me from thy ſight;
He wooes me to him with a chearful grace,
And not one terror clouds his awful face:
He promiſes a laſting reſt from pain,
And ſhews that all life's fleeting joys are vain;
Th' eternal joys of heav'n he ſets in view,
And tells me that no other joys are true.
But *love*, fond love wou'd yet reſiſt his pow'r,
Wou'd yet a while defer the parting hour.
Love brings thy mourning image to my eyes,
And wou'd obſtruct my journey to the ſkies.
But ſay, thou deareſt, thou unweary'd friend,
Say, ſhalt thou grieve to ſee my ſorrows end?
Thou know'ſt a painful pilgrimage I've paſt,
Oh! weep not then, that death is come at laſt:
Rather rejoice to ſee me ſhake off life,
And die, as I have liv'd, thy faithful wife.

The following is the Copy of a Will juſt brought into the Commons.

THE 5th day of *May*,
Being airy and gay,
To hip not inclin'd,
But of vigorous mind,
And my body in health,
I'll diſpoſe of my wealth,
And all I'm to leave,
On this ſide the grave,
To ſome one or other,
And I think to my brother,
But becauſe I foreſaw,
That my brethren-in-law,
If I did not take care,
Wou'd come in for their ſhare;
Which I no ways intended,
Till their manners are mended:
(And of that God knows there's no ſign)
I do therefore enjoin,
And do ſtrictly command,
(Of which witneſs my hand)
That nought I have got,
Be brought into hotchpot;
But I give and deviſe,
As much as in me lies,
To the ſon of my mother,
My nown dear brother,
To have and to hold
All my ſilver and gold,
As the affectionate pledges
Of his brother, JOHN HEDGES.

Written in a Gentleman's COKE *upon* LITTLETON.

THOU precious volume be my guide
Thro' labyrinths of law;
Direct my ſteps thro' paths untry'd,
From error free and flaw.

Aſſiſt to keep unturn'd my head,
While I the maze explore:
Teach me thro' doubt's dark ſea to wade,
And touch the golden ſhore.

Then, lovely book, in future times,
When I in for grow old;
When I ſhall ſcorn to ſcribble rhimes,
But fill my purſe with gold:

Then putting off thy humble calf,
In *Turky* ſhalt thou ſhine;
The letter'd back, and gilded leaf,
Shall join to make thee fine.

An ample ſtudy I'll prepare,
Large ſhelves on ev'ry ſide;
There free from moth, duſt, ink, and care,
In peace ſhalt thou abide.

No more ſhall ſtudents thumb, or pen,
Moleſt, or ſoil thy page:
No more ſhall any puzzled brain
On thee diſcharge its rage.

That ſleep, which none who read thee taſte,
In quiet ſhalt thou take;
And undiſturb'd enjoy that reſt,
You once were us'd to break.

Then you and I on better terms
To ſleep ſhall both agree,
Till age and fate ſhall to the worms
Conſign both thee and me.

The Seat of the MUSES: *Or, the* COLLEGE-CELLAR. *Humbly addreſſed to the Gentlemen of* Trinity-College, Dublin.

Dicam inſigne, recens adhuc
Indictum ore alio.

HOR. Lib. III. Od. 25.

THAT we've *muſes*, and *Pbæbuſes*, *freſhmen* can tell, [dwell.
But the point is to hit on the place where they
That ſpot down from *Homer* very few *bards* could fix
To the preſent ſeventeen hundred thirty and ſix:
Hence errors have riſen, and *bards*, 'tis no news,
Have invok'd *Clascina* * inſtead of a *muſe*;
Then have ſtunk ſo in verſe—if you think it a fiction, [viction.
Hye away to the *bog-houſe*, and there find conSome ſay 'tis a *garret*, and ſome ſay *Parnaſſus*,
But the thoughts are erroneous, and ſo they ſhall paſs us; [hill
For, mark me, Sirs, get me a ſpark from that
That ſwears he can *Helicon* drink when he will,
Produce me his verſe: if there's one good in ten
I'll ne'er touch a plate in the *cellar* again:
The *garreteer* ſoars to the nethermoſt † ſky
And his verſe is as low, as his lodging is high.
Know ye all by theſe preſents, good men of the College, [knowledge,
That by ſtudy I've found out that long-wanted

* *Goddeſs of Bog-houſes.*

† Vid. *Rhapſody.*

Which

Which out of my love to you and ſpecial grace
I diſcloſe; now attend, and I'll tell you the place. [ſpire
Hippocrene is a fountain, whoſe liquors in-
Its drinkers with wit, and poetical fire,
And therefore wherever theſe liquors are found,
To the *Muſes* we'll conſecrate that ſpot of ground; [by
Underneath where the prelate of *Caſhel* * hard
Rais'd his good works, and charity three ſtory high, [their throne,
Great *Sadlier*, and *Collins* † look down from
Convey life by a ſmile, or death by a frown:
'Tis literally true, and no figure, or lie,
For by feeding we live, and by ſtarving we die:
There of life, and of death they poſſeſs the commiſſion; [permiſſion.
For none eats or drinks there without their
Here the good *Iriſh* dean's wit began firſt to dawn,
(I would to the Lord I cou'd ſee him in lawn)
Here *Congreve* firſt mauldin in tragedy ſigh'd
And con'd the heroicks of his *mourning bride*;
Here honeſt *George Farquhar* we know was a ſoaker—
Well, peace to thy aſhes, thou dear defunct joker.
Here *Parnal* devis'd his divine hermit's tale,
Took his ſtrength from the *March*, and his ſmoothneſs from *ale*.
To this place we owe all the works of *Delany*,
A poet, and ſpeaker ſcarce ſecond to any.
Here *I—m—n*, yet *freſhman* beſprinkl'd his brains
Hence *Mendico-Hymen* in *Virgilian* ſtrains,
But the *caitiff* forſook it along with his *garret*
And grew pert, and dull by revolting to *claret*;
As witneſs poor *Job*, the moſt patient of men
Whom the *bard* trampl'd down to his dunghil again. [ſpp'd,
Here *Dunkin*, young *Flaccus*, firſt *Hippocrene*
Here firſt try'd his wings in a *Bellarmine* ‡ dipp'd. [tranſlation,
Hence roſe *Paddy Murphey*, and hence the
Here I—but I've given my *muſe* long vacation,
A long one indeed, for ſhe ſcarce knows my looks,
No wonder, I've been ſo long out of the books §.
And faith, tho' 'tis odd, I have often confeſt
That I know that I am—but a *ſcribbler* at beſt.
Here—no, I miſtake, for in *Phœbus* his court
Ne'er was the grave *Ca r y* or gay *D-l-c rt* ‖
For *Ca-r-y* o'er *mum*, writ his firſt deep eſſay,
And *D-l-c-rt* ſcribbl'd o'er *milk* and *bohea*;
Hence his numbers have got ſuch a ſmooth way of flowing
Si plura vis, lector, vide the art of beauing.
Theſe premiſſes granted, 'twill naturally follow
That the cellar's *Parnaſſus*, and *Collins Apollo*,
By whom all the *bards*, and the *bardlings* are fir'd, [ſpir'd.
For if he ſtops his hand they no more are in-
Alma mater, or rather dear burſar permit
Power of ſizing *ad libitum* to men of wit;
Little *George* is inclin'd well enough, if you'd let him, [you threat him:
He's a wit, and loves wits, and wou'd give, but
So is *Sadlier*, good ſoul, if you cut him a joke,
But then his diſcretionary power you revoke.
Give them power, and the firſt man that ſtops, or refuſes,
Is an outlaw declar'd, and a foe to the *muſes*;
And be he depos'd with a kick and a thump
To *Con's* ** hatch to draw *ſmall beer* for *Ca—s—y* and comp.

On the late News from England, *of the Death of the Lord Chancellor* Talbot, *and the Appointment of Lord Chief Juſtice* Hardwicke *in his Room.*

WHEN firſt the ſeals the good lord *King* reſign'd,
None judg'd it hard a ſucceſſor to find;
Yet equal merit ſo diſtinguiſh'd *two*,
Scarce which to take the royal wiſdom knew;
While every ſubject, with united voice,
Pronounc'd a *Talbot*, or a *Yorke* the choice;
No other competition at the bars,
Than who ſhou'd *ſecond* be to thoſe bright ſtars.
But †† *Raymond*'s exit fix'd the juſt decree,
That both, at once, we then advanc'd ſhou'd ſee;
Each to preſide in different courts, ſupreme,
And each alike the ſuitor's darling theme.
Such wond'rous talents did in *one* combine,
On either *bench* he muſt refulgent ſhine.
Thus they acquir'd, and ſtill increas'd in fame,
As juſtice triumph'd in their ſpheres the ſame.
But when, alas! the *Chancellor* was gone,
Unrivall'd ſtood great *Hardwicke*, and alone:
Now no ſuſpence cou'd hold the ſovereign's breaſt,
And the firſt genius the firſt place poſſeſt;
This if he keep till one more ſit ariſe,
His years no leſs may yield the world ſurprize.

Barbadoes, April 23, 1737.

A Direction of a Letter put into the Poſt-Houſe *ſome Time ago.*

TO *William Callway* now at *Lyme*,
Let this be ſent in proper time,
You at the *George* in *Lyme* may leave it,
Where he in perſon may receive it:
To make the eaſe more plain and clear,
Take notice, *Lyme*'s in *Dorſetſhire*.

We are always willing to oblige our Correſpondents, and deſire the Continuance of their Favours; but muſt beg to be excus'd if we omit the Arduous Ablactation.

* *The Building over the Cellar erected by Archbiſhop* Palliſer. † *The Cellar Butlers.*
‡ *A large Tin Veſſel to ſerve Liquor to the Scholars, perhaps ſo called from an eminent Cardinal of that Name.* § *A College Phraſe for a Man's leaving the Univerſity.* ‖ *Two illuſtrious Writers, one fam'd for the Weight, and the other for the Levity of his Writings.*
** *A worthy Retainer of the Cellar, tho' in an inferior Station; he is poſted every Day at the Back Hatch, at Twelve and Six, to give out Small Beer for Dinner and Supper.*
†† *Lord Chief Juſtice of the* King's-Bench.

THE

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THE
Monthly Chronologer.

FRIDAY, *July* 1.

MARY Bird was burnt to Aſhes at *Ely*, for poiſoning her Huſband, *John Bird*, late of *Marypole* in the Iſle of *Ely*. She made the Attempt once before, but without Effect; ſo ſhe went a ſecond Time to the Doctor, and told him, He *did not give her Poiſon enough to kill the Rats, deſiring a larger Quantity, for ſhe would deſtroy all the Rats about her Houſe:* So having got what ſhe deſir'd, ſhe took the firſt Opportunity to give it her Huſband in his Victuals, which put an End to his Life in a ſhort Time. She confeſs'd ſhe had liv'd wickedly moſt Part of her Life, and acknowledg'd the Fact, and Juſtice of her Sentence.

TUESDAY, 5.

Was try'd at the *King's Bench* before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Lee*, the Cauſe wherein *Thomas Sheppard* was Plaintiff, and *Jacob Orten*, a *German*, Defendant; for that the Defendant had occupied the Trade of a Cooper, not having ſerved 7 Years to the ſaid Trade in this Realm. The Jury brought in a Verdict for the Plaintiff of 20*l.* Penalty, he having occupied the ſaid Trade for ten Months. The Defendant occupied the ſmall Branch of the ſaid Trade, and that Part of it which makes ſmall Hoops for the Sugar-Bakers, as well as hooping the new Moulds at the Potters before they can be removed from thence. What is remarkable, the Coopers have proved their Right to hoop Earthen-Ware.

SATURDAY, 9.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when 8 Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. John Bulleck* for ſtealing a Mare-Colt; *John Goſwell* and *Robert Barrow* for a Street-Robbery; *Martin Wright* for ſtealing 8 Guineas; *John Perdue* for robbing *Samuel Slater* in *Marybone Fields*; *John Richardſon*, for robbing *John Cutting* of his Hat on the Highway; *Catharine Lenge* for Forgery; and *John Bailey* a Serjeant, for the Murder of *William Burton*, a Serjeant, in the *Tower*.

Extract of a Letter *about the Trial of a* Witch.

Oakely, *three Miles from* Bedford.

SIR,

THE People here are ſo prejudiced in the Belief of *Witches*, that you would think yourſelf in *Lapland*, was you to hear their ridiculous Stories. There is not a Village in the Neighbourhood but has two or three. About a Week ago I was preſent at the Ceremony of Ducking a Witch; a particular Account of which may not perhaps be diſagreeable to you.

An old Woman of about 60 Years of Age, had long laid under an Imputation of Witchcraft; who, being willing (for her own Sake and her Childrens) to clear herſelf, conſented to be duck'd; and the Pariſh-Officers promiſed her a Guinea, if ſhe ſhould ſink: The Place appointed for the Operation was in the River *Ouſe* by a Mill; there were I believe 500 Spectators: About eleven o' Clock in the Forenoon, the Woman came, and was tied up in a wet Sheet, all but her Face and Hands; her Toes were tied cloſe together, as were alſo her Thumbs, and her Hands tied to the Small of her Legs: They faſten'd a Rope about her Middle, and then pulled off her Cap to ſearch for Pins, (for their Notion is, if they have but one Pin about 'em, they won't ſink.)

When all Preliminaries were ſettled, ſhe was thrown in: But, unhappily for the poor Creature, ſhe floated; tho' her Head was all the while under Water: Upon this there was a confus'd Cry, *A Witch! A Witch! Drown her! Hang her!* She was in the Water about a Minute and a Half; and was then taken out half drowned; when ſhe had recovered Breath, the Experiment was repeated twice more, but with the ſame Succeſs; for ſhe floated each Time; which was a plain Demonſtration of Guilt to the ignorant Multitude! For notwithſtanding the poor Creature was laid down upon the Graſs, ſpeechleſs, and almoſt dead, they were ſo far from ſhewing any Pity or Compaſſion, that they ſtrove who ſhould be the moſt forward in loading her with Reproaches. Such is the dire Effect of popular Prejudice! As for my Part, I ſtood againſt the Torrent, and when I had cut the Strings which tied her, had her carried back to the Mill, and endeavoured to convince the People of the Uncertainty of the Experiment, and offered to lay five to one, that any Woman of her Age, ſo tied up in a looſe Sheet, wou'd float; but all to no Purpoſe, for I was very near being mob'd. Some Time after, the Woman came out; and one of the Company happen'd to mention another Experiment to try a Witch, which was, to weigh her againſt the *Church Bible*; for a Witch, it ſeems, cou'd not outweigh it. I immediately ſeconded that Motion (as thinking it might be of Service to the poor Woman) and made uſe of an Argument

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gument which (tho' as weak as * K. *James*'s for their not ſinking) had ſome Weight with the People; for I told them, if ſhe was a Witch, ſhe certainly dealt with the Devil; and ſo the Bible was undoubtedly the *Word of God*, it muſt weigh more than all the *Works of the Devil*. This ſeem'd reaſonable to ſeveral; and thoſe that did not think it ſo, could not anſwer it: At laſt, the Queſtion was carried, and ſhe was weighed againſt the Bible; which weighing about twelve Pound, ſhe out-weighed it. This convinced ſome, and ſtaggered others; but the P——n, who believed through thick and thin, went away fully aſſured, that ſhe was a Witch, and endeavoured to inculcate that Belief into all others. I am,

July 12, 1737. *SIR*, *Your very Humble Servant.*

THURSDAY, 14.

Was try'd by a Special Jury, at the *King's-Bench* Sittings in *Guildhall*, a great Cauſe between the Mayor of *Briſtol*, Plaintiff, and the Captain of the Ship *Joanna*, Defendant, on an Action brought againſt him for refuſing to pay the cuſtomary Sum of 40 *s.* to the ſaid Mayor or his Officer, for the Privilege of mooring or ſtationing his Ship, being above 60 Tons Burthen, at the Key of *Briſtol*. After a long Trial of ſeveral Hours, in the Courſe whereof Clauſes from ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and half the Archives relating to the City of *Briſtol*, were read by Order of Counſel on one Side or the other, the Jury gave a Verdict of 40*l.* Damages for the Plaintiff, and confirmed the Cuſtom, which brings in upwards of 1000 *l. per Annum.*

About the Middle of laſt Month, a Horſe, aged 17 Years, belonging to Sir *Henry Hicks* of *Deptford*, died of convulſive Pains in his Bowels, which he was often ſubject to lately: And as he was cutting up for the Dogs, one ſticking a Pitchfork in his Guts, ſtruck againſt ſomething very hard; upon which, opening the Maw or Stomach, there was found a Stone of an incredible Size, (not truly ſpherical, but ſomewhat flatted, in form of an oblate Spheroid) its greateſt Circumference being 28 Inches, and its leaſt 25, weighing full 19 Pounds Averdupoiz, beſides a Cruſt or Shell which almoſt ſurrounded it, being in ſome Parts 3 Tenths of an Inch, tho' in others ſcarce one Tenth thick, compos'd of two Subſtances, the inner thick, brown and ſhining, reſembling black Roſin; the outer, thin, hard, white and ſmooth, like the external Tabula of a human Skull; to which adhere, in ſome Places, Bits of Straw, Hay and the like, mixt with ſome conglutinous Matter, and altogether ſo dryed and harden'd, that it may be juſtly ſaid to be oſſified, if not petrified; and from ſome Appearances, I do imagine the whole, or at leaſt the beſt Part of this Stone or Ball, to be compos'd of ſeveral of thoſe Shells cloſely adhering one to another, like the Coats or Peels of an Onion; but what may be the Origin and Center of this vaſt Stone I am not certain, except it ſhould be Hair, which is a Matter not eaſily, if at all, to be digeſted, but is roll'd about in the Time of the Concoction of the Aliments, entangling and mixing with the Mocus of the Stomach, ſtill gathering freſh Matter, like a Snow-Ball, till it becomes too large to be thruſt out at the Pylorus into the Duodenum or firſt Gut; whence it muſt of Courſe remain in the Ventricle of the Stomach during Life, and conſequently at Times occaſion many convulſive Pains to the Animal ſo diſtemper'd.

N. B. The Stone itſelf is preſerv'd by Sir *Henry Hicks*, at his Houſe in *Deptford*, and Part of its Cruſt or Shell may be ſeen by any Perſon deſirous of the ſame, at my Houſe near *Deptford-Bridge*, *Kent*.

RALPH COX, *jun.*

TUESDAY, 19.

Came on the Election of a Sheriff for *London* and *Middleſex*, in the room of *Mr. Henry Benyon*, who had ſworn off; when *Mr. John Marlow*, an eminent Wholeſale Grocer, was choſen; but he ſoon after paid the uſual Fine into the Chamber of *London*, in order to be excus'd ſerving that Office. (See p. 336.)

The Aſſizes ended on the Crown Side at *Hertford*, when *John Willis* and *Richard Mortimer* receiv'd Sentence of Death for ſeveral Robberies on the Highway; two were caſt for Tranſportation, and three acquitted.

A few Days ſince died at her Lodgings in *Saliſbury-Court*, *Fleet-ſtreet*, *Mary Hammond*, Widow of Mr. *Charles Hammond*, ſometime Maſter of the *Green Dragon* Tavern on *Snow-hill*. She had been Bed-ridden ſeveral Years, and pleaded Poverty to the Hour of her Death. After her Interrment there were found in ſeveral Pair of her Stays, Money and Notes to the Value of 1300 *l.* beſides a large Quantity of broad Gold and Silver Coin; in her Life-time ſhe deſired, that at her Death her Stays and Shoes ſhould be thrown into *Fleet-Ditch* the Day after ſhe was buried. *Joſ. Tilly*, of *Lamb's-Buildings* in the *Middle Temple*, Eſq; who is Heir at Law to the Deceaſed, demanded an Inſpection into all the Deceaſed's Wearing-Apparel, in Preſence of ſeveral People of Note. The ſaid Mr. *Tilly* ripp'd ſeveral Hundred Guineas out of one Pair of her Stays with his Penknife. He has been heard to declare, that he does not deſire any Part of his Family ſhould partake of Wrong or Robbery, but that, with Conſent of all Parties, the whole Sum be given to charitable Uſes, or di-

* *K.* James's *Argument why* Witches *would not ſink, was this*; they had renounced their *Baptiſm by Water*, and therefore the *Water* would not receive them.

vided

vided amongſt the Creditors of *Charles Hammond*, the Huſband of the Deceaſed, who, about 30 Years ago, had a Commiſſion of Bankruptcy againſt him. The Money is paid into the Hands of Sir *Francis Child*.

THURSDAY, 21.

His Majeſty in Council was this Day pleaſed to order, that the Parliament, which ſtands prorogued to *Thurſday* the 4th of *Auguſt* next, ſhould be further prorogued to *Thurſday* the 20th of *October*.

FRIDAY, 22.

At the Aſſizes for the County of *Eſſex*, 5 Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. John Uzkle* and *Chriſtopher Graydon*, for a Robbery on the Highway; *Sarah Hill*, for ſtealing about 40 Shillings out of a Dwelling-Houſe; *John Sewell*, for breaking and entering a Dwelling-Houſe, and ſtealing about 5 Shillings; and *Thomas Rowden*, who was tried for Burglary, and found guilty of Felony only.

THURSDAY, 28.

Came on again the Election of a Sheriff for *London* and *Middleſex*, in the room of Mr. *John Marlow*, who paid his Fine; when Sir *George Champion*, Knt. Alderman of *Bridge Ward* within, was choſen.

One *Mary Patten*, who is in the Work-houſe belonging to the Pariſh of St. *Margaret's*, *Weſtminſter*, ſate, by Order of the chief Officers of the ſaid Pariſh, for her Picture to be drawn, in order to be put up in the ſaid Work-houſe: She is now 136 Years of Age, and very hearty, walks about, and her only Food is Milk.

The Perſons taken into Cuſtody of Meſſengers, on Account of the *Craftſman* of *July* 2, are order'd to be admitted to Bail; as are Mr. *Kelly*, the ſuppoſed Author of *Fog's Journal* of the 16th, and the others taken up for that Paper.

SUNDAY, 31.

The Court went into Mourning on Account of the Death of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

SIR *William Parſons*, of *Nottingham*, Bart. to Mrs. *Dutton* of *Hollis ſtreet*.—Mr. *Richard Hoare*, Banker in *Fleet-ſtreet*, to Miſs *Roſſe*.—*Alexander Pitfield*, Eſq; to Miſs *Aſhby*, Daughter of *Solomon Aſhley*, Eſq; Member for *Bridport*, *Dorſetſhire*.—His Grace the Duke of *Hamilton* and *Brandon*, to Miſs *Spencer*, of *Groſvenor-Square*.—Right Hon. the Lord *Delorain*, to Miſs *Scrope*, of *Lincoln*.—Lord Chief Baron *Reynoldi*, to Mrs. *Rainbird*.—*Gen. Speke*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Wells*, to the Lady *Drake*, Relict of Sir *Wm. Drake*, Bart. Daughter of the late *William Peere Williams*, Eſq;—Hon. *Alexander Hume Campbell*, to Miſs *Paris*, of *Saville-Row*.—Hon. *Nicholas Herbert*, to Miſs *North*, of *Groſvenor-Square*.—*Jocelyn Pickard*, of *Lincoln's-Inn*, Eſq; to Miſs *Abney*, Daughter of the late Sir *Thomas Abney*, Lord Mayor of *London*, Anno 1701.—*Wm. Morrice*, of *Bettefhanger*, *Kent*, Eſq; to Miſs *Mary Chadwick*, of *Northfleet*, in the ſame County.—Sir *Henry Hoghton*, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, to Miſs *Butterfield*, of *Manchester*.—Rev. Dr. *Galley*, Rector of St. *Giles's in the Fields*, to Miſs *Knight*, of *Brook ſtreet* near *Groſvenor-Square*.—*Joſeph Hedges*, of *Hollyport*, Eſq; to Miſs *Hammond*, ſecond Daughter of *George Hammond*, of *Berks*, Eſq;—*Samuel Tuſton*, of *Penſhurſt*, *Kent*, Eſq; to Miſs *Mary Legg*, a Fortune of 14,000 *l*.—The Lady of *Paulet St. John*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Wincheſter*, brought to Bed of a Son.—Lady *Strathmore*, ſafely deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

THOMAS *Spence*, Eſq; Serjeant at Arms attending the Hon. Houſe of Commons. His Death was occaſioned by an Accident. As he was riding in a four Horſe Chaiſe in *Windſor Foreſt*, the Horſes on a ſudden run ſo faſt that the Coachman could not ſtop them; and Mr. *Spence* fearing he ſhould be overturn'd, jumped out of the Chaiſe, and had the Misfortune to break both his Legs; one of which was cut off, to prevent a Mortification; and the next Day he died.—Rev. Dr. *Biſhop*, Miniſter of St. *Mary le Tower* in *Ipſwich*.—At *Wanſtead*, *Eſſex*, the Rev. Mr. *Nathaniel Hoole*, Maſter of the Boarding School there. *Nathaniel Pigot*, of the *Middle-Temple*, Eſq; *Thomas Jackſon*, Eſq; Town Clerk of *London*.—*George Carew*, Eſq; an eminent Counſellor. Mr. *Francis Carter*, Common Council Man for *Aldgate-Ward*.—Rev. Mr. *Johnſon*, one of the Chaplains belonging to *Whitehall*. *Hugh Raymond*, Eſq; formerly a Capt. in the *Eaſt India* Service.—Rev. Dr. *Michael Stanhope*, one of the Canons of *Windſor*.—At *Newcaſtle*, Sir *Wilfrid Lawſon*, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for *Cockermouth*.—At his Houſe near *Colcheſter*, *Daniel Crew*, Eſq;—Capt. *John Mordaunt*, formerly a Commander in the Royal Navy.—Lady *Anne Scott*, ſecond Daughter to the Duke of *Buccleugh*.—Mr. *John Stevens*, of *Jermyn-ſtreet*, Surgeon to the Prince.—Mr. *Anthony Webſter*, an eminent Mercer on *Ludgate-Hill*, elder Brother to the Rev. Dr. *Webſter*.—Sir *Gerard Conyers*, Knt. Alderman of *Bridge Ward* without, Senior Alderman and Father of the City, and one of the Directors of the Bank.—Lady *Catharine Hyde*, Siſter to the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Rochester*.—At his Seat in *Lancaſhire*, *Thomas Townley*, Eſq;—Lieut. General *Sutton*, Governor of *Guernſey*, Col. of a Regiment of Foot, Memb. of Parliament for *Newark*, and Deputy Ranger of *Sherwood Foreſt*.—*Stephen Sibrard*, Eſq; formerly Lieut. General of *Nevis*. *Edward Lovibond*, Eſq; one of the Directors of the *Eaſt-India* Company.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Jordan*, Chancellor of *Chicheſter*, to the Rectory of *Burwaſh*, *Suſſex*.—Mr. *Twells*, to the Rectory of the united Pariſhes of St. *Matthew*, *Friday-ſtreet*, and St. *Peter*, *Cheap*.—Mr. *Badger*, to the Vicarage of *Mansfield*, *Nottinghamſhire*.—Mr. *Thomas Robotom*, to the Rectory of *Bycham All-Saints*, *Norfolk*.—Dr. *Reuben Clarke*, made Archdeacon of *Eſſex*, in the room of the Bp. of *Briſtol*.—Mr. *John Willes* preſented to the Living of *Ixning*, *Suffolk*.—Mr. *Garbert*, Fellow of *Merton-College*, *Oxford*, appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty.—Mr. *Henry Taylor* preſented to the Living of *Whitefield*, *Oxfordſhire*.—Mr. *Wade* choſen a Minor Canon of *Rocheſter*.—Mr. *George Watts*, Preacher of *Lincoln's-Inn*, preſented to the Rectory of St. *Mary's* in *Marlborough*, in the room of Mr. *Twells*.—Lord *James Beauclerc*, Brother to the Duke of St. *Alban's*, made one of the Minor Canons of *Windſor*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

BRIG. Gen. *Churchill* made Col. of a Company of Grenadiers; Col. *Needham*, Col. of a Comp. of Hatmen; Lieut. *Southby*, Capt. of the Earl of *Scarborough's* Comp. and Enſign *Townſhend*, a Lieut. in his room.—Mr. *Rowland Rogers* choſen Caſhire of the *S. S.* Comp.—Mr. *Miles Mann*, Town Clerk of the City of *London*.—Sir *John Eyles* accepted of *Bridge Ward* without, as Sen. Ald. and Father of the City, in the room of Sir *Gerr. Conyers*; and Sir *Wm. Rous*, one of the Sheriffs, choſen Ald. of *Vintry Ward*, in the room of Sir *John*. It is remarkable, that when he kept a great Druggiſt's Shop in the *Strand*, about 16 Years ago, and was drinking with ſome Gentlemen, who drank to him by the Title of Alderman; *Alderman*, ſays he, *I never deſign to be a Citizen, therefore can never be an Alderman: If any one will give me a Guinea now, I'll give him a hundred, if ever that Time comes*. Upon which Mr. *Leppiſton*, an eminent Dry-Salter, and Mr. *Coſſins*, who lately fin'd for Sheriff, merrily depoſited half a Guinea each. Articles were immediately drawn by Mr. Deputy *Trench*, in which it was agreed, that if Mr. *Rous* ſhould ever be elected an Alderman, Mr. *Leppiſton* and Mr. *Coſſins* ſhould each of them ſpend 5 Guineas in a Veniſon Feaſt at *Pontack's*. Mr. *Coſſins* call'd on Mr. *Leppiſton* to give him Joy of his 50 Guineas, and in a few Days the Entertainment is to be given, Sir *William*, with much Mirth and Jocularity, agreeing to pay his 100 Guineas.

The reſt of the Promotions, and Bankrupts muſt be deferr'd to our next.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	103	*Afric.*	14
—*Bonds*	4 10	*Royal Aſſ.*	108 ½
—*Annu.*	110 ¼ a 10	*Lon. ditto*	14 ½ a ⅞
Bank	143 ⅛ a 44	3 *per C. An.*	105 ⅜ a ⅝
—*Circ.*	3 7 6 a 10	*Eng. Copper*	
Mil. Bank	122 ½	*Salt Tallies*	1 a 5
India	174 ½	*Emp. Loan*	112 ¼
—*Bonds*	6 19	*Equiv.*	112

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	34 10	*Bilboa*	40 ¼ a ⅜
D. Sight	34 8	*Leghorn*	49 ⅛ a ⅝
Retter.	34 11	*Genoa*	52 ½ a ⅜
Hamb.	33 10	*Venice*	49 ⅞ a 50
P. Sight	32 ⅛	*Liſb.*	5s 5d ⅞ a 6
Bourdx.	32 ⅝ a ¼	*Oport.*	5s 5d ¼
Cadiz	39 ⅞	*Antw.*	34 11
Madrid	39 ½ a ¾	*Dublin*	10 ⅞

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	28 34	*Oates*	11 14
Rye	13 18	*Tares*	22 24
Barley	11 14	*Peaſe*	20 30
H. Beans	20 26	*H. Peaſe*	16 17
B. Malt	20 27	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *June* 21. to *July* 26.

Chriſtned	Males 807	Females 695	1502
Buried	Males 1164	Females 1245	2409
Died under 2 Years old			933
Between 2 and 5			260
5	10		114
10	20		90
20	30		160
30	40		223
40	50		203
50	60		170
60	70		120
70	80		77
80	90		49
90 and upwards			10
			2409

Hay 46 to 50*s.* a Load.

THE

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THE War between the *Chriſtians* and *Turks* ſeems now to be begun in good Earneſt; for on the 29th of laſt Month, N.S. the grand Army of the *Germans* encamped near *Belgrade* began their March from thence towards the *Turkiſh* Frontiers, under the Command of the *Duke of Lorain*, and when the laſt Letters came from thence, were advancing, by ſhort Marches, becauſe of the exceſſive Heats, towards *Nizza*, one of the beſt fortified Towns belonging to the *Turks* on that Frontier; from which it was conjectured, the Campaign would be opened with the Siege of that important Place. At the ſame Time another *German* Army under the Command of the Prince of *Saxe-Hildbourghauſen*, began to march into the *Turkiſh Croatia*, with a Deſign, as 'tis ſaid, to ſeize *Bagnaluck*, and then proceed to form the Siege of *Zwornick*; and a third *German* Army under the Command of *Count Wallis*, began to march towards *Wallachia*, where, 'tis thought, they will be joined by the Inhabitants, who ſeem all weary of the *Turkiſh* Yoke. The Emperor's Manifeſto, or Declaration of War, was publiſh'd at the Head of each of thoſe Armies as ſoon as they entered the *Turkiſh* Territories, and on the 13th Inſtant, N. S. the ſame was publiſhed at *Vienna*.

On the other Side, the grand *Muſcovite* Army, under the Command of *Count Munich*, paſſed the River *Bog*, and entered the *Turkiſh* Territory of *Oczakow*, with a Deſign, as ſaid, to beſiege the City of *Oczakow*, a well fortified City on the *Euxin Sea*, in which the *Turks* have a Garriſon of 15000 Men; and another *Muſcovite* Army, commanded by *General Laſci*, was marching towards *Precop*, with a Deſign to penetrate into, and make an abſolute Conqueſt of the *Crim Tartary*. The laſt Letters from *Warſaw* ſay, the *Muſcovite* Army under *Count Munich* had actually inveſted *Oczakow*, and that the grand *Turkiſh* Army, under the Command of the *Prime Vizier* had paſſed the *Nieſter*, and was marching to the Relief of that Place; ſo that we may expect to hear ſoon of a bloody Battle between theſe two great Armies.

On the 15th Inſtant, N. S. the Queen of *France* was ſafely delivered of a Princeſs, which was ſome Sort of Diſappointment to that Nation; for they were all wiſhing and praying for a Prince; but that Diſappointment was atoned for by the News of the Death of the Duke of *Tuſcany*, who died at *Florence* the 9th in the 67th Year of his Age; by whoſe Death the *Duke of Lorain* comes to the actual Poſſeſſion of the Dukedom of *Tuſcany*, and by that means the *French* get free of an Annuity of 4,500,000 Livers a Year, which, by the late Treaty, they were obliged to pay to the *Duke of Lorain* till he came to the actual Poſſeſſion of *Tuſcany*; ſo that they may be ſaid to have got one of the fineſt Dutchies of *Europe*, viz. that of *Lorain*, for leſs than half a Year's Purchaſe: A Dutchy, which, by its Situation, is worth ten Times its real Value to the Kingdom of *France*; for it will add greatly to the Strength of their Frontier upon that Side where they are moſt expoſed, and it will enable them to enter *Germany* with a greater Army by Surprize, whenever they have a Mind; which they could not formerly ſo eaſily do, becauſe their aſſembling a great Army in *Alſace* always gave the Alarm, and they could not enter *Germany* by any other Route, without firſt ſeizing upon and traverſing the whole Dutchy of *Lorain*.

The Cardinal Prime Miniſter of *France* has a Mind, it ſeems, to provide in Time for continuing the Government of *France* in the Hands of the Church; for he has already brought the Archbiſhop of *Thoulouſe* into the Adminiſtration, and has, 'tis ſaid, a Mind to reſign into the Hands of that Prelate a great Part of the Management of publick Affairs. In the mean Time, the famous *M. Chauvelin*, formerly his Coadjutor, but now under Diſgrace, paſſes his Time very agreeably at *Bourget*, where he keeps an open Table, appears Gay and Eaſy, and is viſited by the principal Families of that Country, notwithſtanding his being a diſcarded Miniſter, which is a Fate few ſuch can boaſt much of in that or any other Country.

As they are every Day concerting new Schemes in *France* for the Encouragement of their Trade, eſpecially ſuch Branches of it as may interfere with, or diminiſh the Trade of this Kingdom; ſo the Government has of late applied itſelf particularly to the Encouragement of Agriculture, for which Purpoſe they ſometime ſince removed one of the great Impediments it formerly laboured under, which was this: The Exportation of Corn out of the Kingdom, or even from one Province to another, was formerly in ſome Manner prohibited, which prevented the Farmers from turning ſo much of their Grounds to the Producing of that Sort of Commodity as they might otherwiſe have done. But the Law has been lately altered in this Particular; and by a late Incident we may ſee how careful the Government is to prevent any Thing that may diſcourage the Production of Corn; for ſome malicious and ſelfiſh Perſon having laſt Winter ſpread a Report at *Paris* that the Barley of laſt Year's Growth in that Country had a poiſonous Quality in it, in order to deter People from drinking Beer, the Magiſtrates of that City, as ſoon as they heard of the Report, publiſhed an Ordinance declaring the Falſhood of the Report, and forbidding the Propagating of any ſuch.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

AUGUST, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT, *continued from Page* 368.

ACCORDING to our Promiſe in our laſt, (ſee p. 380.) we ſhall now (for the Reaſon then mentioned) give our Readers the Speech made laſt Seſſion in the H—ſe of L—ds, againſt the Bill *for explaining and amending ſo much of the Vagabond Act, as relates to common Players of Interludes.* We cannot pretend that it is exactly in the Words made uſe of by the noble Speaker; and therefore, if we have in the Copy committed any Miſtakes either with reſpect to the Argument or the Expreſſion, we muſt forewarn the pert Political Criticks of the preſent, and of every future Age, not to impute them to the original Author, whoſe Arguments are generally ſo ſtrong, and his Expreſſions always ſo elegant, that no Fault can ever be found with the latter, and it is but ſeldom that any Anſwer can be made to the former.

The E—l of Ch——ld's *Speech againſt the Bill, intitled,* An Act to explain and amend ſo much of an Act made in the 12th Year of the Reign of Queen *Anne, intitled,* An Act for reducing the Laws, relating to Rogues, *&c.* as relates to common Players of Interludes.

My Lords,

THE Bill now before you I apprehend to be of a very extraordinary, a very dangerous Nature. It ſeems deſigned not only as a Reſtraint on the Licentiouſneſs of the Stage, but it will prove a moſt arbitrary Reſtraint on the Liberty of the Stage; and, I fear, it looks yet farther, I fear, it tends towards a Reſtraint on the Liberty of the Preſs, which will be a long Stride towards the Deſtruction of Liberty itſelf. It is not only a Bill, my Lords, of a very extraordinary Nature, but it has been brought in at a very extraordinary Seaſon, and puſhed with moſt extraordinary Diſpatch. When I conſidered how near it was to the End of the Seſſion, and how long this Seſſion had been protracted beyond the uſual Time of the Year; when I conſidered that this Bill paſſed through the other Houſe with ſo much Precipitancy, as even to get the Start of a Bill which deſerved all the Reſpect, and all the Diſpatch, the Forms of either Houſe

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of Parliament could admit of, it set me upon Enquiring, what could be the Reason for introducing this Bill at so unseasonable a Time, and pressing it forward in a Manner so very singular and uncommon. I have made all possible Enquiry, and as yet, I must confess, I am at a Loss to find out the great Occasion. I have, 'tis true, learned from common Report without Doors, that a most seditious, a most heinous Farce had been offered to one of the Theaters, a Farce for which the Authors ought to be punished in the most exemplary Manner: But what was the Consequence? The Master of that Theater behaved as he was in Duty bound, and as common Prudence directed: He not only refused to bring it upon the Stage, but carried it to a certain honourable Gentleman in the Administration, as the surest Method of having it absolutely suppressed. Could this be the Occasion of introducing such an extraordinary Bill, at such an extraordinary Season, and pushing it in so extraordinary a Manner? Surely no: —— The dutiful Behaviour of the Players, the prudent Caution they shewed upon that Occasion, can never be a Reason for subjecting them to such an arbitrary Restraint: It is an Argument in their Favour, and a material one, in my Opinion, against the Bill. Nay farther, if we consider all Circumstances, it is to me a full Proof that the Laws now in being are sufficient for punishing those Players who shall venture to bring any seditious Libel upon the Stage, and consequently sufficient for deterring all Players from acting any Thing that may have the least Tendency towards giving a reasonable Offence.

I do not, my Lords, pretend to be a Lawyer, I do not pretend to know perfectly the Power and Extent of our Laws, but I have conversed with those that do, and by them I have been told, that our Laws are sufficient for punishing any Person that shall dare to represent upon the Stage, what may appear, either by the Words or the Representation, to be Blasphemous, Seditious, or Immoral. I must own, indeed, I have observed of late a remarkable Licentiousness in the Stage. There have but very lately been two Plays acted, which, one would have thought, should have given the greatest Offence, and yet both were suffered to be often represented without Disturbance, without Censure. In one, the Author thought fit to represent the three great Professions, Religion, Physick, and the Law, as inconsistent with Common Sense: In the other, a most tragical Story was brought upon the Stage, a Catastrophe too recent, too melancholy, and of too solemn a Nature, to be heard of any where but from the Pulpit. How these Pieces came to pass unpunished, I do not know: If I am rightly informed, it was not for Want of Law, but for Want of Prosecution, without which no Law can be made effectual: But if there was any Neglect in this Case, I am convinced it was not with a Design to prepare the Minds of the People, and to make them think a new Law necessary.

Our Stage ought certainly, my Lords, to be kept within due Bounds, but for this, our Laws, as they stand at present, are sufficient: If our Stage-Players at any Time exceed those Bounds, they ought to be prosecuted, they may be punished: We have Precedents, we have Examples of Persons having been punished for Things less criminal, than either of the two Pieces I have mentioned. A new Law must therefore be unnecessary, and in the present Case it cannot be unnecessary without being dangerous: Every unnecessary Restraint on Licentiousness is a Fetter upon the Legs, is a Shackle upon

on the Hands of Liberty. One of the greateſt Bleſſings we enjoy, one of the greateſt Bleſſings a People, my Lords, can enjoy, is Liberty;—but every good in this Life has its Allay of Evil:—Licentiouſneſs is the Allay of Liberty: It is an Ebullition, an Excreſcence,—It is a Speck upon the Eye of the Political Body, which I can never touch but with a gentle,—with a trembling Hand, leſt I deſtroy the Body, leſt I injure the Eye upon which it is apt to appear. If the Stage becomes at any Time licentious, if a Play appears to be a Libel upon the Government, or upon any particular Man, the King's Courts are open, the Law is ſufficient for puniſhing the Offender; and in this Caſe the Perſon injured has a ſingular Advantage; he can be under no Difficulty to prove who is the Publiſher; the Players themſelves are the Publiſhers, and there can be no Want of Evidence to convict them.

But, my Lords, ſuppoſe it true, that the Laws now in being are not ſufficient for putting a Check to, or preventing the Licentiouſneſs of the Stage; ſuppoſe it abſolutely neceſſary ſome new Law ſhould be made for that Purpoſe; yet it muſt be granted that ſuch a Law ought to be maturely conſidered, and every Clauſe, every Sentence, nay every Word of it well weighed and examined, leſt under ſome of thoſe Methods preſumed or pretended to be neceſſary for reſtraining Licentiouſneſs, a Power ſhould lie concealed, which might be afterwards made uſe of for giving a dangerous Wound to Liberty. Such a Law ought not to be introduced at the Cloſe of a Seſſion, nor ought we, in the Paſſing of ſuch a Law, to depart from any of the Forms preſcribed by our Anceſtors for preventing Deceit and Surprize. There is ſuch a Connection between Licentiouſneſs and Liberty, that it is not eaſy to correct the one, without dangerouſly wounding the other: It is extremely hard to diſtinguiſh the true Limit between them: Like a changeable Silk, we can eaſily ſee there are two different Colours, but we cannot eaſily diſcover where the one ends, or where the other begins.—There can be no great and immediate Danger from the Licentiouſneſs of the Stage: I hope it will not be pretended that our Government may, before next Winter, be overturned by ſuch Licentiouſneſs, even tho' our Stage were at preſent under no Sort of legal Controul. Why then may we not delay till next Seſſion paſſing any Law againſt the Licentiouſneſs of the Stage? Neither our Government can be altered, nor our Conſtitution overturned, by ſuch a Delay; but by paſſing a Law raſhly and unadviſedly, our Conſtitution may at once be deſtroyed, and our Government rendred arbitrary. Can we then put a ſmall, a ſhort-lived Inconvenience in the Balance with perpetual Slavery? Can it be ſuppoſed that a Parliament of *Great Britain* will ſo much as risk the latter, for the Sake of avoiding the former?

Surely, my Lords, this is not to be expected, were the Licentiouſneſs of the Stage much greater than it is, were the Inſufficiency of our Laws more obvious than can be pretended; but when we complain of the Licentiouſneſs of the Stage, and of the Inſufficiency of our Laws, I fear we have more Reaſon to complain of bad Meaſures in our Polity, and a general Decay of Virtue and Morality among the People. In publick as well as private Life, the only Way to prevent being ridiculed or cenſured, is to avoid all ridiculous or wicked Meaſures, and to purſue ſuch only as are virtuous and worthy. The People never endeavour to ridicule thoſe they love and eſteem, nor will they ſuffer them to be ridiculed: If any one attempts it, the Ridicule returns upon the Author: he makes himſelf only the Object

of publick Hatred and Contempt. The Actions or Behaviour of a private Man may paſs unobſerved, and conſequently unapplauded, uncenſured; but the Actions of thoſe in high Stations, can neither paſs without Notice, nor without Cenſure or Applauſe; and therefore an Adminiſtration without Eſteem, without Authority among the People, let their Power be never ſo great, let their Power be never ſo arbitrary, they will be ridiculed: The ſevereſt Edicts, the moſt terrible Puniſhments, cannot entirely prevent it. If any Man therefore thinks he has been cenſured, if any Man thinks he has been ridiculed, upon any of our publick Theaters, let him examine his Actions he will find the Cauſe, let him alter his Conduct he will find a Remedy. As no Man is perfect, as no Man is infallible, the greateſt may err, the moſt circumſpect may be guilty of ſome Piece of ridiculous Behaviour. It is not Licentiouſneſs, it is an uſeful Liberty always indulged the Stage in a free Country, that ſome great Men may there meet with a juſt Reproof, which none of their Friends will be free enough, or rather faithful enough, to give them. Of this we have a famous Inſtance in the *Roman* Hiſtory. The great *Pompey*, after the many Victories he had obtained, and the great Conqueſts he had made, had certainly a good Title to the Eſteem of the People of *Rome*; yet that great Man, by ſome Error in his Conduct, became an Object of general Diſlike; and, therefore, in the Repreſentation of an old Play, when *Diphilus*, the Actor, came to repeat theſe Words, *Noſtra Miſeria tu es Magnus*, the Audience immediately applied them to *Pompey*, who at that Time was as well known by the Name, *Magnus*, as by the Name, *Pompey*, and were ſo highly pleaſed with the Satyr, that, as *Cicero* ſays, they made the Actor repeat the Words *a hundred* Times over. An Account of this was immediately ſent to *Pompey*, who, inſtead of reſenting it as an Injury, was ſo wiſe as to take it for a juſt Reproof: He examined his Conduct, he altered his Meaſures, he regained by Degrees the Eſteem of the People, and then he neither feared the Wit nor felt the Satyr of the Stage. *This* is an Example which ought to be followed by great Men in all Countries. Such Accidents will often happen in every free Country, and many ſuch would probably have afterwards happened at *Rome*, if they had continued to enjoy their Liberty; but this Sort of Liberty in the Stage came ſoon after, I ſuppoſe, to be called Licentiouſneſs; for we are told that *Auguſtus*, after having eſtabliſhed his Empire, reſtored Order in *Rome* by reſtraining Licentiouſneſs. God forbid! we ſhould in this Country have Order reſtored, or Licentiouſneſs reſtrained, at ſo dear a Rate as the People of *Rome* paid for it to *Auguſtus*.

In the Caſe I have mentioned, my Lords, it was not the Poet that wrote, for it was an old Play, nor the Players that acted, for they only repeated the Words of the Play, it was the People who pointed the Satyr; and the Caſe will always be the ſame: When a Man has the Misfortune to incur the Hatred or Contempt of the People, when publick Meaſures are deſpiſed, the Audience will apply what never was, what could not be deſigned as a Satyr on the preſent Times. Nay, even, tho' the People ſhould not apply, thoſe who are conſcious of Guilt, thoſe who are conſcious of the Wickedneſs or Weakneſs of their own Conduct, will take to themſelves what the Author never deſigned. A publick Thief is as apt to take the Satyr, as he is apt to take the Money, which was never deſigned for him. We have an Inſtance of this in the Caſe of a famous Comedian of the laſt Age;

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a Comedian who was not only a good Poet, but an honeſt Man, and a quiet and good Subject: The famous *Moliere*, when he wrote his *Tartuffe*, which is certainly an excellent and a good moral Comedy, did not deſign to ſatirize any great Man of that Age; yet a great Man in *France* at that Time, took it to himſelf, and fancied the Author had taken him as a Model for one of the principal and one of the worſt Characters in that Comedy: By good Luck he was not the Licenſer, otherwiſe the Kingdom of *France* had never had the Pleaſure, the Happineſs I may ſay, of ſeeing that Play acted; but when the Players firſt propoſed to act it at *Paris*, he had Intereſt enough to get it forbid. *Moliere*, who knew himſelf innocent of what was laid to his Charge, complained to his Patron the *Prince of Conti*, that as his Play was deſigned only to expoſe Hypocriſy, and a falſe Pretence to Religion, 'twas very hard it ſhould be forbid being acted, when at the ſame Time they were ſuffered to expoſe Religion itſelf every Night publickly upon the *Italian* Stage: To which the Prince wittily anſwered, *'Tis true*, Moliere, *Harlequin ridicules Heaven, and expoſes Religion; but you have done much worſe,—you have ridiculed the firſt Miniſter of Religion.*

I am as much for reſtraining the Licentiouſneſs of the Stage, and every other Sort of Licentiouſneſs, as any of your Lordſhips can be; but, my Lords, I am, I ſhall always be, extremely cautious and fearful of making the leaſt Incroachment upon Liberty; and therefore, when a new Law is propoſed againſt Licentiouſneſs, I ſhall always be for conſidering it deliberately and maturely, before I venture to give my Conſent to its being paſſed. This is a ſufficient Reaſon for my being againſt paſſing this Bill at ſo unſeaſonable a Time, and in ſo extraordinary a Manner; but I have many Reaſons for being againſt paſſing the Bill itſelf, ſome of which I ſhall beg Leave to explain to your Lordſhips. The Bill, my Lords, at firſt View, may ſeem to be deſigned only againſt the Stage, but to me it plainly appears to point ſomewhere elſe. It is an Arrow that does but glance upon the Stage, the mortal Wound ſeems deſigned againſt the Liberty of the Preſs. By this Bill you prevent a Play's being acted, but you do not prevent its being printed, therefore, if a Licence ſhould be refuſed for its being acted, we may depend on it, the Play will be printed. It will be printed and publiſhed, my Lords, with the Refuſal in capital Letters on the Title Page. People are always fond of what's forbidden. *Libri Probibiti* are in all Countries diligently and generally ſought after. It will be much eaſier to procure a Refuſal than it ever was to procure a good Houſe, or a good Sale; therefore we may expect, that Plays will be wrote on Purpoſe to have a Refuſal: This will certainly procure a good Sale: Thus will Satyrs be ſpread and diſperſed through the whole Nation, and thus every Man in the Kingdom may, and probably will, read for Six-pence, what a few only could have ſeen acted, and that not under the Expence of Half a Crown. We ſhall then be told, What! will you allow an infamous Libel to be printed and diſperſed, which you would not allow to be acted? You have agreed to a Law for preventing its being acted, can you refuſe your Aſſent to a Law for preventing its being printed and publiſhed? I ſhould really, my Lords, be glad to hear what Excuſe, what Reaſon one could give for being againſt the latter, after having agreed to the former; for, I proteſt, I cannot ſuggeſt to myſelf the leaſt Shadow of an Excuſe. If we agree to the Bill now before us, we muſt, per-

perhaps next Seſſion, agree to a Bill for preventing any Play's being printed without a Licence. Then Satyrs will be wrote by Way of Novels, ſecret Hiſtories, Dialogues, or under ſome ſuch Title; and thereupon we ſhall be told, What! will you allow an infamous Libel to be printed and diſperſed, only becauſe it does not bear the Title of a Play? Thus, my Lords, from the Precedent now before us, we ſhall be induced, nay we can find no Reaſon for refuſing, to lay the Preſs under a general Licence, and then we may bid adieu to the Liberties of *Great Britain*.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, it were neceſſary to make a new Law for reſtraining the Licentiouſneſs of the Stage, which I am very far from granting, yet I ſhall never be for eſtabliſhing ſuch a Power as is propoſed by this Bill. If Poets and Players are to be reſtrained, let them be reſtrained as other Subjects are, by the known Laws of their Country: If they offend, let them be tried, as every *Engliſhman* ought to be, by God and their Country. Do not let us ſubject them to the arbitary Will and Pleaſure of any one Man. A Power lodged in the Hands of one ſingle Man, to judge and determine, without any Limitation, without any Controul or Appeal, is a Sort of Power unknown to our Laws, inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution. It is a higher, a more abſolute Power than we truſt even to the King himſelf; and, therefore, I muſt think, we ought not to veſt any ſuch Power in his Majeſty's L—d Ch——n. When I ſay this, I am ſure, I do not mean to give the leaſt, the moſt diſtant Offence to the noble Duke who now fills the Poſt of L—d Ch——n: His natural Candour and Love of Juſtice, would not, I know, permit him to exerciſe any Power but with the ſtricteſt Regard to the Rules of Juſtice and Humanity. Were we ſure his Succeſſors in that high Office would always be Perſons of ſuch diſtinguiſhed Merit, even the Power to be eſtabliſhed by this Bill could give me no further Alarm, than leſt it ſhould be made a Precedent for introducing other new Powers of the ſame Nature. This, indeed, is an Alarm which cannot be avoided, which cannot be prevented by any Hope, by any Conſideration: It is an Alarm which, I think, every Man muſt take, who has a due Regard to the Conſtitution and Liberties of his Country.

I ſhall admit, my Lords, that the Stage ought not upon any Occaſion to meddle with Politicks, and for this very Reaſon, among the reſt, I am againſt the Bill now before us. This Bill will be ſo far from preventing the Stage's meddling with Politicks, that, I fear, it will be the Occaſion of its meddling with nothing elſe; but then it will be a political Stage *Ex parte*. It will be made ſubſervient to the Politicks and the Schemes of the Court only. The Licentiouſneſs of the Stage will be encouraged inſtead of being reſtrained; but, like Court Journaliſts, it will be licentious only againſt the Patrons of Liberty, and the Protectors of the People. Whatever Man, whatever Party oppoſes the Court in any of their moſt deſtructive Schemes, will, upon the Stage, be repreſented in the moſt ridiculous Light the Hirelings of a Court can contrive. True Patriotiſm and Love of publick Good will be repreſented as Madneſs, or as a Cloke for Envy, Diſappointment, and Malice, whilſt the moſt flagitious Crimes, the moſt extravagant Vices and Follies, if they are faſhionable at Court, will be diſguiſed and dreſſed up in the Habit of the moſt amiable Virtues. This has formerly been the Caſe: ——In King *Charles* IId's Days, the Play-houſe was under a Licence. What was the Conſequence? —— The Play-houſe retailed no-

nothing but the Politicks, the Vices, and the Follies of the Court: Not to expoſe them; no—but to recommend them; tho' it muſt be granted their Politicks were often as bad as their Vices, and much more pernicious than their other Follies. 'Tis true, the Court had, at that Time, a great deal of Wit, it was then, indeed, full of Men of true Wit and great Humour; but it was the more dangerous; for the Courtiers did then, as thorough-paced Courtiers always will do, they ſacrificed their Honour, by making their Wit and their Humour ſubſervient to the Court only; and what made it ſtill more dangerous, no Man could appear upon the Stage againſt them. We know that *Dryden*, the *Poet Laureat* of that Reign, always repreſents the *Cavaliers* as honeſt, brave, merry Fellows, and fine Gentlemen: Indeed his fine Gentleman, as he generally draws him, is an atheiſtical, lewd, abandoned Fellow, which was at that Time, it ſeems, the faſhionable Character at Court. On the other Hand, he alway repreſents the *Diſſenters* as hypocritical, diſſembling Rogues, or ſtupid, ſenſeleſs Boobies.—When the Court had a Mind to fall out with the *Dutch*, he wrote his *Amboyna*, in which he repreſents the *Dutch* as a Pack of avaricious, cruel, ungrateful Raſcals:—And when the Excluſion Bill was moved in Parliament, he wrote his *Duke of Guiſe*, in which thoſe who were for preſerving and ſecuring the Religion of their Country, were expoſed under the Character of the *Duke of Guiſe* and his Party, who leagued together, for excluding *Henry* IV. of *France* from the Throne, on account of his Religion.—The City of *London* too, was made to feel the partial and mercenary Licentiouſneſs of the Stage at that Time; for the Citizens having at that Time, as well as now, a great Deal of Property, they had a Mind to preſerve that Property, and therefore they oppoſed ſome of the arbitrary Meaſures which were then begun, but purſued more openly in the following Reign; for which Reaſon they were then always repreſented upon the Stage, as a Parcel of deſigning Knaves, diſſembling Hypocrites, griping Uſurers, and—Cuckolds, into the Bargain.

My Lords, the proper Buſineſs of the Stage, and that for which only it is uſeful, is to expoſe thoſe Vices and Follies, which the Laws cannot lay hold of, and to recommend thoſe Beauties and Virtues, which Miniſters and Courtiers ſeldom either imitate or reward; but by laying it under a Licence, and under an arbitrary Court Licence too, you will, in my Opinion, entirely pervert its Uſe; for tho' I have the greateſt Eſteem for that noble Duke in whoſe Hands this Power is at preſent deſigned to fall, tho' I have an entire Confidence in his Judgment and Impartiality; yet I may ſuppoſe that a Leaning towards the Faſhions of a Court is ſometimes hard to be avoided.—It may be very difficult to make one who is every Day at Court believe that to be a Vice or Folly, which he ſees daily practiſed by thoſe he loves and eſteems.—By Cuſtom even Deformity itſelf becomes familiar, and at laſt agreeable.—To ſuch a Perſon, let his natural Impartiality be never ſo great, that may appear to be a Libel againſt the Court, which is only a moſt juſt and a moſt neceſſary Satyr upon the faſhionable Vices and Follies, of the Court.—Courtiers, my Lords, are too polite to reprove one another; the only Place where they can meet with any juſt Reproof, is a free, tho' not a licentious Stage; and as every Sort of Vice and Folly, generally in all Countries, begins at Court, and from thence ſpreads thro' the Country, by laying the Stage under an arbitrary Court Licence, inſtead

inſtead of leaving it what it is, and always ought to be, a gentle Scourge for the Vices of great Men and Courtiers, you will make it a Canal for propagating and conveying their Vices and Follies thro' the whole Kingdom.

From hence, my Lords, I think, it muſt appear, that the Bill now before us cannot ſo properly be called a Bill for reſtraining the Licentiouſneſs, as it may be called a Bill for reſtraining the Liberty of the Stage, and for reſtraining it too in that Branch which in all Countries has been the moſt uſeful; therefore I muſt look upon the Bill as a moſt dangerous Incroachment upon Liberty in general. Nay farther, my Lords, it is not only an Incroachment upon Liberty, but it is likewiſe an Incroachment on Property. Wit, my Lords, is a Sort of Property: It is the Property of thoſe that have it, and too often the only Property they have to depend on. It is, indeed, but a precarious Dependence. Thank God! We—— my Lords, have a Dependence of another Kind; we have a much leſs precarious Support, and therefore cannot feel the Inconveniencies of the Bill now before us; but it is our Duty to encourage and protect Wit, whoſoever's Property it may be. Thoſe Gentlemen who have any ſuch Property, are all, I hope, our Friends: Do not let us ſubject them to any unneceſſary or arbitrary Reſtraint. I muſt own, I cannot eaſily agree to the Laying of any Tax upon Wit; but by this Bill it is to be heavily taxed,—it is to be exciſed; —for if this Bill paſſes, it cannot be retailed in a proper Way without a Permit; and the L—d Ch——n is to have the Honour of being Chief-Gauger, Surveyor, Commiſſioner, Judge and Jury: But what is ſtill more hard, tho' the poor Author, the Proprietor I ſhould ſay, cannot perhaps dine till he has found out and agreed with a Purchaſer; yet before he can propoſe to ſeek for a Purchaſer, he muſt patiently ſubmit to have his Goods rummaged at this new Exciſe-Office, where they may be detained for fourteen Days, and even then he may find them returned as prohibited Goods, by which his chief and beſt Market will be forever ſhut againſt him; and that without any Cauſe, without the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon, either from the Laws of his Country, or the Laws of the Stage.

Theſe Hardſhips, *this Hazard*, which every Gentleman will be expoſed to who writes any Thing for the Stage, muſt certainly prevent every Man of a generous and free Spirit from attempting any Thing in that Way; and as the Stage has always been the proper Chanel for Wit and Humour, therefore, my Lords, when I ſpeak againſt this Bill, I muſt think I plead the Cauſe of Wit, I plead the Cauſe of Humour, I plead the Cauſe of the *Britiſh* Stage, and of every Gentleman of Taſte in the Kingdom: But it is not, my Lords, for the Sake of Wit only; even for the Sake of his Majeſty's L—d Ch——n, I muſt be againſt this Bill. The noble Duke who has now the Honour to execute that Office, has, I am ſure, as little an Inclination to diſoblige as any Man; but if this Bill paſſes, he muſt diſoblige, he may diſoblige ſome of his moſt intimate Friends. It is impoſſible to write a Play, but ſome of the Characters, or ſome of the Satyr, may be interpreted ſo as to point at ſome Perſon or another, perhaps at ſome Perſon in an eminent Station: When it comes to be acted, the People will make the Application, and the Perſon againſt whom the Application is made, will think himſelf injured, and will, at leaſt privately, reſent it: At preſent this Reſentment can be directed only againſt the Author; but when an Au-

Author's Play appears with my L—d Ch———n's Paſsport, every ſuch Reſentment will be turned from the Author, and pointed directly againſt the L—d Ch———n, who by his Stamp made the Piece Current. What an unthankful Office are we therefore by this Bill to put upon his Majeſty's L—d Ch———n! an Office which can no Way contribute to his Honour or Profit, and yet ſuch a one as muſt neceſſarily gain him a great deal of ill Will, and create him a Number of Enemies.

The laſt Reaſon I ſhall trouble your Lordſhips with for my being againſt the Bill, is, that in my Opinion, it will no Way anſwer the End propoſed: I mean the End openly propoſed, and, I am ſure, the only End which your Lordſhips propoſe. To prevent the acting of a Play which has any Tendency to Blaſphemy, Immorality, Sedition, or private Scandal, can ſignify nothing, unleſs you can likewiſe prevent its being printed and publiſhed. On the contrary, if you prevent its being acted, and admit of its being printed and publiſhed, you will propagate the Miſchief: Your Prohibition will prove a Bellows which will blow up the Fire you intend to extinguiſh. This Bill can therefore be of no Uſe for preventing either the publick or the private Injury intended by ſuch a Play; and conſequently can be of no manner of Uſe, unleſs it be deſigned as a Precedent, as a leading Step towards another for ſubjecting the Preſs likewiſe to a Licenſer. For ſuch a wicked Purpoſe it may, indeed, be of great Uſe; and in that Light it may moſt properly be called a Step towards arbitrary Power.

Let us conſider, my Lords, that arbitrary Power has ſeldom or never been introduced into any Country at once. It muſt be introduced by ſlow Degrees, and as it were Step by Step, leſt the People ſhould perceive its Approach. The Barriers and Fences of the People's Liberty muſt be pluck'd up one by one, and ſome plauſible Pretences muſt be found for removing or hood-winking, one after another, thoſe Sentries who are poſted by the Conſtitution of every free Country, for warning the People of their Danger. When theſe preparatory Steps are once made, the People may then, indeed, with Regret ſee Slavery and arbitrary Power making long Strides over their Land, but it will then be too late to think of preventing or avoiding the impending Ruin. The Stage, my Lords, and the Preſs, are two of our Out-Sentries; if we remove them, if we hood-wink them,—if we throw them in Fetters,—the Enemy may ſurprize us. Therefore I muſt look upon the Bill now before us as a Step, and a moſt neceſſary Step too, for introducing arbitrary Power into this Kingdom: It is a Step ſo neceſſary, that, if ever any future ambitious King, or guilty Miniſter, ſhould form to himſelf ſo wicked a Deſign, he will have Reaſon to thank us for having done ſo much of the Work to his Hand; but ſuch Thanks, or Thanks from ſuch a Man, I am convinced every one of your Lordſhips would bluſh to receive,—and ſcorn to deſerve.

In the Debate upon the Motion for ſettling 100,000*l. a Year upon the Prince of* Wales, *(a Part of which we gave in our laſt, ſee p.* 341.*) the Reply was in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

The Importance of the preſent Debate is, Sir, what I ſhall readily acknowledge, it has been, I think, acknowledged by every Gentleman who has ſpoke upon either Side of the Queſtion; but ſome of the Gentlemen who have ſpoke againſt the Motion, have endeavoured to repreſent it in a Light which, I am ſure, it can no way bear, a Light which, I muſt ſay, can no way contribute to the Honour or Advantage of either

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ther of the two royal Perſons who ſeem to be concerned. To inſinuate that either of them can conceive the leaſt Grudge from any Thing that paſſes in Parliament, is really, in my Opinion, to inſinuate, that they are ignorant, or not obſervant of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament. This, I believe, the honourable Gentlemen were not ſufficiently aware of, otherwiſe they would not have pretended that this Motion, or any Motion in Parliament, could ever occaſion any Breach or Diſpute between his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*, or that it can lay any Gentleman under the leaſt Difficulty how to behave. As my Attachment to the preſent Royal Family is ſo well and ſo publickly known, I cannot, I think, be ſuſpected of deſiring or deſigning to foment or ſtir up any Diviſion between them: I hope every one who knows me will do me the Juſtice to think, I would do all in my Power to prevent any ſuch fatal Diviſion; and for this very Reaſon I am for agreeing to the Motion now made to us; becauſe it will remove that which is often the Cauſe of Diſſenſion in private Families, and may be even with reſpect to the Royal Family; for when the Son is obliged to apply to the Father for every trifling Sum he may have occaſion for, it is a continual Fund for Diſſenſion, and often begets a Coolneſs both of the one Side and the other.

It is to be preſumed, I hope, Sir, there will always be good Reaſon for preſuming, that the Behaviour of every Gentleman in this Houſe, with reſpect to any Motion he may make, or any Opinion or Vote he may give, is founded upon what he thinks right, upon what he takes to be his Duty as a Member of this Houſe; and to imagine that his Majeſty, or his *Royal Highneſs*, would be offended at any Gentleman's doing what he takes to be his Duty in Parliament, is certainly a very wrong and a moſt groundleſs Imagination: But to ſuppoſe that either of them could conceive the leaſt Grudge againſt the other, on account of any Motion or Queſtion in Parliament, is to ſuppoſe that the Parliament is directed in every Thing they do, either by the one or the other; which is a Suppoſition as injurious to the Honour of Parliament, as it is inconſiſtent with the Wiſdom and Juſtice both of his Majeſty and of his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*; we therefore ought to ſuppoſe that neither his Majeſty, nor his *Royal Highneſs*, knows any Thing of what we are about; we are in Duty bound to ſuppoſe that neither of them will be offended with the Fate of this Queſtion, be it what it will; and it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe it can occaſion any Breach between them; ſo that let the Importance of the Queſtion be of never ſo high a Nature, it can be of no melancholy Concern, nor can it be attended with any cruel Conſequences. No Man can from thence imagine there is any private Miſtake or Diſpute between his Majeſty and the *Prince*, becauſe no Man can juſtly ſuppoſe, I hope no Man does ſuppoſe, the Proceedings in Parliament are directed by either. The only Thing they can ſuppoſe is, that his *Royal Highneſs* is not as yet provided for in the Manner he deſerves, and in that Manner in which all former *Princes of Wales* have been; and this was not only ſuppoſed, but publickly known, and generally talked of, long before this Motion was thought of; therefore, if this Motion has any Effect on People without Doors, it will be, to ſhew them, that we are mindful of our Duty, and that we have a due Regard for the Honour of the Nation, and for the Happineſs and Independency of the *Heir Apparent to the Crown*.

I am far from thinking, Sir, that our

our agreeing to this Motion will occaſion any Breach between the two royal Perſons concerned: On the contrary, I am convinced it will be extremely pleaſing to both. The royal Father muſt be pleaſed to ſee his eldeſt Son and *apparent Heir* ſo greatly beloved, as to have the Parliament intereſting themſelves in his behalf; and the *Prince* will be pleaſed to ſee the Parliament taking Care of his being made independent of his Father's Miniſters and Servants. Therefore no Gentleman can in that Reſpect be under any Difficulty in giving his Vote for the Queſtion; and I am ſurpriſed to hear it ſaid that by voting for or againſt it, an Injury can be done to either of the Royal Perſons concerned. Can the giving of an honeſt and diſintereſted Advice ever be look'd on as an Injury to the Perſon to whom it is given? Can my refuſing to give an Advice, which I do not think proper, be look'd on as an Injury by any Perſon whatever? The Addreſs propoſed is only by way of Advice, and it is giving our Advice in the humbleſt Manner. Shall this, Sir, be called a Violation of Property? Shall it be called a taking from the King that Property which is eſtabliſhed in him by Act of Parliament? If the Motion had been, to bring in a Bill for taking 100,000*l.* from the Civil Liſt and ſettling it on the *Prince of Wales*, there might have been ſome Pretence for ſuch Exclamations; but ſurely our adviſing his Majeſty in the humbleſt Manner, to give what we think the *Prince* ought to have, can never be called a Taking his Property from him by Violence; even ſuppoſing he had as good and as abſolute a Right to the whole Civil Liſt Revenue, as any private Man can have to his Eſtate: Which I cannot grant without ſome Reſtriction; for a private Man may ſquander his Eſtate in what Manner he pleaſes; whereas if the Civil Liſt Revenue ſhould be ridiculouſly ſquandered, the Parliament would have a Right to interpoſe, and would, I believe, interpoſe in a Manner more effectual than that of Addreſſing.

To pretend, Sir, that the Parliament has no Power to appropriate Money after it is granted, or that we never enter into any Conſideration about Money once granted to the Crown, without the previous Conſent of the Crown, has no Relation to the preſent Debate; becauſe it is not now propoſed to bring in a Bill for appropriating any Money, nor to take into our Conſideration any Grants made to the Crown, it is only propoſed to addreſs his Majeſty to make ſuch a Settlement on the *Prince of Wales* as we think neceſſary for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur of his high Birth: But I muſt confeſs, I am at a Loſs to know how the Power of Parliament comes to be confined in either of the Caſes mentioned; I am ſure the Parliament often in one Bill appropriates Sums of Money granted by former Bills in the ſame Seſſion, and why it may not appropriate Money granted by a Bill paſſed in a former Seſſion I cannot comprehend: And, I think, but laſt Seſſion, we took into our Conſideration, and abſolutely releaſed a very large Sum of Money, formerly granted to the Crown, without any previous Conſent of the Crown; for I do not remember we had any general Meſſage from the Crown, when we paſſed the late famous Bill for and againſt Smugglers, by which a very large Sum of Money, due by them to the Crown, was abſolutely releaſed by Parliament; tho' it muſt be granted, his Majeſty had as good and as abſolute a Right to every Shilling of that Money, as he has to any other Part of the Civil Liſt Revenue. Therefore, if a Motion had actually been made, to bring in a Bill for taking 100,000*l.* a Year from the Civil Liſt, and ſettling it on the

Prince of Wales, it would not have been without Precedent, with reſpect to our having no previous Conſent from the Crown; and as the Parliament has certainly a Right to ſee every Sum of Money applied to that Uſe for which it was intended, tho' not expreſsly appropriated, with reſpect to the Power of Parliament, ſuch a Motion would not have been entirely without Reaſon: But as the Motion now made to us is only for an Addreſs, there can be no Doubt of the Parliament's having a Power to preſent ſuch an Addreſs as is propoſed, and therefore the only Queſtion is, Whether or no it be proper?

With reſpect to this Queſtion, Sir, the Debate ſeems now indeed, by his Majeſty's Meſſage, to be brought within a very narrow Compaſs, it ſeems in ſome Manner to be reduced to one ſingle Point, which is, Whether his Majeſty can ſpare more than 50,000 *l.* from the Civil Liſt Revenue, for the Uſe of his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*. By this Meſſage even his Majeſty ſeems to acknowledge, that the *Prince of Wales* ought to have an independent Settlement, and that it is now high Time that Settlement ſhould be made; and the Hon. Gentleman who delivered us the Meſſage ſeems to admit that the Settlement propoſed to be made is not a ſufficient Settlement; ſo that the only Queſtion now remaining is, whether the Civil Liſt Revenue, as it ſtands at preſent, can poſſibly ſpare a larger Sum for the Uſe of his *Royal Highneſs*? And from this being made a Queſtion I ſhall ſhew, that the Addreſs propoſed is a very proper Addreſs, and that it is become abſolutely neceſſary for us to agree to preſent ſuch an Addreſs; but as ſome Objections have been made to the Right which the *Prince* has to a ſufficient independent Settlement, I ſhall firſt beg Leave to anſwer ſome of the moſt material Objections I have heard made againſt it.

The Maxims of State, Sir, in any Kingdom or Commonwealth, are always moſt certainly to be deduced from their ancient and general Cuſtoms: The Hiſtorians or political Writers of any Country may be miſtaken, they may deliver that as a Maxim of State which never had any Authority as ſuch; they may neglect to mention, or may perhaps not obſerve, a Maxim which has always obtained; but where a Cuſtom has been long and generally received, the Maxim, or Rule in Politicks upon which that Cuſtom is founded, muſt be allowed to be a Maxim of State in that Kingdom or Commonwealth. Can any one then ſay, the Settling of an independent and ſufficient Proviſion upon the *Prince of Wales* is not a Maxim of State in this Kingdom? Is it not a Cuſtom which has been obſerved without any one Exception as long, as far back, as we can trace our Monarchy? And the Wiſdom of this Maxim not only appears from the Nature of the Thing itſelf, but is expreſsly pointed at almoſt in every one of the Charters and Acts of Parliament that have been granted or made for that Purpoſe. Firſt, with reſpect to the *Prince*, the Wiſdom of this Maxim is evident, becauſe he is thereby enabled to ſupport the Dignity and Grandeur of his Birth, without a Dependence upon his Father's Miniſters and Servants; and then with reſpect to the Crown itſelf, the Wiſdom of this Maxim is ſtill more evident, becauſe it is eſtabliſhed and ſecured by the Honour and Character acquired by the Heir Apparent. Theſe two Conſiderations are both pointed at in the Charter, or Act of Parliament, by which *Edward* III. granted the Dutchy of *Cornwall* to his Son *Edward the Black Prince*; and in the Charter granted by that King for creating his Son *Prince of Wales*, the Reaſon for that Grant is expreſsly declared to be, for doing Honour to the King, and

and for adding Strength to the Nation and to the Royal Family. Thus, Sir, we ſee that the Settling of an independent Proviſion upon the *Prince of Wales* was look'd on as a Piece of great Wiſdom by *Edward* III. but now it ſeems we are to look on it as a Soleciſm in Politicks, as a Step which might be the Occaſion of great Misfortunes to the Royal Family.

But, Sir, while I can diſtinguiſh between that laudable, that honourable Dependence, which proceeds from Loyalty and filial Duty, and that vile, that ſordid Dependence, which proceeds from Lucre, I ſhall always be of the ſame Opinion with our great King *Edward* III. The *Prince of Wales* muſt always have a Dependence on the King as his Father, as his Sovereign: This is a Sort of Dependence which no Man can, which no honeſt Man would endeavour to take away or diminiſh; but to ſay that he ought to have a pecuniary Dependence upon the King, or rather upon the King's Miniſters, is to ſay he ought to have a Sort of Dependence which no Man of Honour or Spirit can ſubmit to; and it is a Sort of Dependence abſolutely inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution. The *Prince of Wales* is by his Birth the firſt Peer in Parliament, and conſequently ought not to be ſubjected to a diſhonourable Dependence upon any Man; but if it ſhould once be eſtabliſh'd as a Maxim, that he ought to be under a vile pecuniary Dependence upon his Sovereign, it might then be juſtly ſaid, he was not only the firſt Peer, but the firſt Penſioner in Parliament.——From this Conſideration alone we may ſee how abſolutely neceſſary it is, to have a ſufficient and independent Proviſion ſettled upon every *Prince of Wales* before he comes to Man's Eſtate; and the making of ſuch a Settlement will be ſo far from deſtroying or diminiſhing that Dependence which proceeds from Loyalty and filial Duty, that it will increaſe and ſecure it; whereas the keeping him under a pecuniary Dependence may provoke him to ſhake off both his Loyalty and filial Duty. A pecuniary Dependence is a Dependence of ſo ſlaviſh a Nature, that no great Mind can long bear it: The more Honour, the more Spirit a Man has, the more impatient will he be to get rid of ſuch a Dependence, and that Impatience may at laſt get the better both of his Loyalty and his filial Duty.

Thus, Sir, in every Light we can put it, the Wiſdom of this Maxim, and the Neceſſity of obſerving it, muſt appear evident to thoſe who think there is any other Dependence in Nature beſides that which proceeds from Lucre. Indeed to thoſe who put no Truſt in any other Sort of Dependence, the Politicks of *Edward* III. and the Maxim on which thoſe Politicks were founded, muſt appear ridiculous and abſurd; but, I hope, there are no ſuch Gentlemen in this Houſe. I hope there is no Gentleman in this Houſe that ever ſubmitted to ſuch a ſlaviſh Dependence, or that ever endeavour'd to impoſe any ſuch upon others; and, I am ſure, no Man can put his only Truſt in that which he has never felt within himſelf, nor ever experienced in others.

For this Reaſon it cannot but appear ſtrange to me, that any Gentleman in this Houſe ſhould attempt to evade or deny the Maxim I have endeavoured to eſtabliſh; yet ſo loth, I find, are ſome Gentlemen to admit of it as a Maxim of State in this Kingdom, that they have ranſacked our Hiſtories to find out other Reaſons for the frequent Settlements made upon our *Princes of Wales*; and tho' the Security of the Crown, and the Enabling the *Prince* to ſupport the Honour and Dignity of his noble Birth, are the Reaſons, and the only Reaſons, mentioned in the

Charters by which thoſe Settlements were made, yet we are told theſe were not the true Reaſons; but that the true Reaſons were, in order to do Honour to ſome County or Borough, to ſecure the Affections of a People newly conquered, or to declare and eſtabliſh the Right of the *Prince of Wales* as next Heir to the Crown. Thus when we are to interpret antient Laws or Charters, we are not to take their Meaning or Intention from the Words, we are to have no Regard to the expreſs Words of the Law, but we are to take its Meaning or Intention from the Hiſtory of ſome cotemporary Facts with which we cannot but be very well acquainted; whereas when we are to interpret any late Statute, for Example, the Statutes by which the Civil Liſt Revenue was eſtabliſhed, we are to regard the Words only, we are not to take the Meaning or Intention of the Law from the Hiſtory of thoſe cotemporary Facts with which we are very well acquainted, and which Facts to the particular Knowledge of many of us, greatly influenced the Paſſing of thoſe Laws, and were the chief Cauſe of the Shape they now appear in. Whether this Method of interpreting Statutes be eſtabliſhed upon any Rule or Maxim of Law, I do not know; but to me it ſeems directly contrary to common Senſe; and therefore I muſt ſtill continue to think, it has always been held as a Maxim of State in this Kingdom, that the *Prince of Wales* ought to have a ſufficient independent Eſtate of his own; and that this Maxim, and the Wiſdom and Policy upon which it is founded, were the chief Cauſes of all thoſe Settlements that have been made.

A yearly Allowance, or an Annuity depending upon the Will and Pleaſure of the King, might perhaps enable the *Prince*, if he reſolved to ſpend the Whole yearly as it comes in, to live in as grand a Manner, as an Annuity of the ſame Value ſettled upon him independently and for Life; but as an Annuity depending upon the Will of any Man muſt be precarious and uncertain, no Man of common Prudence will reſolve to ſpend the Whole yearly: He will look on it as a Sunſhine upon the Continuance of which he can have no Dependence, and that therefore he ought to ſave as much as poſſible, in order to provide for a cloudy or rainy Day. Beſides, Sir, an Annuity of ſuch a Nature looks ſo very like a Penſion, it would be inconſiſtent with the Honour of the Nation to ſuffer that the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown ſhould have nothing elſe to depend on. It would even be inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution: In this Kingdom we do not admit the Judges of our Common-Law Courts to depend upon the precarious Will and Pleaſure of the King, and ſhall we admit or ſuffer that the *Prince of Wales*, who is one of the Judges of the ſupreme and higheſt Court of Judicature in the Nation, ſhould have nothing elſe to depend on? Therefore we muſt conclude that, from the eſtabliſhed Maxims of the Kingdom, from a continued Series of Precedents for a great many Ages paſſed, and from the very Nature of our Conſtitution, the *Prince of Wales* has a Right to a ſufficient and independent Settlement; and that the Parliament may interpoſe for making that Right effectual, has been ſhewn from many Precedents. (See p. 345 C.)

'Tis true, Sir, this likewiſe has been objected to, and it has been ſaid, that the Parliament has ſeldom or never interpoſed but when deſired or prompted by the Crown to do ſo; or otherwiſe, that the Precedents are ſuch as ought not to be drawn into Example. Sir, There is not one of the Precedents which have been mentioned, that appears to have been founded upon any Meſſage from the

Crown.

Crown. The Motion was perhaps in ſome of them, made by one who was known to be a Courtier, but can it be ſaid that the Motion's being made by a Courtier, without ſo much as ſignifying he had any Authority from the Crown for that Purpoſe, would have made it proper for the Parliament to have agreed to a Motion, which it would not have been proper for them to have agreed to, if the ſame had been made by any other Perſon, or by one who was not known to be a Courtier? Therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that without any Regard to the Mover, the Parliament approved of the Motion, and thought it ſuch a one as was proper for them to agree to; and from thence we muſt conclude, that every one of the Precedents mentioned in the Beginning of this Debate is a good Precedent for the Addreſs propoſed.

But unluckily, Sir, for the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion, there are, I think, very ſufficient Reaſons for believing, the Addreſs, or Petition of Parliament, for having *Richard* the Son of the *Black Prince* created *Prince of Wales*, was reſolved on by Parliament without any Direction from, nay probably in Oppoſition to the Court at that Time; for it appears from our Records, that *young Prince* was ſent to Parliament at the Deſire and upon a Petition of the Commons; and when the Parliament addreſſed for having him created *Prince of Wales*, the King's Anſwer ſhews he was not very well pleaſed with the Addreſs; for in his Anſwer he tells them, the creating of a *Prince of Wales* no way belonged to the Parliament, but to the King only; which is an Anſwer it can hardly be ſuppoſed he would have made, if the Addreſs of Parliament had proceeded from his Authority, or had been moved for with his Approbation: Then again, from the Circumſtances of the Court at that Time, it is not probable the King would have been ſo forward in creating his Grandſon *Prince of Wales*, if he had not been forced to it by his Parliament; for it is certain that King, in his old Age, fell into a Sort of *Love Dotage*, and gave himſelf entirely up to the Management of his Miſtreſs *Alice Pierce*, and his ſecond Son, the *Duke of Lancaſter*, which raiſed a moſt reaſonable Jealouſy in *Edward the Black Prince*, who was then upon his Death-bed, and therefore could not but be anxious about the Safety and Right of his only Son *Prince Richard*, whom he found he was ſoon to leave a Child in the Hands of a doting Grandfather, and an ambitious aſpiring Uncle. For this Reaſon, 'tis thought, he applied privately to Parliament, and they obliged the King to ſend his ſecond Son abroad, and to baniſh his Miſtreſs and all her Favourites from Court, which happened only about a Year before the *Black Prince's Death*; but no ſooner was that *Prince* dead than the King recalled this *Duke of Lancaſter*; and *Alice Pierce*, and her Favourites, reſumed their Places and their Intereſt at Court, inſomuch that a Member of the Houſe of Commons was impriſoned for having ſpoke freely againſt her in Parliament, and was actually a Priſoner, when *Prince Richard* was created *Prince of Wales*, which ſhews that the King was then very much under her Management; and it is not very probable ſhe would adviſe the King to be ſo very ſpeedy in conferring that Honour on *Prince Richard*, ſince ſhe could not but be ſenſible that *young Prince*'s Father had been the Cauſe of her having been baniſhed the Court. For theſe Reaſons I think it may moſt probably be preſumed, that both the Motions in Favour of *Prince Richard*, both that for his coming to Parliament, and that for creating him *Prince of Wales*, were made

made and carried in Parliament, in Oppoſition to the Court at that Time. This fully juſtifies the Motion now made, and ſhews we have a Right and a Power to interpoſe in Favour of the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown, without any previous Conſent or Approbation from the Crown; and I hope it will not be ſaid of the Reign of *Edward* III. as has been ſaid of the Reign of *Henry* VI. that nothing that happened in that Reign ought to be made a Precedent for any Thing in the preſent Reign.

But, Sir, even with reſpect to the Reign of *Henry* VI. for as unfortunate, for as tempeſtuous a Reign as it was, there were many Things then done by Parliament which ought to be made, which, I hope, always will be followed as good Precedents, as often as the Parliament has the ſame Occaſion. When the Nation has the good Fortune to be under a wiſe and a prudent Adminiſtration, the Parliament has never an Occaſion to exert any of its extraordinary Powers. It is in a weak Reign, or under a wicked Adminiſtration, we are to look for the Powers of Parliament; it is in tempeſtuous Times the State flies to Parliament for Preſervation, there, I truſt in God, the State ſhall always find it, and then the Power of Parliament can be bounded by nothing but the Good of the Publick.

Another Precedent which we are told ought not to be followed, is that which happened in the Reign of *King William*; and why is not this to be followed? Becauſe it produced a Prorogation. Sir, I ſay for that very Reaſon it ought to be highly applauded, and ought to be followed. Can it be ſaid that the *Princeſs Anne of Denmark* ought not to have had ſome additional Settlement made upon her? Would not ſuch a Neglect have been a Blemiſh upon the Glory of that Reign? Yet that wiſe and great King, by the Advice of ſome weak or malicious Favourites, would probably have committed that Error, or would at leaſt have omitted that Duty, if it had not been for the Honour, the Fidelity, and the Obſtinacy of his Parliament. They thought it was what the King ought to do, they therefore thought it was their Duty to adviſe him to do it, they inſiſted upon it, notwithſtanding the King's Diſpleaſure, and by diſobliging him they put one of the greateſt Obligations upon him; becauſe they at laſt prevailed with him to do that which was right. The Behaviour of that Parliament is therefore a glorious Example which, I hope, will be followed by this. I can have no Apprehenſion that an unſeaſonable Prorogation will be the Conſequence of our agreeing to this Motion; but if it ſhould, it can be no Reaſon againſt our agreeing to the Motion: It would be a ſtrong Reaſon for our reſuming the Affair, and agreeing to a Motion of the ſame Nature the very firſt Day of the next Seſſion.

But we have been told, Sir, there may be a Reaſon for the Parliament's interpoſing between a King and his preſumptive Heir, which can never hold with reſpect to a King and his eldeſt Son; becauſe it is not ſo natural for a Man to provide honourably for his preſumptive Heir, as it is to provide for his own Children. Suppoſe then a King, who has no Children, does not provide honourably for his preſumptive Heir, what is it that gives the Parliament a Right to intermeddle? Is it not the Right which that preſumptive Heir has by the Conſtitution and Maxims of this Kingdom to a ſufficient independent Settlement, and the Power the Parliament has to ſee that Right made effectual? And has not the *Heir Apparent* as good a Right, by the Conſtitution and Maxims of this Kingdom, to a ſufficient independent Settlement, as the Heir preſumptive? Surely

Surely he has; he has not only the ſame Right by the Maxims of the Kingdom, but alſo an additional Right by the Laws of Nature; and if the King his Father ſhould neglect or refuſe to give him his Right, which may certainly happen ſome Time or other to be the Caſe, has not the Parliament a Power to ſee that Right at leaſt which he has by the Maxims of the Kingdom, made effectual? To ſay they have not, would be to tell us, that where the Maxims of the Kingdom only are neglected, the Parliament may interpoſe, in order to procure a Remedy; but where both the Laws of Nature, and the Maxims of the Kingdom are neglected, the Parliament cannot interpoſe, nor make the leaſt Step towards procuring a Remedy.

To avoid falling into ſuch a palpable Abſurdity, we are told, that common Decency does nor admit of the Parliament's interpoſing between Father and Son, that it would be intermeddling in the King's domeſtick Affairs, and preſcribing to his Majeſty what Proviſion he ſhould make for his Children; and laſtly, that tho' the Parliament may have a Right to offer Advice to their Sovereign in Affairs which regard his political and royal Capacity, yet they never ought to offer Advice to him in any Affairs which regard only his natural and paternal Capacity. As for common Decency, Sir, it can never be inconſiſtent with a Man's Duty, therefore if it be the Duty of Parliament to interpoſe ſo far between the King and his eldeſt Son, as to adviſe the Father to make that Settlement upon his eldeſt Son which he is bound to make by the Maxims and the Laws of his Kingdom, common Decency can never forbid or prevent the Performance of that Duty, nor can any humble and reſpectful Addreſs or Petition from Parliament, ever be called a Preſcribing to the King what Proviſion he ſhould make for any of his Children; but if it ſhould, the Princes and Princeſſes of the Royal Family are in ſome Manner the Children of the Nation, as was in a late Caſe moſt ſolemnly decided; they are all ſo much the Children of the Nation, that the Nation is in Honour bound to ſee them provided for in a Manner ſuitable to their high Birth; therefore the Parliament has ſome Sort of Right to preſcribe what may be deemed an honourable Proviſion for every one of them; they are to give that Proviſion, and ſurely they have a Right to ſee what they give properly applied. But with reſpect to the eldeſt Son, and *Heir Apparent* of the Crown, it has been made ſo fully appear, and has been ſo generally admitted, that the Nation has a Concern in ſeeing him honourably provided for, that I am ſurpriſed to hear it ſo much as inſinuated, that an Addreſs for that Purpoſe would be an Intermeddling in the King's domeſtick Affairs, or in thoſe Affairs which regard only his natural and paternal Capacity: It is an Affair which regards his Majeſty's political and royal Capacity as much as it does his natural and paternal Capacity; and therefore the Parliament has as good a Right to offer their Advice in that Affair as they can have in any other.

I hope, Sir, I have now, to the Satisfaction of every Gentleman in the Houſe, eſtabliſhed his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*'s Right to a ſufficient and independent Settlement by the Maxims of the Kingdom, and, I hope, I have equally eſtabliſhed the Power the Parliament has to interpoſe, at leaſt by an Addreſs, in order to ſee that Right made effectual, both from Precedent, and from the Nature of the Thing itſelf. Now with reſpect to the Right which his *Royal Highneſs* may have to ſuch a Settlement, either in Law or Equity, from the Method in which the Civil Liſt is now eſtabliſhed, and from the Statutes by which that Eſtabliſhment was

made, I hope no Gentleman expects we are bound to make out that Right in the ſame Manner it would be, or ought to be made out, in any of the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and therefore, I believe, I need not take any Notice of that Learning which has been made uſe of, to prove he has not ſuch a Right as would be recoverable in any of the Courts below. It may be true that he has no ſuch Right as would intitle him to ſue and recover in any of the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and yet he may have a Right both in Law and Equity, and ſuch a Right as the Parliament are bound to ſee made effectual. The Courts of Common Law, we know, are confined to very ſtrict Rules, it is neceſſary they ſhould be ſo; but in Parliament we are bound to follow Juſtice and Equity wherever we can find it, and to adminſter it impartially when we have found it: In ſo doing we ſhew a proper Regard to the Honour and Intereſt of the Crown, as well as the Liberties and Properties of the Subject; and while his Majeſty's Miniſters are as loyal as his faithful Commons have always ſhewed themſelves to be, the general Equity of an Act of Parliament will be as ſacred, as religiouſly obſerved, and as cloſely adhered to at St. *James's*, as the Words of it are in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

But, Sir, notwithſtanding the narrow Limits our Judges at Common Law have confined themſelves to, notwithſtanding their cloſe Adherence to the Letter of the Law, I can hardly believe they will give it as their Opinion, that the *Prince of Wales* has no Right either in Law or Equity to a Support out of the Civil Liſt Revenue; becauſe he has certainly as good a Right to that Share of the Civil Liſt Revenue which was intended for him by Parliament, as they have to the Salaries they enjoy. Neither his Right nor their Right is founded upon the expreſs Words of any Statute, they are both founded upon the Meaning and Intention of the Legiſlature, at the Time thoſe Statutes were paſſed, by which the Civil Liſt is eſtabliſhed, and they muſt ſtand and fall together. I do not mean to ſay that our learned Judges would at any Time be biaſſed in their Opinion by their own Intereſt, I am ſure the preſent would not. No, Sir, they certainly think, and every Man, I believe, thinks, they have both a legal and an equitable Right to the Salaries they now enjoy, and as the *Prince of Wales's* Right ſtands upon the ſame Foundation, they would certainly judge of it as they do of their own, and would conſequently give it as their Opinion, that it was a Right founded both in Law and Equity.

Surely, Sir, neither the Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, nor any Lawyer, nor any Man in the Kingdom, can ſay, the *Prince of Wales* has no Right to have a neceſſary Support allowed him out of the Civil Liſt. The Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion do not pretend to ſay any ſuch Thing; they have even told us, the eldeſt Son of every Landed Gentleman in *England* ought to be ſupported out of his Father's Eſtate, and that that Support ought to be according to the Character and Circumſtances of the Family; but ſay they, he has no legal or equitable Right to any particular Share of his Father's Eſtate, or to any Share but ſuch as his Father pleaſes to allow him, unleſs that Right be eſtabliſhed by ſome Settlement agreed to by the Father. Is not this, Sir, to tell us, the Son has a Right and no Right? He has a Right to be ſupported out of his Father's Eſtate, but he has no Right to that Support, unleſs his Father pleaſes to allow it him. This Method of arguing might, for what I know, be of ſome Weight in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, but ſurely, it can be of no Weight in this Houſe. If a Son has a Right to be ſupported out of his Father's Eſtate according to the Character and Circumſtances of the Family,

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Family, he certainly has both a legal and an equitable Right to that particular Share of his Father's Eſtate which bears a juſt Proportion to, and is determined by the Character and Circumſtances of the Family; and if the Father does not allow him that Share, he certainly withholds his Right from him. This Right may perhaps not be recoverable in any of the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall*; but there are many good and juſt Rights which are not made recoverable in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, becauſe the making them recoverable there, would occaſion ſuch a Multitude of Law-Suits, as would be inconſiſtent with the general Good of Society: The Right a Man has to Gratitude in Return for Benefits beſtowed, is not recoverable by any Action or Suit at Law, yet that Right is as good and as equitable a Right as any Right a Man can have. In the ſame Manner the Right the *Prince* has to a ſufficient independent Settlement out of the Civil Liſt Revenue, is a good and an equitable Right, and tho' it be not recoverable at Law, yet it is ſuch a Right as may be regarded, and ought to be enforced by Parliament.

But to make ſtill a farther Uſe of the Rights of private Men, in order to clear up the Right now under our Conſideration; ſuppoſe, Sir, a Country Gentleman has a ſmall Eſtate and a great Number of Children; ſuppoſe a neighbouring Gentleman, or a Relation, of a plentiful Eſtate and bountiful Diſpoſition, takes notice of his Neighbour's or his Relation's Difficulties, and in order to relieve him, and enable him to ſupport his Family, ſettles a large Annuity upon him for Life; and ſuppoſe that in the Deed for eſtabliſhing that Annuity it is expreſsly mentioned, that the Annuity was granted him in order to enable him to ſupport and provide honourably for his Family; I ſhould be glad to know whether the eldeſt Son of that Country Gentleman would have any Right to be ſupported out of that Annuity, and what Sort of Right he would have? I believe in that Caſe, he would have not only a Right eſtabliſhed upon the general Principles of Equity, but ſuch a Right as would be recoverable in the Court of Chancery, eſpecially if the Granter of the Annuity joined with him in the Complaint. And I am very certain, if the Annuitant ſhould waſte his Annuity, and neglect to provide ſufficiently for his Children, eſpecially for his eldeſt Son, the Grantor would have a Right to complain, or at leaſt to adviſe, or deſire of him that he would apply the Annuity to thoſe Uſes for which he had granted it; and his giving ſuch an Advice would be abſolutely neceſſary, if he intended that the Annuitant's eldeſt Son and Apparent Heir, ſhould likewiſe be his Heir, and next Succeſſor to his Eſtate. This is ſo appoſite to the Caſe now before us, that I need not make any Application. It not only ſhews that the *Prince* has a Right to a ſufficient Settlement out of the Civil Liſt Revenue, but it ſhews that we have a Right, that we are in Duty bound to interpoſe, in order to ſee that Right made effectual.

Thus, Sir, it appears the Prince has a Right to be ſupported out of the Civil Liſt Revenue by the general Maxims of the Kingdom, and alſo by the Meaning and Intention of thoſe very Statutes by which the preſent Civil Liſt was eſtabliſhed; and if he has a Right to any Support, he has certainly a Right to a ſufficient Support, to ſuch a Support as the high Character of the Royal Family of *Great Britain* may require, and the preſent Circumſtances of the Civil Liſt Revenue will admit of; therefore, if the Settlement propoſed, by the Meſſage now before us, to be made, be not ſufficient, the Meſſage is ſo far from being an Argument againſt, that it is one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments that can be thought of, for the Motion; becauſe it ſhews that without the Interpoſition of Parliament,

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ment, his *Royal Highneſs* is not to have, nor can expect a ſufficient Settlement. That the Settlement propoſed to be made upon his Royal Highneſs by this Meſſage, is not ſufficient, has been in ſome Manner acknowledged by the Hon. Gentleman who delivered us the Meſſage; but farther, Sir, it has been expreſly acknowledged by the King himſelf. By the Regulation and Settlement of the *Prince*'s Houſhold, as made ſome Time ſince by his Majeſty himſelf, the yearly Expence comes to 63,000*l.* without allowing one Shilling to his *Royal Highneſs* for Acts of Charity and Generoſity. By the Meſſage now before us, it is propoſed to ſettle upon him only 50000*l.* a Year, and yet from this Sum we muſt deduct the Land Tax, which at two Shillings in the Pound amounts to 5000*l.* a Year, we muſt likewiſe deduct the Six-penny Duty to the Civil Liſt Lottery, which amounts to 1250*l.* a Year, and alſo we muſt deduct the Fees payable at the Exchequer, which will amount to about 750*l.* a Year more; all which Deductions amount to 7000*l.* a Year, and reduces the 50000*l.* a Year propoſed to be ſettled upon him by the Meſſage, to 43000*l.* a Year: Now as his *Royal Highneſs* has no other Eſtate but the *Dutchy of Cornwall*, which cannot be reckoned at the moſt above 9000*l.* a Year, his whole yearly Revenue can amount but to 52000*l.* a Year; and yet the yearly Expence of his Houſhold, according to his Majeſty's own Regulation, is to amount to 63000*l.* a Year, without allowing his *Royal Highneſs* one Shilling for the Indulgence of that generous and charitable Diſpoſition with which he is known to be indued, to a very eminent Degree. Suppoſe then we allow him but 10000*l.* a Year for the Indulgence of that laudable Diſpoſition, his whole yearly Expence, by his Majeſty's own Acknowledgment, muſt then amount to 73000*l.* a Year, and his yearly Income, according to this Meſſage, can amount to no more than 52,000*l.* a Year. Is this, Sir, ſhewing any Reſpect to his Merit? Is this providing for his Generoſity? Is it not reducing him ro to a real Want, even with reſpect to his Neceſſities, and conſequently to an unavoidable Dependence, and a vile, a pecuniary Dependence too, upon his Father's Miniſters and Servants. I confeſs, Sir, when I firſt heard this Motion made, I was wavering a good deal in my Opinion; but this Meſſage has confirmed me: I now ſee that without the Interpoſition of Parliament, his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*, the *Heir Apparent* to our Crown, muſt be reduced to the greateſt Straits, the moſt inſufferable Hardſhips.

After what I have ſaid, Sir, I think I need not take up your Time with ſhewing the yearly Value of the Settlements made upon former *Princes of Wales*; the Inſufficiency of the Settlement propoſed for the preſent is ſo demonſtrable from the Calculations and Accounts I have laid before you, that there is no Occaſion for having recourſe to former Precedents, for ſhewing that Inſufficiency; yet I cannot omit taking Notice to you, that the Revenue enjoyed by the late *King James* while *Duke of York*, tho' but preſumptive Heir of the Crown, amounted to 104,000*l.* a Year; and the Revenue enjoyed by the preſent King, while *Prince of Wales*, amounted to upwards of 100,000*l.* a Year; which I take Notice of, in order to ſhew you, that his Majeſty did not propoſe any Thing extraordinary or extravagant, when he regulated and ſettled the Houſhold for his preſent *Royal Highneſs*.

I come now, Sir, to the laſt Queſtion, and which I take to be, indeed, the only Queſtion in this Debate, which is, Whether it be poſſible for his Majeſty to ſpare more than 50,000*l.* a Year for his *Royal Highneſs*, from the Civil Liſt, as it now ſtands

ſtands eſtabliſhed? And this Queſtion I ſhall conſider in two Methods; firſt, by ſhewing that the Civil Liſt, as now eſtabliſhed, muſt amount to above 100,000 *l.* a Year more than was ever had or enjoyed by his late Majeſty; and next, by ſuppoſing that it amounts to no more than was enjoyed by his late Majeſty. In the firſt Method, Sir, let us remember, 'twas acknowledged in Parliament before the late Gin Act was paſſed, that the Produce of the whole Taxes, Exciſes, and Duties, appropriated to the Civil Liſt, amounted to 818,000 *l.* a Year: I believe it will be admitted that the 70,000 *l.* a Year granted by that Act to the Civil Liſt, and made payable out of the Aggregate, or rather out of the Sinking Fund, does more than compenſate the Loſs the Civil Liſt ſuſtained by taking from it the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, in which Caſe the Increaſe of the Exciſe upon Beer and Ale, occaſioned by the preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors muſt wholly be a nett Profit to the Civil Liſt: The Increaſe of the Exciſe upon Beer and Ale, if I am rightly informed, amounted for the very firſt Quarter, I mean from *Michaelmas* to *Chriſtmas* laſt, to near 30,000 *l.* one Half of which goes to the Civil Liſt; ſo that we may reckon the Civil Liſt has got by the Gin Act, an Addition of at leaſt 60,000 *l.* a Year; beſides what is got by the Increaſe of the Wine-Licence Duty, which every one knows has been greatly increaſed by prohibiting the Retail of Spirituous Liquors. Then, Sir, let us recollect, that a little before his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion, the Civil Liſt was diſcharged of 36,200 *l.* a Year in Penſions, which during the greateſt Part of his late Majeſty's Reign, were paid out of the Civil Liſt, but ever ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion have been a Burthen upon, and paid out of the publick Service. Let us add together theſe three Sums of 818,000 *l.* 60000 *l.* and 36200 *l.* and they amount to 914,200 *l.* which, according to the higheſt Probability, we muſt allow to be the yearly Amount of the Civil Liſt Revenue as now eſtabliſhed, and which is 114,000 *l.* a Year, more than was enjoyed by his late Majeſty, even including all the particular Grants that were occaſionally made to the Civil Liſt in his Reign.

But, Sir, this is not all, his preſent Majeſty has had one very extraordinary Grant of 115,000 *l.* made to the Civil Liſt; and the 80,000 *l.* granted as a Fortune to the Princeſs Royal, may properly be ſaid to have been an extraordinary Grant to the Civil Liſt; for tho' I am far from finding Fault with that Grant, yet as the Civil Liſt was granted in order to enable his Majeſty to make an honourable Proviſion for his whole Royal Family, that Princeſs's Marriage Proviſion ſhould have been paid out of the Civil Liſt; and ſince the Publick took it upon them, it ought to be looked on as a new and an extraordinary Grant made to the Civil Liſt. Then, Sir, I muſt not forget another yearly Addition, which may be looked on as a very great Sum, conſidering from whence it comes, I mean a Sum of 40000 *l.* a Year, from *Scotland*, which is now a yearly Addition to the Civil Liſt. I will not, indeed, take upon me to ſay, that the Whole or any Part of that Sum is brought *in Specie* to *London*; but if it is laid out for paying Penſions in *Scotland*, which muſt be paid yearly out of the Civil Liſt Revenue, I may take upon me to ſay, it prevents an equal Sum from being ſent yearly *in Specie* from *London*. From all which Conſiderations I think it is evident, his preſent Majeſty has above 100000 *l.* a Year more than his late Majeſty ever enjoyed, and therefore we muſt conclude, he may eaſily ſpare 100000 *l.*

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a Year for the Uſe of his *Royal Highneſs*, without any great Frugality or good Management, and without contracting any Part of that Expence which was found neceſſary in the late Reign. I am now, Sir, to make a Suppoſition, which, I believe, no Gentleman that hears me will join with me in: I am to ſuppoſe that the Civil Liſt Revenue, with all the Additions and Improvements lately made to it, does not produce one Shilling more than his late Majeſty enjoyed, including the ſeveral occaſional Grants that were made to him: In ſhort, I am to ſuppoſe, it does not produce one Shilling more than 800,000 *l.* a Year; and if upon this Suppoſition I can ſhew, that with tolerable Management, it may ſpare 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince*, I am ſure every Gentleman will conclude, his *Royal Highneſs* ought to have at leaſt that Sum ſettled upon him; and the Oppoſition that has been made to this Motion, and the Meſſage we have received, will be additional Arguments for having that Sum ſettled upon him in the moſt independent Manner. We may remember, Sir, or at leaſt we may ſee by the Journals, that when the 700,000 *l.* a Year was ſettled upon his late Majeſty, the State of the King's Houſhold, and alſo the State of the *Prince of Wales*'s Houſhold, and the whole Articles of Expence neceſſary for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, or of the *Heir Apparent*, were very minutely and maturely examined into and conſidered, and upon that minute and ſtrict Examination it was found, that 600,000 *l.* a Year was ſufficient for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and that 100,000 *l.* a Year was the leaſt that was neceſſary for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the *Heir Apparent*. In the Calculations made at that Time, we are not to ſuppoſe, the Parliament reſtricted themſelves to the nett Sum which appeared to be neceſſary for ſupporting the King's Houſhold and Civil Government. We cannot ſuppoſe any ſuch Thing, becauſe the nett Sum found neceſſary for that Purpoſe in the late Queen's Time, appears never to have exceeded 430,000 *l.* a Year; and in the firſt Year of the late King, the whole Expence of his Houſhold and Civil Government amounted to but about 453,000 *l.* ſo that if they had reſtricted themſelves to the nett Sum which appeared to be neceſſary for ſupporting the King's Houſhold and Civil Government, they could not have computed the Sum neceſſary for that Purpoſe at above 460,000 *l.* a Year; but they conſidered that ſomething was to be allowed yearly for Acts of Generoſity and Charity, and ſomething was likewiſe to be allowed yearly for what is called ſecret Service Money; for both which, it ſeems, they computed 140,000 *l.* a Year would be ſufficient, and therefore reckoned that a groſs Sum of 600,000 *l.* a Year would be ſufficient for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, to which they added 100,000 *l.* a Year more for the Support of the *Prince of Wales*.

The 140,000 *l.* a Year allowed for Acts of Generoſity, and for ſecret Service Money, was then thought to be a very large and a very ſufficient Allowance; and from the Experience of the former Reign, from the Experience of the Reign of *Queen Anne*, there was good Reaſon to think it a very ſufficient Allowance; for in all that Reign, beſides what was allowed for ſecret Service Money to the Generals of our Armies, and moſt profitably, moſt gloriouſly for the Nation beſtowed by them, or at leaſt by one of them, I mean our General in *Flanders*, there appeared to be but two Sums given to any ſecret or unknown Uſes, and theſe were ſo ſmall, ſo trifling, it would ſurpriſe one;

one; for the one was a Sum only of 1200*l.* and the other of 500*l.* only; and even as to theſe, upon a particular and private Enquiry, it appeared, the firſt had been iſſued for entertaining *Prince Eugene*, when he did this Nation the Honour of a Viſit, and the other had been made a Preſent of to one of the Queen's own Relations. From hence, I ſay, the Parliament had good Reaſon to think that 140,000*l.* a Year was a ſufficient Allowance to his late Majeſty for Acts of Generoſity, and for ſecret Service; but I do not know for what Reaſon, or by what Fatality, the Branch of the Civil Liſt Expence called ſecret Service Money, increaſed prodigiouſly in the late Reign: It increaſed ſo prodigiouſly, Sir, that in four Years, from the Year 1721 to 1725, that Branch of the Civil Liſt Expence amounted to 2,728,000*l.* which was at a *Medium* 682,000*l.* a Year; as appeared by an Account which happened by ſome Chance or other to be laid before Parliament. By that Account it appeared, that vaſt Sums of Money had been given for Purpoſes which nobody underſtood, and to Perſons whom nobody knew or had ever heard of; for which Reaſon, in the Beginning of the following Seſſion, the Account having been laid before the Houſe at the very latter End of the former Seſſion, ſeveral Gentlemen had a Mind to have it taken into Conſideration, but this Enquiry was warded off, by telling them, the Parliament could not take into their Conſideration any Account that had been preſented to a former Seſſion.

It is to this only, Sir, we are to impute the Neceſſity of making any new Grants to the Civil Liſt in the late King's Reign; for as to the viſible Expence of the King's Houſhold and Civil Government, it was no Way increaſed, or at leaſt not conſiderably increaſed, above what it was in the former Reign, or in the firſt Year of his own; and as the viſible Expence of his preſent Majeſty's Houſhold and Civil Government is no Way, or but very little increaſed above what the Expence of the late King's Houſhold and Civil Government amounted to, even ſuppoſing the preſent Civil Liſt Revenue to amount to no more than 800,000*l.* a Year, we muſt conclude that 100,000*l.* a Year may eaſily be ſpared out of it, for the Uſe of the *Prince of Wales*; for allowing 460,000*l.* a Year to be now neceſſary for ſupporting the nett Charge of the King's Houſhold and Civil Government, which is 30,000*l.* a Year more than it amounted to in the late Queen's Reign, and 7000*l.* a Year more than it amounted to in the firſt Year of the late King's Reign; allowing 50,000*l.* a Year for the Queen; allowing 50,000*l.* a Year for *Prince William*, the Princeſſes, and for a proportionable additional Allowance for Bed and Board, and other extraordinary Expences in the ſeveral Palaces; and allowing 100,000*l.* a Year for the *Prince of Wales*; his Majeſty has remaining 140,000*l.* a Year to be employed in Acts of Generoſity, and in ſecret Service, which is as large a Sum as the Parliament thought neceſſary for that Purpoſe in the Beginning of the late Reign, and is, in my Opinion, a larger Sum than can in the Time of Peace be wiſely or prudently imployed in that Way, eſpecially conſidering his Majeſty's numerous Iſſue, and the great Expences, which do, and muſt neceſſarily attend an honourable Proviſion for his whole Royal Family.

From the Account I have given you, Sir, of the prodigious Increaſe of ſecret Service Money in the late Reign, we may more clearly ſee, than perhaps we could do before, what was the Intention of that Parliament which eſtabliſhed the preſent Civil Liſt upon his Majeſty, and what

what was then meant by the *Experience of paſt Times*, and therefore I ſhall take the Liberty to explain myſelf upon that Head. The ſurpriſing Account of the ſecret Service Money I have mentioned, was then freſh in every Man's Memory, it had been under their Conſideration but a Year or two before, and the extraordinary Amount of that Account had been ſo much and ſo lately found fault with, that they would not certainly have agreed to ſettle upon his preſent Majeſty as large a Civil Liſt as had been ſettled and given to the late King; but that they conſidered, that his Majeſty had a Queen-Conſort and ſeveral younger Children to provide for, and therefore could not allow his Miniſters to run into any ſuch extraordinary Expence with reſpect to ſecret Service Money, but would apply what might and ought to be ſaved upon that Article, to the Making of an honourable Proviſion for the Queen-Conſort, and for his younger Children. As his late Majeſty had in the Whole but 700,000*l.* a Year, as that Revenue had enabled him not only to ſupport the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, but to employ a much larger Sum in ſecret Service Money than had ever before been, or ever could for the future be neceſſary or ſafe in this Kingdom, according to the Opinion of many Gentlemen in both Houſes of Parliament, thoſe Gentlemen could not, from the *Experience of paſt Times* conclude, that 700,000*l.* a Year would be neceſſary for his preſent Majeſty, if they had not conſidered as I have ſaid that his preſent Majeſty had a Queen-Conſort and ſeveral younger Children to provide for, and that whatever could be ſaved out of the Sums needleſsly, as they thought, expended in ſecret Service Money by his late Majeſty, might be uſefully employed by his preſent Majeſty, in making an honourable Proviſion for his Royal Family; therefore, and for this Reaſon only, they agreed to the Settling 700,000*l.* a Year upon his preſent Majeſty for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and providing for his Royal Family; and to this Sum 100,000*l.* a Year more was added, in order that he might ſettle upon the *Prince of Wales*, as ſoon as he came to *England*, the ſame Revenue he had himſelf enjoyed in the Life-time of his Father.

From this State of the Caſe, I think, we may evidently ſee, what the Parliament then meant by the *Experience of paſt Times*, and what they intended with reſpect to the *Prince of Wales*; but, Sir, to put this Matter in another, and yet a clearer Light, I ſhall beg leave to divide the Civil Liſt Revenue ſettled and occaſionally granted to his late Majeſty into three Parts; one Part amounting to 460,000*l.* a Year, is that which was applied for the Support of the King's Houſhold and Civil Government, and was a little larger than had ever before been found neceſſary for that Purpoſe; the other Part, amounting to 100,000*l.* a Year, is that which was ſettled, and had, during the whole Reign of the late King, and, indeed, I may ſay ever ſince the Beginning of the Reign of *King Charles* II. been deemed, the leaſt Sum that was neceſſary for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown; and the remaining third Part amounting to 240,000*l.* a Year, is that which was allowed to his late Majeſty for Acts of Generoſity and Charity, and for ſecret Service Money, but had always been thought by moſt Men without Doors, and, I believe, by moſt within, to be too large a Sum, and was really at leaſt twice as large a Sum as had ever been allowed for theſe Purpoſes to any former King of this Nation. Upon his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion it appeared, that he was ſubject to

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a Charge which the late King was free from, I mean that of providing for his Queen and younger Children; yet he neither asked, nor did the Parliament grant him any greater Civil Liſt Revenue than the late King enjoyed. This additional Charge which the preſent King was then ſubject to, was therefore certainly intended, both by King and Parliament, to be thrown upon ſome one, or ſome two of the three Parts into which I have divided the late King's Civil Liſt Revenue, or upon the three jointly; and conſidering the Circumſtances of theſe three Parts, which were then exactly as I have repreſented them to you, I muſt refer to every Gentleman that hears me, whether it is not moſt probable, that both King and Parliament intended to throw this additional Charge either ſolely upon the third Part, or upon the Firſt and the Third jointly? Is there not all the Reaſon in the World to preſume, that both King and Parliament then intended that the ſecond Part ſhould be entirely free from this additional Charge? And is not this ſtill the more probable, on account of the *Prince of Wales*'s being then actually come to Man's Eſtate, and the whole Nation in daily Hopes of ſeeing him married and ſoon bleſſed with Children?

Sir, if there were not a Man alive who was then in Parliament, I ſhould, from this State of the Caſe, be convinced, the Parliament then intended the *Prince* ſhould have his 100,000 *l.* a Year without one Shilling Abatement; but I had then the Honour to be a Member of Parliament myſelf, I know what was my own Intention, I know what was the Intention of many others, I know we all intended and expected that 100,000 *l.* a Year ſhould have been ſettled on the *Prince of Wales* as ſoon as he came to *England*: And I very well remember, the honourable Gentleman who made the Motion for ſettling the preſent Civil Liſt Revenue, made uſe of it as an Argument for his Motion, that the *Prince of Wales* was then near of Age, and that it would be very ſoon neceſſary to ſettle the ſame Revenue upon him, that had been ſettled upon his Father, whilſt *Prince of Wales*. This, Sir, I ſay I very well remember, and I remember too, that it ſeemed to be the Reaſon which had moſt Weight with the Houſe, and which, I believe chiefly, procured his Motion almoſt an unanimous Approbation. Gentlemen may talk what they pleaſe about gathering the Intention of an Act of Parliament from the Words only: This may be the Rule in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, but it is impoſſible it can be the Rule in either Houſe of Parliament, eſpecially when there are ſo many Members now in each Houſe who had a Share in the Paſſing of that Law. They muſt gather the Intention of the Act from the Intention they themſelves had at the Time of its paſſing, and their Teſtimony ought to have ſome Weight with thoſe who had not the Honour of being Members of either Houſe at the Time the Law was paſſed.

It certainly was the Intention of Parliament, Sir, I hope it ſtill is the Intention of Parliament, that his *Royal Highneſs* ſhould have at leaſt 100,000*l.* a Year out of the Civil Liſt; and ſince it is now made manifeſt by the Meſſage delivered to us in this Debate, that he is like to be diſappointed of one Half of what was, and, I hope, ſtill is intended for him by Parliament, it is become abſolutely neceſſary for us to addreſs his Majeſty, in order to know from him the Reaſon of that Diſappointment. If the Civil Liſt Revenue produces above 900,000*l.* a Year, as I believe it does, it may certainly ſpare 100,000*l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; if it produces but 800,000*l.* a Year nett, which no Man believes,

yet even in that Caſe, it may ſpare 100,000*l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*, according to the beſt Judgment we can form from the Experience of any former Reign: But ſuppoſe it true, that by reaſon of ſome new and extraordinary Articles of Expence, the Civil Liſt Revenue cannot ſpare above 50,000*l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*, we ought to have that Anſwer from the King himſelf, and in a proper and direct Manner, which we can have no other way but by means of the Addreſs propoſed. If ſuch an Anſwer ſhould be returned to us, I am ſure it will then be our Duty to enquire into the Produce, and into the Diſpoſal of the Civil Liſt Revenue, eſpecially that Part of it which is pretended to be laid out in ſecret Services. The Civil Liſt Revenue was never ſo high as in this Reign: It is a moſt dangerous Revenue, eſpecially when a very conſiderable Part of it may be applied, no Man knows how: It is a ſharp Inſtrument in the Hands of a Miniſter, which may ſome Time or other be employed in cutting the Throat of our Conſtitution. During his preſent Majeſty's Reign we cannot apprehend that any Part of it will be converted to a bad Uſe; but I hope I ſhall never ſee ſuch a Revenue granted in any future Reign, nor granted in ſuch a Manner. Money generally carries Perſuaſion along with it; therefore it is moſt juſtly to be apprehended, that ſome future guilty Miniſter, provided with ſuch a large Fund of Perſuaſion, and that Perſuaſion ſupported by an armed Force, may be enabled to do whatever he pleaſes with our Conſtitution; and as either he or our Conſtitution muſt be ſacrificed, we may eaſily judge which will bleed at the Altar.

As his Majeſty's Meſſage to the *Prince* was in Writing, and is now communicated to us by his Majeſty's Command, it may be made uſe of, and is certanly a very ſtrong Argument in favour of the Motion; but, Sir, I am ſurpriſed to hear the *Prince*'s ſuppoſed Anſwer made uſe of in this Houſe, as an Argument againſt the Motion; becauſe the *Prince*'s Anſwer neither was in Writing, nor was deſired to be given in Writing; and as I took it down in Writing ſoon after his *Royal Highneſs* delivered it, I muſt beg leave to ſay, it was not exactly in the Terms the noble Lords who brought the Meſſage ſeem to have reported; therefore I wiſh they had given his *Royal Highneſs* previous Notice of the Meſſage, and deſired that he might prepare to give them an Anſwer in Writing, which would have prevented any Surpriſe of the one Side, or any Miſtake of the other; for I am convinced the noble Lords did not deſignedly make any Miſtake in their Report. Altho' I took down his *Royal Highneſs*'s Anſwer in Writing, yet, Sir, I ſhall not pretend to communicate it to this Houſe, ſince I have no Authority from him for that Purpoſe; but thus much I may obſerve, that if his *Royal Highneſs* ſaid he was ſorry for any Thing, it was, that he was ſorry any Gentleman of either Houſe of Parliament ſhould have Occaſion to give himſelf any Trouble about that Settlement which ought to be made upon him; and this, I believe, the greateſt Part of the Nation are ſorry for as well as his *Royal Highneſs:* I am ſure every Man who has a true Regard either for his Father or him, or for any of their illuſtrious Family, muſt be ſorry for it. However, Sir, even ſuppoſe his Anſwer had been in the very Words reported, it is ſo full of filial Duty and Reſpect, that it is a new Argument for the Addreſs propoſed; becauſe the great Reſpect wh ch his *Royal Highneſs* there ſhews for the King his Father, may very probably prevail upon him to ſubmit

to very great Difficulties, rather than take the Liberty of troubling his Father with any new, tho' moſt neceſſary Demand; which is a ſtrong Argument for the Neceſſity of his having a ſufficient independent Settlement, and for the Parliament's interpoſing in his Behalf.

So unlucky, Sir, are the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion, that nothing has happened, almoſt nothing has been ſaid during the Debate, but what tends to fortify the Argument againſt them. This, I am ſure, may moſt juſtly be ſaid of the melancholy Account they have given us of that unlucky Diſpute which happened between the preſent King, when *Prince of Wales*, and the late King his Father. I ſhall moſt readily agree, that that Diſpute was owing neither to any Want of paternal Affection in the late King, nor to any Want of filial Duty in the preſent, but to the Pride and Vanity of ſome mean and low Sycophants and Tale-Bearers. Now, Sir, I would be glad to know from thoſe Gentlemen, what Sort of Situation they think the preſent King, who was then *Heir Apparent* to the Crown, would have been reduced to, if he had had no independent Settlement of his own, or not a ſufficient independent Settlement? The Account they have given us of his Situation is melancholy enough; but if he had not been provided with a ſufficient independent Settlement, would not the Account of his Situation have been a great deal more diſmal? Would not he have been obliged either to ſubmit to and become the Slave of thoſe very mean and low Sycophants, or to ſubſiſt by the Generoſity and Beneficence of his Friends? And we know, Sir, how hard it is to meet either with Generoſity or Beneficence, when People are ſenſible that their Generoſity or Beneficence will be imputed to them as a Crime againſt the State. Can any Thing be ſaid, Sir, can any Thing be thought of, that can juſtify our agreeing to the Motion, more than this very Accident? For if ever any ſuch unlucky Accident ſhould happen, which God forbid, it may happen when his *Royal Highneſs* is bleſſed with as many Children as the King his Father was when that Accident happened to him; and we are not certain the Court would in ſuch a Caſe behave in the ſame Manner towards his Children.

I am ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear a Motion for an humble Addreſs called a Stating ourſelves as the higher Power, and bringing the *Prince of Wales* and his Majeſty as Plaintiff and Defendant before us. Can Advice be called a Decree, or is the common Stile of an Addreſs the Stile of a ſuperior Power? But I am ſtill more ſurpriſed to hear it ſaid, our agreeing to the Queſtion would be a Determining that his Majeſty has done Injuſtice to his eldeſt Son. Does not every one know that our Kings can do no Wrong, that they can do no Injuſtice? If any Wrong is done, we muſt always neceſſarily ſuppoſe it done by the Miniſters; and if any of them has told the King that 50,000*l.* a Year is ſufficient for ſupporting the *Prince of Wales*, or has led his Majeſty into ſuch an Expence that he cannot ſpare more out of the Civil Liſt, I will ſay they have done Injuſtice, and the Nation will, the Nation ought to ſuppoſe they are no longer fit, nor ought to continue to rule over us; ſo that whatever Foreigners may think, no Man who underſtands our Conſtitution can expect or ſuppoſe our agreeing to this Motion will be attended with any ſuch Misfortune as has been repreſented.

Our agreeing to this Queſtion, Sir, can be attended with no Misfortune to any Branch of the Royal Family, nor can it be the Occaſion of any Quarrel or Breach between the King and the *Prince*: Indeed it may be

the Occaſion of his Majeſty's quarrelling with thoſe who have told him that 50,000 *l.* a Year is enough for his eldeſt Son; becauſe it is to be preſumed, his Majeſty will give more Credit to his Parliament than to any Counſellor he has about him; and conſequently will diſmiſs them from his Councils, for telling him what he finds by the Addreſs of his Parliament to be a notorious Falſhood: Or it may be the Occaſion of his Majeſty's quarrelling with thoſe who have led him into ſuch an Expence, as not to be able to ſpare above 50,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; becauſe ſuch an Addreſs from Parliament would certainly procure a Contracting of that Expence for the future, or would produce an Enquiry into the late Management of the Civil Liſt Revenue, by either of which his Majeſty would find, they had led him into a needleſs Expence, the certain Conſequence of which would be, his turning them out of his Service. Our agreeing therefore to the Motion can never produce any Breach between the Royal Father and the Royal Son; but if we ſhould diſagree to the Motion, it will afford an Opportunity for evil Counſellors to confirm his Majeſty in that Error they have already endeavoured to lead him into; and as one wicked Step generally begets a ſecond, worſe than the firſt; they may very probably repreſent this Motion in Parliament as procured by his *Royal Highneſs*, in order to diſtreſs his Majeſty's Meaſures, and to procure himſelf a much larger Settlement than he has any Occaſion for. This ſecond Step we have ſome Reaſon to dread, Sir, even from the Words of the Meſſage now before us; and therefore we have great Reaſon to dread that our Diſagreeing to the Motion may produce, or at leaſt be the diſtant Cauſe of a perpetual Breach between the Father and Son; but in that Caſe it cannot be ſaid, that thoſe who have endeavoured to do Juſtice to the Son were the Cauſe of the Breach; we muſt look for the Cauſe in the oppoſite Corner; and, I hope, if there ſhould ever be any Neceſſity for an Amputation, it will fall upon thoſe who moſt juſtly deſerve it.

We have heard a great deal, Sir, of the ill Effects our agreeing to this Motion may have on the People without Doors. Theſe Apprehenſions, Sir, I have ſhewed to be without any Foundation, at leaſt with reſpect to his Majeſty *himſelf*, or any of his illuſtrious *Family*; but let us conſider the ill Effects our not agreeing to this Motion may have upon People without Doors, with reſpect to the Opinion they may from thence form of the *Heir Apparent* to our Crown, or of the Juſtice and Equity of Parliament. What will People think, what will they ſay of the *Prince of Wales*, when they hear, that his Settlement is reduced to one Half of what has, for theſe many Years laſt paſt, been thought neceſſary for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the *Heir Apparent* or *Preſumptive* to the Crown of *Great Britain*; and that at a Time when every other Proviſion for the reſt of the Royal Family has been vaſtly increaſed? The Civil Liſt is now near double what it formerly was: The Dowry ſettled upon her preſent Majeſty, and moſt deſervedly ſettled, is double what was ever ſettled upon any former Queen. The Marriage Proviſion granted by Parliament to the *Princeſs Royal* is double what was ever given to any *Princeſs Royal* of *England*; for King *Charles* I's Daughter, had but half the Sum, and even that, I believe, was never paid; and *King James* II's Daughter, whom *King Charles* II. looked on as his own, had but 40,000 *l.* when married to the *Prince of Orange*, afterwards our glorious Deliverer, nor was that Sum fully paid, I believe, till he came to be our King, when, I do not know but

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but he might have Intereſt enough to ſee himſelf paid. If we ſhould diſagree to this Motion, will not the People have Reaſon to conclude, that we have no great Opinion of the Merit of the preſent *Prince of Wales?* Will they not from thence imagine he is not worthy of ſucceeding to the Throne? They would certainly imagine ſo, Sir, if it were poſſible; but, thank God, his Merit is publickly and generally known: Every one knows that no Part of any Settlement made upon him will be hoarded up to the Detriment of publick Circulation, nor the leaſt Part of it converted to any wicked or ridiculous Uſe: No, Sir, whatever he may have more than neceſſary for ſupporting the Dignity of the *Apparent Heir* to our Crown, will, we are ſure, be wholly employed in Acts of true Charity and publick Utility. So far as the *Prince* can ſpare it, the Wants of every deſerving Man will be ſupplied, the unfortunate will be relieved, and whoever excels in Virtue and true Merit will be forwarded. As this is the Caſe with reſpect to his *Royal Highneſs*, what Opinion can the People without Doors form of the Proceedings within? Will they not be apt to ſay, our Proceedings are directed, not by Juſtice, but by ſome ſelfiſh and ſordid Conſideration?

Thus, Sir, I have given you my Opinion fully and freely in this Affair. I know the Danger I am in by appearing in favour of this Motion. I may perhaps have a Meſſage ſent me, I may loſe the Command I have in the Army, as other Gentlemen have done, for the ſame Reaſon, before me; but I ſhould think myſelf a pitiful Officer, if I were directed in my Voting or Behaviour in this Houſe, either by the Fears of loſing the Commiſſion I have, or the Hopes of obtaining a better; and if any Miniſter whatever ſhould ſend to threaten me with the Loſs of my Commiſſion, in caſe I did not vote in Parliament as he directed, I ſhould receive the Meſſage with a ſuitable Indignation, and would be very apt to treat the Meſſenger in ſuch a Manner as I do not think decent here to expreſs. While I have the Honour to ſit in this Houſe, I ſhall upon all Occaſions endeavour to judge impartially, and ſhall always vote with Freedom according as my Honour and Conſcience direct; and as I am convinced his *Royal Highneſs* has a Right, and ought to have a ſufficient independent Settlement; as I am convinced 50,000 *l.* a Year is not a ſufficient Proviſion for the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown of *Great Britain*; as I am convinced the Civil Liſt, if rightly managed, may eaſily ſpare 100,000 *l.* a Year for his *Royal Highneſs*; as I am convinced this is the Sum which was intended for him by that Parliament which eſtabliſhed the preſent Civil Liſt Revenue; and as I am convinced his Majeſty has been miſinformed, and ill adviſed, otherwiſe this Sum would have been ſettled upon him long before this Time; therefore, as a Member of this Houſe, as a loyal Subject to his Majeſty, and as a ſincere Friend to his Family, I think myſelf obliged in Duty, in Honour, in Conſcience, and in Spite of every ſordid Temptation to the contrary, to endeavour as much as I can to give my Sovereign a right Advice, a true Information.

The Speakers in this Debate in the H—ſe C——ns were as follows, *viz.*

For the Motion.	Sir *W——d L——n*
W——m P——y, Eſq;	Sir *J——n R——t*
Sir *J——n B——d*	*H—y B—t*, Eſq;
J——n H——ges, Eſq;	*W——m N—l*, Eſq;
L——d B——re	Sir *T——s S——n*
E——d W——r, Eſq	*T——s F——ck*, Eſq;
Sir *W——m W——m*	Againſt the Motion.
R——d H——t, Eſq;	Sir *R——t W——le*
W——m P——t, Eſq;	*M——r* of the R——lls
P—p G——n, Eſq;	*H—y P——m*, Eſq;
T——s L——n, Eſq;	Mr. *S——r G——l*
W——r P——er, Eſq;	Sir *W——m Y——ge*
R——d G——lle, Eſq;	*J—pb D——rt*, Eſq;
T——s B—tle, Eſq;	

And

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And in the H—ſe of L—ds the Speakers were as follow, *viz.*

For the Motion.	Againſt the Motion.
L—d *C*——*t*	D—ke of *N*——*tle*
L—d *G*——*r*	L—d V——t *H*——*n*
D—ke of *B*——*d*	E—l of *F*——*r*
D—ke of *M*——*gh*	E—l of *I*—*a*
E—l of *Cb*——*ld*	E—l of *S*——*gh*
L—d *B*——*ſt*	L—d H—gh C——*r*
E—l of *W*——*nd*	E—l of *S*——*rd*

The Diviſion in the H—ſe of C——ns on this Queſtion was, 234 Noes, 204 Yeas; ſo that it was carried againſt the Motion by a Majority of 30. And in the H—ſe of L—ds, the Diviſion on the Queſtion was, in the Houſe 79 Not Contents, 28 Contents; Proxies, 24 Not Contents, 12 Contents; in the Whole 103 Not Contents, 40 Contents: Majority againſt the Motion 63.

In the H—ſe of L—ds there happened a Debate in relation to Form, which being ſomething curious, we ſhall give a ſhort Account of it.

The D—ke of *N*——*tle*, who was the firſt that ſpoke in that Houſe againſt the Motion, concluded his Speech with acquainting their Lordſhips, that he had a Meſſage from his Majeſty to communicate to them; and after reading in his Place the ſame Meſſage which had before been communicated to the H—ſe of C——ns, and of which we have already given a Copy, (p. 360.) he delivered it to the Houſe, and the E—l of *S*——*rd* moved it might be read a ſecond Time by the noble Lord on the Wool-Sack; whereupon the L—d *C*——*t* ſtood up and ſaid, that by the conſtant Form and Method of Proceeding, it had always been deemed inconſiſtent with the Dignity of that Houſe, to have any Papers or Writings read a ſecond Time by the noble Lord on the Wool-Sack, except Speeches or Meſſages made or ſent by his Majeſty in Writing directly to that Houſe: That as for all other Writings, or Papers, delivered or communicated at any Time to that Houſe, if they were to be read a ſecond Time, the conſtant Cuſtom had been, to have them read a ſecond Time by the Clerk at the Table. That he was not againſt having that Paper read a ſecond Time, which the noble Duke had, by his Majeſty's Command, communicated to them; but as it was no Meſſage in Writing from his Majeſty directly to that Houſe, but only an Account of a Meſſage his Majeſty had been pleaſed to ſend to his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*, and of the Anſwer his Royal Highneſs had returned to that Meſſage, therefore he thought it ought to be read a ſecond Time, not by the noble Lord on the Wool-Sack, but by the Clerk at the Table.

To this 'twas anſwered by the L—d *D*——*r*, the E—l of *C*——*y*, and the E—l of *I*—*a*, in Subſtance, That as the Paper communicated to them was of the utmoſt Importance, and was ſo very long, that no Lord of that Houſe could judge rightly about it, upon hearing it only once read, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to have it read a ſecond Time. That if any foreign Potentate ſhould ſend a Letter or Memorial to his Majeſty, and he ſhould think fit to communicate the ſame to that Houſe, every one of their Lordſhips had a Privilege to deſire it might be read a ſecond Time, before the Houſe could enter into any Conſideration relating to it; and as the Meſſage then delivered to them in Writing, was of as great Importance as any ſuch Letter or Memorial could well be, therefore it ought to be read a ſecond Time, before they proceeded to take it into their Conſideration, eſpecially, as the ſecond Reading had been moved for by one of their Lordſhips. That the noble Duke had told them, he had expreſs Orders from his Majeſty to communicate it to them, therefore it ought to be conſidered as a direct Meſſage from his

his Majeſty to that Houſe, and conſequently as it was in Writing it ought to be read a ſecond Time, and that ſecond Reading ought to be by the noble Lord on the Wool-Sack, and not by the Clerk at the Table.

To which 'twas replied by the L—d *B——ſ*, That the Queſtion was not, whether or no the Meſſage ſhould be read a ſecond Time, but whether it ſhould be read a ſecond Time by the Lord on the Wool-Sack, or by the Clerk at the Table? As to which, he would deſire no other Argument for convincing him, that it ought to be read a ſecond Time by the Clerk at the Table, than that which had been mentioned by the noble Lords who ſeemed to be of a different Opinion; for if his Majeſty ſhould receive a Letter, Memorial, or other Writing, from any Potentate in *Europe*, and ſhould think fit to communicate it to the Houſe, ſurely the Lord who in that Caſe might be honoured with his Majeſty's Commands, would tell the Houſe, he had expreſs Orders from his Majeſty to communicate ſuch a Letter, Memorial, or Writing, to the Houſe; and yet in that Caſe, ſuch a Letter, Memorial, or Writing, would not be read a ſecond Time by the Lord on the Wool-Sack, it would be contrary to Precedent, and inconſiſtent with the Dignity of the Houſe to do ſo; it would be read a ſecond Time only by the Clerk at the Table, and then reported to the Houſe by the Lord on the Wool-Sack: That this had been their conſtant Cuſtom in all ſuch Caſes, and the Reaſon was plain, becauſe in ſuch Caſes, there is no Meſſage in Writing ſent by his Majeſty directly to the Houſe, the only direct Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe, is a verbal Meſſage, and that verbal Meſſage is delivered by the noble Lord, when he tells them he has Orders from his Majeſty to communicate ſuch a Writing or Paper to them. That if his Majeſty ſhould order a long Treaty or Negotiation between him and a foreign Prince to be communicated to the Houſe, there would be the ſame Reaſon for having it read a ſecond Time by the Lord on the Wool Sack, as there was, or could be pretended, for having his Majeſty's Meſſage to the Prince, and the Prince's Anſwer, read a ſecond Time by the Lord on the Wool-Sack; and as no ſuch Thing had ever been done in the former Caſe, therefore he thought it ought not to be done in the latter.

This is the Subſtance of what was ſaid upon this Head; but the Queſtion was not fully debated; for as many ſeemed to be impatient to have the Meſſage read a ſecond Time, the Lords who were for having it read only by the Clerk at the Table, ſubmitted without a Diviſion, and it was read a ſecond Time by the noble Lord on the Wool-Sack; after which they proceeded in the Debate upon the chief Motion; and at the End of that Debate, the E—l of *S——rd*, who was the laſt that ſpoke, ſaid, That, altho' he was in his Opinion againſt the Motion, and therefore obliged to differ from thoſe with whom he had generally agreed, and would again agree, he believed, in all Matters where the Conſtitution or Liberties of his Country were concerned, neither of which, he thought, had any Concern in the Queſtion then before them, yet, he thought, 'twould be better, and more decent, to wave putting any Queſtion upon the Motion; for which Reaſon, if any of their Lordſhips appeared to be of his Opinion, he would move, to adjourn till next Morning; but as no Lord ſeemed inclined to ſecond this Motion, his Lordſhip waved making it; and the Queſtion being put upon the principal Motion, it was carried in the Negative, as above related.

[*This Journal to be continued in our next.*]

Craftſman

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Craftſman, July 30. N° 577.

THE Publick (ſays Mr. *D'Anvers)* cannot be Strangers to the extraordinary Meaſures lately taken againſt *this Paper*. The *Publication* of it was not only ſtopt for a Week, and ſeveral Perſons taken up and detained in Cuſtody for an *unuſual Time*, without any Examinations, but the *Shop-Books* and *other Accounts*, nay even the *Advertiſements* for the Week, were likewiſe ſeiz'd, and the *Houſe*, where the Paper was printed, ſhut up by the *Meſſengers*. (See p. 383.)

We ſhall ſay nothing of *ſuch Proceedings* at preſent; but ſince our Paper of the 2d Inſtant, concerning the *late Act for licenſing the Stage*, is ſaid to have drawn down this great Weight of *Authority* upon us, I muſt take the Liberty to ſay a Word or two more upon it. It muſt be acknowledged that *our Stage* hath long ſtood in Need of ſome Regulation; but I am ſtill of Opinion that it is not ſo much on Account of its *Profaneneſs*, *Immorality*, or even *meddling in Politicks*, (eſpecially with relation to *Tragedy* and *Comedy*, which have been much purer in this Reſpect than they were formerly) as for thoſe *wretched low Tricks* and *mobbiſh Entertainments*, which the *Managers* have lately introduc'd upon it, beſides ſome *other novel Diverſions* of a more pernicious Nature. This Point is fully explain'd in the following Paper, publiſh'd ſoon after moſt of theſe *ridiculous Innovations* were brought upon the *Stage*.

Of the preſent Degeneracy of the STAGE.

I Believe no Body, at preſent, will deny that in *polite Learning* and *true Wit*, eſpecially in *Dramatick Poetry*, we are moſt lamentably ſunk, not only below the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, and the firſt Writers of our own Country, but even below the worſt of thoſe, who went immediately before us. Several Reaſons have been aſſigned for this ſhameful Degeneracy; but I can impute it to nothing ſo much as the *bad Management and Corruption of the* Stage.

The *Advocates for the Drama* have always urged, in its Defence, that it improved the *Manners of the People*, and encouraged a Spirit of *Learning*. For theſe Ends, no doubt, it was firſt inſtituted; and it cannot be juſtified, under a wiſe Government, upon any other Account. On the contrary, the *Enemies of the Stage*, taking hold of the Corruptions, which have crept into it, have maintained that it tended to debauch the Morals of Men, particularly of the younger Sort. So that both Parties agreed in this, that *Theatrical Repreſentations* have always had a wonderful Influence upon the Minds of the People.

I believe it would be no hard Task, to prove that *Corruption of Manners* and *Decay of Learning* have generally, if not always, attended the *Corruption of the Stage*; and that they have either flouriſhed or declined, in Proportion as that continued pure or degenerated. *Athens* and *Rome*, thoſe two famous Republicks, were at their higheſt Pitch of Glory, whilſt the *Stage* continued in its fulleſt Perfection; and *Liberty* and *Learning* kept Pace in their Riſe, Maturity and Declenſion, till at length they were both extinguiſhed together. In *England*, it is remarkable that the Revival of *Learning*, and of the *Stage*, was brought about much at the ſame Time; for if I muſt not call *Shakeſpear* and *Johnſon* the Fathers of our *Dramatick Poetry*, they were certainly the firſt, who refined it. Soon after them the Times grew troubleſome, and a terrible civil War ſucceeding, it is no Wonder that the *Stage* diſappeared, and nothing but a ſtrange Variety of *Politicks* took Place. At the *Reſtoration* it revived, and the Muſes looked up again; from which Time

Time the *Stage* continued to improve for several Years, and produced, in that Space, all the Writers we have to boast of, in this way, except *Shakespear* and *Johnson*, *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*. In this flourishing Condition it continued till a few Years ago, when it took a different Turn; and after several fatal Revolutions, was reduced at last to that miserable Ebb in which we now behold it.

The first Innovation upon the good Sense of the *English Stage*, was the the Importation of *Italian Musick*; which, tho' exceedingly agreeable in itself, has accidentally had an unlucky Effect upon a great Part of the *Beau Monde*, who have been led by it entirely to give up the Instruction of their Understandings to the Edification of their Ears.

As the *Italians* furnish'd us with some of their *warbling Eunuchs*; so the *French* some Time after supplied us with an Invention to conceal the natural Bashfulness of our *English Ladies*, and take off that Restraint, with which they used to converse in Publick. But this also is tolerable; for, methinks, there is a vast Satisfaction in this new Fashion of *talking at Random*, and cracking Jokes very apropos *upon we know not whom*. Besides, it inures us to *Disguise*, which may be very useful in an Age, when it is grown almost necessary for a Man's Reputation and Interest to appear in a *Mask*. *Totus mundus agit Histrionem* may now be interpreted in the most literal Sense; for our *Masquerade* is, strictly speaking, a *Comedy of Mankind*; of which the celebrated Mr. *H——d——r* is to be esteemed the Author; and a confused Jumble of all Ranks, Ages, Sexes and Conditions, such as *Ministers of State* and *City Prentices*, *Ladies of Quality* and *common Punchs*, *Tavern-Drawers*, *Privy-Counsellors* and *Running Footmen*, mix together and compose his *Dramatis Personæ*.

At length, to crown all, those delightful Entertainments, called *Dumb Shews*, were brought amongst us. At first, they insinuated themselves into our Favour in *short Interludes*, and *antick Dances*, *between Acts*; which lasted for some Years, and meeting with uncommon Applause, this encouraged a *new Set of Wits* to rise up, and give the last Stroke to the old-fashioned Writings of the *Stage*, by forming *long Farces* upon this *grotesque Model*. And thus, at last, the stupendous Conceits of *Harlequin*, *Scaramouch*, *Columbine*, and *Pierrot* have laughed all the dull, *talking* Heroes of *Shakespear* and *Johnson* quite out of Countenance.

It cannot be determined, without some Difficulty, to whom we are obliged for the Invention of *this new Drama*. The Characters are undoubtedly of *Italian* Extraction, being to be found in all their Comedies, but their *profound Taciturnity*, and the *surprizing Tricks* they perform, seem to be the Improvements of our *northern Genius*. I know there is, at this Time, a warm Dispute on Foot between the *two Houses*, not only which has produced the finest Pieces of this Kind, but also to whom the Honour belongs of first introducing it. But if the Gentlemen on both Sides would admit me for their Moderator, in my Opinion, it belongs to *neither*, but to a *Gentleman*, who has not yet been once mentioned in the Question, I mean, the *Master of Sadler's Wells*; for the famous Entertainment of St. *George and the Dragon*, which I had the Pleasure to see many Years ago at that Place, seems to be the Original of *Dumb Shews* in *England*; from whence they have both copied and borrowed their Patterns.

As to the Improvements in this *Theatrical Legerdemain*, it would be endless to enumerate half their Beauties. How artfully contrived was that Incident of the *Wind-Mill!* What a prodigious Genius does it require to metamorphose *Men* into *Women*, and *Women* into *Lawrel Trees!* How does it raise our Imaginations, to see some drawn up by *Wires* to the *Top of the Stage*; and sink it again, to see others let down to the *Bottom* thro' *Trap Doors!* *Walking Tables* and *flying Hobby Horses* are become familiar to our Eyes. The Device of setting an *old Barn on Fire* discover'd a vast deal of Spirit; but that Master-Piece of raising the *Stage* up into the Air is inimitable.

I am under some Uneasiness to consider what *new Diversions* the *Theatre* will find out for the Time to come; for we seem to have exhausted all the *Ancients*, and pillaged all the *Moderns*. We have plundered the *Greek* and *Roman* Theatres, gutted all the *French* Comedies, *Spanish* Novels, and *Italian* Farces. Nay, we have been already driven to such Shifts, that we have turned Plagiaries upon *Drolls* and *Puppet-Shews*; descended to mean Thefts from *Mountebanks* and *Posture-Masters*; and gleaned up the dull Leavings of *Windmill-Hill* and *Bartholomew-Fair*. I am at a Loss to imagine what they will do next, unless they bring the famous Mr. *Fawkes*, and the *wonderful Woman with the* Horn *in her Head*, or some other such surprising Curiosities, upon the Stage, for the Entertainment of the Publick.

Common Sense, July 30. N° 26.

Of Publick Spirit, and some Thoughts on Turpin *the Robber.*

NOTHING can be more obvious than the Consequence of an Opinion, that Zeal for the Publick Good is ridiculous, and that it is the Interest of every Person to gain Riches, Power, or Pleasure at any Expence, and by any Means whatever. If such Max-

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ims ſhould gain Credit among the *Hottentots*, or any to whom Government is yet unknown, the Weak would be abſolute Slaves to the Strong; whereas, ſhould theſe Doctrines be received in a Nation where there is a Government already inſtituted, it would be mighty eaſy for the Governors to gain over to their Meaſures ſome few of the Rich and Powerful, and that by giving them more Riches and Power, at the Expence of the People in general.

As in a natural State Men will tyrannize and oppreſs according to their Degrees of natural Strength; ſo in an artificial State (which all Governments may be called) Slavery will deſcend in proportion to the artificial Strength; *viz.* the Power and Riches of every Individual. He that hath moſt, will inſlave all; and from him downwards, the Grandees will enſlave the Gentry, and the Gentry the Commonalty; and this is the Caſe of all abſolute Governments in the World.

I thank God I was born in a Country, which hath formerly emulated the *Romans* in their publick Spirit. I know however, this hath been (I hope with little Reaſon) thought to abate of late Years. Indeed the Preſs hath lately vented ſome Doctrines in direct Oppoſition to this Principle: But the Reception thoſe ſcandalous Papers meet with, evidently ſhews the general Senſe of the Nation is not totally debauched.

This being the Caſe, the Neceſſity follows of keeping alive and awake this noble Principle, which, tho' not utterly loſt, I cannot think ſo active and vigorous as it ought to be in a Nation jealous of her Liberty. And this Suſpicion of mine hath chiefly ariſen from a late Inſtance, which, I fancy, few People have ſeen in the ſame Light with myſelf: I mean the flagrant, undiſturbed Succeſs of the infamous *Turpin*, who hath robbed, in a Manner ſcarce ever known before, for ſeveral Years; and hath at length grown to ſuch a Height of Inſolence and Impudence, as to threaten particular Perſons, and become openly dangerous to the Lives, as well as Fortunes of the People of *England*.

That a Fellow, who is known to be a Thief by the whole Kingdom, ſhall for a long Time continue to rob us, and not only ſo, but to make a Jeſt of us for being robbed; ſhall defy the Laws, and laugh at Juſtice; that the whole Nation ſhall ſee this, and ſit quiet and contented, and ſhall truſt to the common Methods of taking Rogues by Officers, who are, perhaps, afraid of him, and (which is not impoſſible) perhaps bribed by him, only in hopes that we ourſelves may eſcape what ſeveral of our Countrymen have and muſt ſuffer: This, I think, argues a Want of that Publick Spirit before mentioned.

Muſt not a Foreigner laugh to hear the whole Nation exclaiming every Day in the publick News Papers againſt the Depredations of one pitiful Fellow, one of very mean Rank and Qualifications, every Way contemptible? ——What muſt they think of a Nation who quietly permits ſuch a Wretch as this to carry on a ſucceſsful Series of impudent Robberies, which every one knows, every one exclaims againſt, and yet every one ſubmits to.

As this Man therefore is a publick Evil, to put an End to his Succeſs is become the Object of publick Spirit; and I cannot help hoping, that ſome among us, poſſeſſed of this noble Principle, will unite together to deſtroy him, which, if once attempted, muſt be mighty eaſy to execute: And this Fellow, who hath ſtruck a Terror all over the Kingdom, will ſoon be brought to the Fate he deſerves, and be rather an unfortunate Example, than an Incouragement to all ſucceeding Villains.

Univerſal Spectator, Aug. 6. N° 461.

To the LADIES *who affect ſhewing their* white Stockings.

Ladies,

THE great Regard I have for your Sex in general, makes me ſo free with you as to blame any Cuſtoms you fall into that are inconſiſtent with that Modeſty which gives a Luſtre to your brighteſt Qualities, and is ſo eſſential to a Lady, that there is no real Beauty in any Thing which is not irradiated by it.

Having lately ſeen ſo far up the white Stocking, which I can ſcarce look innocently upon for half a Minute, it is paſt my Skill to underſtand how your Deſire to have it ſeen is conſiſtent with your own Innocence and Modeſty. A Lady's Leg is a dangerous Sight in whatever Colour it appears; but ſhewing us your Legs in White, is next to ſhewing us them naked; and what Havock and Deſtruction would you make, if it ſhould be a Cuſtom among you, to ſmite us in *puris naturalibus*, by wearing no Stockings at all? At a proper Diſtance I can now ſee to the Calves of your Legs, and cannot but wonder what ſhould induce ſome of you (whoſe Legs, thence downwards, are not ſo

Fine by Degrees and beautifully leſs,

as to make it very eligible to have them ſeen) to be ſo fond of expoſing them to our View. There are ſome of you, whom I cannot but be ſurpriz'd at, upon another Account, and that is the diſagreeable Difference obſervable between your Stockings and ſome of your Complexions: When I have follow'd a Lady, and had my Eye awhile upon the white Stockings, as ſoon as I have paſs'd by her I have given a Look at her Face, expecting that as ſhe is deſirous I ſhould ſee her Legs, I ſhall not be diſappointed in ſeeing her Face: But, alas! the black ſwarthy Complexion

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I found there, provoke'd me to think that the white Stockings ſhould be ſo diſhonour'd as to be upon a Leg of ſo diſſimilar a Colour.

If you are married, I know no Right any one has to a Sight of your Legs but your Huſbands; and if you are unmarry'd, and only have a vehement Deſire to have Huſbands, depend upon it from me, Ladies, it is no great Encouragement to any Gentleman to wiſh for the Property of ſuch a Pair of Legs, as you are fond and ambitious of expoſing to every one who has a Mind to look at them.

It is not to the modeſt, but the bold white Stocking I am now writing: There is no more Harm in a white Stocking, which is not too much expos'd to View, than in a Stocking of any other Colour. It is not the Stocking, but the too great Appearance of it, which gives us ſuch Offence, and puts our Virtue into ſo much Danger.

I am, Ladies,
(Heartily wiſhing your Reformation)
Your moſt obedient humble Servant.

Daily Gazetteer, Aug. 6. N° 662.

A *Letter (which ſeems to be wrote by* Oſborne) *treats of the preſent State of* Political Writing, *the* Miniſtry, *the* Oppoſition *to it, and the Danger and Miſchief thereby occaſioned to the Nation: And then concludes*, that there is no Remedy againſt this, but the hearty Union of the Whigs to ſtrengthen the Hands of the Government againſt all its Enemies at Home and Abroad.

This Union would render us as formidable Abroad, as when the Whigs were united about the Middle of Q. *Anne*'s Reign; for, tho' there's this Difference between thoſe Times and the preſent, that *they then felt our Blows*; yet, were the Friends of the Government *firmly united*, they would *dread* the Feeling of the ſame Blows again, and ſo never attempt to diſturb our Peace, or invade our Rights. The Honour of the Government abroad, therefore, depends not ſo much upon the Manner of our *Negociating*, as upon the *united Strength* of its Friends at home: And I am fully convinced, that whatever Diſhonour we have ſuffered, it is *originally* to be laid at their Doors who broke this happy Union, and ſacrificed the Welfare and Glory of their Country to perſonal Spight, Ambition, and Love of Power; for, Foreigners know, as well as we, who are the *real Friends* of the Revolution and the preſent Settlement of the Crown; and ſtand ready to take all the Advantages which our *fatal Diviſions* play into their Hands. With what Contempt muſt they look down upon us, to ſee *Whig Writers* diſgrace the Revolution, defame the Government, ridicule the Royal Family, and call upon the People to Murders and Aſſaſſinations of the King's Miniſters; and this too, at a Time, when the two greateſt Catholick Powers in *Europe*, Powers able to ſwallow up all the reſt, are united; and when the Enemies of the Government at home are in the higheſt Expectation of ſomething turning up to their Favour from this *unnatural Junction*, and from the ſullen and reſerved State of Things abroad! I leave all Whigs to imagine the reſt, and make ſuch an Uſe of it as *Reaſon* and *Virtue* command.

Craftſman, Aug. 6. N° 578.

Of political Writers, the Liberty of the Preſs, Caſe of the Craftſman, *&c.*

AS it cannot be deny'd that we have carry'd on *this Paper* from firſt to laſt upon the true Principles of *Liberty* and the *Revolution*, our *Adverſaries* ſtanding Topick is, that tho' we reaſon upon *right Principles*, we apply them to a *wrong Uſe*, and employ the ſame Arguments againſt a *good Government*, which the *Old Whigs* did againſt a *bad one*. This hath been the conſtant Cant of all *Court Writers*, under *legal* and *eſtabliſh'd Governments*; that is, under *all Governments*; for whilſt they ſubſiſt, they will have the *Laws* on their Side, and conſequently may be ſaid to be *eſtabliſh'd*. This was the principal Argument of *L'Eſtrange*, *Parker*, *Dryden* and *other miniſterial Writers*, in the Reign of K. *Charles* II. whoſe Government was certainly both *legal* and *eſtabliſh'd*, bad as it was. Mr. *Dryden*, in his Vindication of his Play, call'd the *Duke of Guiſe*, ſpeaks thus; 'Our *Liberties* and our *Religion* are both ſafe. 'They are ſecur'd to us by the *Laws*; and 'thoſe *Laws* are executed, under an *eſtabliſh'd* 'Government, by a *lawful King*. The *Defender of our Faith* is the *Defender of our* 'common *Freedom*; and to oppoſe the *Succeſſion*, 'in any private Man, is a treaſonable Prac'tice againſt the Foundation of it.'

It is now generally acknowledg'd that the *Government*, of which all theſe fine Things are ſaid, was a very *bad one*; that neither our *Religion* nor our *Liberties* were ſafe under it; that the *Laws* were of little Security to us, tho' executed under an *eſtabliſh'd Government* and by a *lawful King*; that the *Defender of our Faith* was very far from being the *Defender of our common Freedom*; and tho' oppoſing the *Succeſſion*, at that Time, might be a treaſonable Practice, in the Eye of the *Law*, it was found abſolutely neceſſary, for the Preſervation of our *Religion* and *Liberties*.

Our manifeſt Deſign in theſe Obſervations is to ſhew, that nothing can be a greater Reflection upon our *preſent excellent Government*, than to defend it upon Topicks, which will ſerve equally to defend the *worſt Governments*; and that they have been actually made Uſe of for that Purpoſe. It would certainly be more

for the Honour of the *present Government*, or rather the *present Administration*, to explain the Wisdom of their *Negotiations*, their vigorous Protection of our *Trade*, and frugal Management of the *publick Treasure*, as well as the *Mildness*, *Equity* and *Incorruption* of all their Proceedings, both within Doors and without; rather than merely saying that they are establish'd by *Law*, and supported by *Power*.

I do not think that *Ministers* ought to be oppos'd in all their Measures, right or wrong, as some Persons pretend to understand me; but that the *People* have a Right to express their Disapprobation of whatever they apprehend to be detrimental to them, either in *Writing* or *Discourse*, provided only that they keep themselves within the Bounds of Decency. This is what is commonly call'd the *Liberty of the Press*. But the Difficulty is how to ascertain the just Limits of *this great Privilege*. It is said by *Men in Power*, as well as their *Advocates*, that *Writers* are apt to carry it into *Licentiousness*; and *Writers* complain, with equal Reason at least, that *Men in Power* are always endeavouring to cramp it within such narrow Bounds as will render it of no Effect. It must therefore be left to the Judgment of the World, and especially those, who are authoriz'd by Law to decide it, in particular Cases.

This leads me to take some Notice of *our own Case*, and the *late extraordinary Proceedings* against us, occasion'd by the *Craftsman* of *July* 2. concerning the *Act for licensing and restraining the* Stage. (See p. 432.)

I may appeal to any Man of common Sense and Candour, whether the natural and obvious Design of that Paper was not to shew that several *old Plays* are capable of as bad Applications as any *new ones* can be; and to ridicule the modern Doctrine, that *Clapping* or *Hissing* at a Play-House, is a scandalous and seditious Practice. For this Purpose, several Passages are quoted out of old Plays, with relation to *Kings*, *Queens*, and *Ministers of State*, which it is said *malicious People* may apply in a bad Sense; but the *Author of that Paper* makes no Application of them himself, and only recommends them to the Care of the *Licenser*, or his *Deputy*. In short, if Innuendo's and *double Meanings* are to be allow'd, the most innocent Writings may be converted into *Libels*; Treason may be extracted out of *Pliny's Panegyrick*; Obscenity out of the *Whole Duty of Man*; and even *Blasphemy* out of the Bible.

I must here make an Apology to the Publick for their Disappointment in some of our late Papers, which have been very incorrectly printed, as well as imperfectly written; but when they consider the great Confusion, which the late Proceedings against us have occasion'd; that *all the Workmen* (even so low as the *Devil* himself) have been kept above 3 *Weeks* in Custody, and oblig'd to procure *extraordinary Bail*; that the *Printing-House* was shut up by Authority, and several Papers seiz'd; I say, when they consider all this, they will have the Goodness to excuse us, and impute whatever they may think deficient to unavoidable Necessity.

I shall only add that, as for myself, I am resolv'd to abide any Hardships in the Prosecution of so glorious a Cause, as becomes one, who professes himself an *Advocate for Liberty*, and hath so long receiv'd the Encouragement of the Publick upon that Account.

Common Sense, Aug. 6. N° 27.

Political Wizards and Conjurers.

WE find, that in the early Ages of the World, those, who by the Strength of their natural Reason could foresee the Effects of publick Measures, who by offering wholesome Advice, had been instrumental in preventing publick Mischief, or giving Success to some great Undertaking, were reputed to have something in them more than natural. In short, those that had a more than ordinary speculative and practical Knowledge in the great Affair of governing Mankind, were generally looked upon as Conjurers and Magicians.

The Ancients conceiv'd so high a Veneration for that occult Kind of Learning, so admired by the Vulgar, commonly call'd Conjuring, that *Cadmus*, *Zoroaster*, and many others, were rais'd to Royalty, and made Kings for being reputed Wizards; or as I understand it, for being reputed wise Men, or being thought knowing in the Affairs of Government; for I cannot conceive they were made Kings for being able to tell who stole a Thimble, or Silver Spoon, which is now the ordinary Occupation of Conjurers.

In our Times Conjuring has been in such high Reputation, that Men in several Professions, have endeavoured to impose themselves upon the World for Conjurers. Physicians have pass'd for Astrologers, and Poets for Prophets; nay, the most ignorant have made Pretences this Way. Coblers and Tinkers have call'd themselves Astrologers and Fortune-tellers. Every Fellow with a brazen Face, and nothing in his Head, has attempted to impose upon Mankind, by pretending to be a Conjurer: But I hope it is no Disgrace to the Science itself, that Impostors have sometimes meddled in it.

I cannot help admiring at the Ignorance and Superstition of our Ancestors, in enacting penal Laws against Witches and Wizards, and making it criminal to consult them in any Case. What was this but in a manner, excluding wise Men from any Share in the Government?

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vernment? It is true, the Law was in a great Measure become obsolete; for which we may thank the Wisdom, or, perhaps, the Infidelity of the Age; but while it continu'd unrepeal'd, it might still have been in the Power of any malicious Person to have prosecuted his Neighbour for being a wiser Man than himself.

The Enemies of our present most excellent M——s, did not fail to reproach them, as if the Repealing of this Act was calculated only for their private Security, being conscious to themselves that they were Conjurers. But suppose they were sensible that all the World took them for Conjurers, as their Enemies are vigilant and active, who can blame them for providing for their own Safety, by repealing a Law, which might, one time or other, have put it in the Power of their Enemies to have destroyed them?

The Things that have been brought about for our Glory and Advantage, within a few Years, are of so surprizing a Nature, and have something in them so like Magick, that by a little Law Oratory they might certainly have been stretch'd to come within the Construction of the Act against Witchcraft, had it not been repealed.

Conjuring is commonly understood to be done by the Help of the Devil; and I remember very well, when Men talk'd upon Publick Affairs and ask'd, how came this Fleet to be sent here, or that to be sent there? How came this Treaty to be made, or that Convention to be concluded? you never cou'd hear any other Answer but this——Because the Devil was in our——

While I am upon this Subject, it comes into my Head, that if Ministers turn Witches, as Witches are old Women, it would be no improper Expression to say, that a Nation is sometimes *Hag-ridden*.

And indeed, whenever I mention Witches or Wizards, I cannot help turning my Thoughts upon the greatest Negotiator the World ever saw; he may be truly call'd *The wonderful Wonder of Wonders*; I cannot describe him better than in the Words of the Poet:

Among the rest, a politician,
With more heads than a beast in vision;
And more intrigues in every one,
Than all the whores of Babylon:
So politick, as if one eye,
Upon the other were a spy.

Methinks I see him with all the Business of *Europe* in his Head, looking so much like a Witch, that I should apprehend a superstitious *English* Jury would hang him for his Looks.

Who can describe the Archness of that Leer, that circumvented a politick Cardinal, a Cardinal that was bred a Jesuit too! What shall I say of the Intrigues and Stratagems of that Head, that drew the subtil Priest into a War, and made him content with so poor an Acquisition as the Dutchy of *Lorrain*! How can I give an Idea of that Wit that delights the Men, as his Beauty charms the Women! In fine, how shall I paint that Air, that Mien, that Address, or that fine Hand, which is this Minute employ'd in pulling up the Breeches!

If any body shou'd assert, that the repealing the Act was altogether unnecessary, on account of the M—— because, if they happen to be Conjurers, they can baffle all the Devices of their Enemies by the Power of their Art—My Answer is, that it was not safe to trust to that, because it is the Custom of the Devil to leave his best Friends in the Lurch upon a Pinch.

SIR, *July* 20.

I DESIRE you to insert the following Criticism in your next *Magazine*. *Yours, &c.*

A Criticism upon the Word WOMAN.

BEING formerly carried away by the Stream of vulgar Error, with relation to the Etymology of the Word *Woman*, I could not forbear being surpriz'd at the Ill nature of our Ancestors, for giving so harsh a Name to the Fair Sex; especially when I consider, that this Nation has for many Ages been famous amongst Foreigners, even to a * Proverb, for their Love and tender Usage of them.—The learned Languages were immediately consulted, wherein I could not find any Word signifying the Fair, that intimated the least Suspicion of Guilt or Evil.—Upon this I concluded that the Word must be modern, and of later Date than the Conversion of our Ancestors to Christianity; because they could have no Notion of the Fall, and of the Part transacted therein by the Woman, before they were acquainted with the Holy Scriptures.—The *Hebrew*, if not the first Language, is at least as old as the Dispersion from *Babel*; and that very pertinently calls her † *Ishah*, because she was taken out of *Ish*.—She is also frequently term'd ‡ *Nequebah* from the Distinction of Sex.—— In the *Greek*, her most common Appellation is

* England is *the Heaven of Women, the Purgatory of Servants, and the Hell of Horses.*—Span. *Prov.* † Gen. II. 23. יקרא אישה כי מאיש לקחה—זאת *She shall be called* Ishah, *because she was taken out of* Ish, *i. e. Man.* ‡ Jerem. XXXI. 22. & *alibi passim* נקבה *a Rad.* נקב *perforavit.*

Yurd

is *Gynè*, as if from † *Gonè*; the Bearing of young ones; and *Thelsia* ‡ from *Thelè*, a Breaſt.—In *Latin*, her Name is ‖ *Mulier*, quaſi *Mollior*; as if the ſofter Creature; and *Fœmina a fœtu*, from the young, which ſhe conceives, bears, and nurſes.—*Scaliger* indeed derives the Word from the *Greek* § φῦμα, an Offspring; others from *Fœtu minando*, i. e. *ducendo*, from the Production of the young ones; but others more juſtly from ** *Femen*, the Diſtinction of the Sex.

In theſe ſeveral Languages there is nothing harſh, nothing that offends the Ears in the Names of the Fair; but to call her *Wo-man*, as if deſign'd for and actually imploy'd in the Ruin of Man, has often been not a little diſpleaſing not only to the Fair ones themſelves, but to all their Admirers.—And tho' it muſt be confeſs'd, that ſhe was employ'd by the grand Enemy in the Seduction of her Huſband, and ſtands in ſome Meaſure chargeable, as an Inſtrument of the Miſery conſequent thereon; yet does that Stain ſeem ſufficiently waſhed away, by her being the Inſtrument of Health and Salvation to the Species, in producing the Saviour of the World without the Aſſiſtance of Man—It being *the Seed of the Woman*, and not of the Man, which was to *bruiſe the Serpent's Head* ††. Which Prophecy ſo perplexed the learned Jew *Maimonides*, that he has left it amongſt his inſuperable Difficulties.

After I had been for ſome Time exerciſ'd with theſe Thoughts, I met with ſeveral ancient *Engliſh* Manuſcripts, and particularly ‡‡ *Trevi*ſa's Tranſlation of the *New Teſtament*, and there I found out my Miſtake—Our Anceſtors very pertinently call'd the Fair one *Wombman*, from the Diſtinction of Sex; and leaving out the *-b-* to ſoften the Pronunciation, they in Time wrote and term'd her *Wumman*, and at laſt *Woman*.—This is the real Etymon of the Word, which it may not be improper to publiſh, in order to take from our Sex their common Handle of Abuſe and Calumny; and give the Ladies this Piece of defenſive Armour, to ſecure them againſt the injurious Tongues of old Bachelors, and other Haters of the Fair.

I am, Sir,

Your conſtant Reader and humble Servant,

PHILOGYNES.

Old Whig, Auguſt 4 and 11.

SIR,

AS you are a rational and *Conſiſtent Proteſtant*, it muſt have often roufed your Indignation to obſerve the Cheats put by *Romiſh* Prieſts upon the unwary Souls of Men. Some of theſe the Scripture calls *Sorcery*; they are a Kind of *Spiritual Magick*, or an Art of making Men religious, and of ſending 'em to Heaven without any real Holineſs or Virtue at all.

But is there nothing of *this ſame Sorcery* practis'd among us? As ſome of the brighteſt Ornaments of our Church have not only acknowledged ſome Things in its Conſtitution and Forms would admit of Alteration, but have even wiſh'd and labour'd for it; and as we are once a Year taught to *lament the Want of godly Diſcipline*, and to pray that it may be reſtored; 'twill not, I hope, be thought Preſumption, if, with the Frankneſs of an *Old Whig* and a *Free Briton*, I obſerve ſome Things in our own Church, which carry too great Appearance of this *Spiritual Juggle* or *Sorcery*. What otherwiſe can we think of three of its preſcrib'd Rites, *Confirmation*, *Abſolution*, and the *Burial of the Dead*?

By the *firſt* of theſe, all Perſons baptized, when come to competent Age, and able to ſay the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments, and the ſhorter Catechiſm, are to be brought to Confirmation: The Biſhop having aſk'd, *Whether they renew the ſolemn Promiſe and Vow that was made in their Name at Baptiſm?* upon their anſwering *we do*, declares in the moſt publick and ſolemn Manner, even in an *Addreſs to God himſelf, that he has vouchſafed to regenerate theſe his Servants by Water and the Holy Ghoſt, and to give them the Forgiveneſs of all their Sins*; and laying his Hands upon the Head of each particular Perſon *he certifies him by that Sign of God's Favour and gracious Goodneſs toward him.*

Now this *Biſhop* they are taught to look upon as the Ambaſſador of Jeſus Chriſt, and a Succeſſor of the Apoſtles, who had Power to remit Sins: And when they hear this venerable Perſon thus ſolemnly declaring that God *hath regenerated and forgiven them*; who can wonder if they really believe themſelves to be ſo; and upon theſe Grounds indulge a confident

* Γυνὴ *quaſi* γονὴ παρὰ τὸ γείνω, *Scapula ex Etymol. & Platone.* † Τοκὴ, *genitura, fœtus, fœtura, proles.*—Scap. ‡ *The Female is call'd* θῆλυς *and* θήλεια *from* θηλὴ, *a Woman's Breaſt or the Dug of any Female*, Plato *in* Cratylo. ‖ *Dicta fuit Mulier quaſi Mollior*—Owen *the Epigrammatiſt from* Varro. § Φῦμα παρὰ τὸ φύω—*Phyma and thence Fœmina from* φύω *to bear.* ** *Femen eſt interior pars Feminis.* †† Gen. III. 15.

‡‡ John Treviſa *finiſhed his Tranſlation of the New Teſtament from the Latin, A. D.* 1387.

N. B. *Neither* Treviſa, *nor* Wickliff *his Cotemporary, Divinity Profeſſor at* Oxford, *underſtood* Greek, *tho'* Wickliff *tranſlated the whole Bible.*

confident Security as to the Favour of God, and Happineſs in a future World?

That the poor ignorant and unthinking Part of the People ſhould be thus eaſily deluded, is not ſo ſtrange: But that ſuch learned, wiſe and pious Men, as our Rev. Biſhops are, who know the Aptneſs of Mankind to deceive themſelves by falſe Hopes, and the infinite Folly and Danger of their ſo doing; that *theſe* ſhould thus contribute to lull them aſleep, and without knowing their Hearts, or a due Enquiry into their Lives, declare them in the Preſence of God regenerated and pardoned, is a Conduct truly ſurpriſing, and not eaſily to be accounted for.

In the *Abſolution of ſick Penitents*, the ſick Perſon *being moved to make a ſpecial Confeſſion of his Sins, if he feel his Conſcience troubled with any weighty Matter, after ſuch Confeſſion the Prieſt ſhall abſolve him (if he humbly and heartily deſire it) after this Sort: Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath left Power to his Church to abſolve all Sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great Mercy forgive thee thine Offences; and* by the Authority committed to me, I abſolve thee from all thy Sins, *in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.*

What and *where* is that Church to which Chriſt has left this Power? Is it the Catholick and univerſal Church, or any national or provincial Church? Or, is it every particular Society of worſhipping Chriſtians? In what Perſons is it lodged? with the whole *Body of the People*, who, according to Scripture Language, and the Doctrine of our own Articles, are properly called *the Church*; or with the *Miniſters* or *Clergy*, who are never ſo called? In the former Part, 'tis ſaid to be *left to the Church*; but in the latter the Prieſt claims it as *his Peculiar*; to which, when his Claim ſhall have been fully proved, his Character ſhall be confeſs'd *indelible* and *ſacred*, and Incenſe and the Knee be offered him as the Repreſentative of Chriſt upon Earth.

If Chriſt hath given Power to any *authoritatively* to abſolve *thoſe who are truly penitent*, he muſt alſo have given them Power *to know who are truly penitent*; elſe 'tis a Power to do juſt nothing: For till they *know* them to be truly penitent (*i. e.* till they can ſearch their Hearts) they cannot *authoritatively abſolve* them; and if they cannot do it till *then*, they cannot do it at all.

Is a *meer Confeſſion* of Sin all the Goſpel demands, in order to its Forgiveneſs? Muſt it not be *forſook* and *broken* off as well as *confeſſed*? Are not the moſt debauched, when Sickneſs ſeizes, and Death is thought to approach them, wont to *feel their Conſcience troubled*, readily to confeſs their Sin, to expreſs great Sorrow, to vow Amendment if ſpared? But when the Danger is blown off, is it hardly ever ſeen that they return not to their Crimes with as mad a Guſt as before?

Another Abſurdity in this dangerous and deluſive Form is, that tho' the Confeſſion be but *ſpecial*, the Abſolution is *general*. But, by what Logick? Or from what Scripture is this Inference drawn, that a Contrition for *ſome Sins*, ſhall obtain Forgiveneſs of *all Sins*?

Well—but the ſick Man dies—he liv'd a Drunkard, Adulterer — but when his laſt Sickneſs came, he trembled at the Thought of Death — ſent for the Prieſt, confeſs'd his Sin, and deſired to be abſolved: The Prieſt *by Authority committed to him*, in the moſt ſolemn Form of Words, even *in the Name of the Father*, &c. pronounces and declares him abſoved from all his Sins. The unhappy Perſon thus dead—comes now to be buried. Here the Prieſt, in the Face of a vaſt Crowd who knew the Man's wicked Life, ſolemnly declares, *That God hath taken to himſelf the Soul of this our dear Brother—gives him hearty Thanks that it hath pleaſed him to deliver this our Brother out of the Miſeries of this ſinful World—and prays, that when we ſhall depart this Life we may reſt in him* (Chriſt) *as our Hope is this our Brother doth.* What can the attending Crowd think of all this? If they think at all, it muſt be either,

First, That what the Prieſt hath ſaid is true, and may be depended on as the Word of God, whoſe Ambaſſador he is ſuppoſed to be; and if ſo, Remiſſion may be had in this World, and Salvation in the other, without breaking off my Sins: I ſhall have Peace therefore, tho' I go on *to add Drunkenneſs to Thirſt*; and however vicious my Life be, may have hope in my Death that I ſhall *reſt in Chriſt*, as the Prieſt tells me, *this our Brother* doth.

Secondly, If theſe Pretenſions and Expreſſions be examin'd but by common Senſe, they appear to be all a *ſolemn Farce*, a *ſhocking and groſs Deluſion*; a dangerous Encouragement to careleſs and immoral Living; ſubverſive of good Order and Virtue upon Earth; calculated to advance the Power of Prieſts, and to ſtupify and enſlave the Conſciences of Men. There are Numbers of our wiſe Clergy who groan under theſe unhappy Forms, and ſincerely wiſh them removed: Why *in the Name of God*, are they not removed? Or if this cannot be obtained, why are they not more zealouſly and *openly* diſavow'd? Our Church is daily diſhonoured and weakened by theſe Practices. Infidelity gains on it *here*, Popery *there*.

PAULUS.

Common Senſe, Aug 13. N° 28.

Of the Royal Touch for the King's-Evil.

SIR,

THE frequent Diſputes concerning Prerogative, reminds me of what happen'd in

in a neighbouring Kingdom some Time since, when I was there on my Travels. I accidentally fell into Discourse with a Courtier, on the Nature of their Government, when he mentioned an antient Branch of Prerogative, called *Touching for the King's-Evil*, which, with them, had been in great Reverence and Esteem, tho' of late Years, it had been given up without any Equivalent (the only Prerogative ever parted with on those Terms.)

He told me, that in his Remembrance, many Thousands were usually touched for this Distemper in a Year, and, among the Number, surprizing Cures were performed. That the Church held this Branch of Prerogative in so great Esteem, as to compose a solemn Office or Ritual to be used in the Exercise of it; and that by Force only of a Touch with the Hand of the Prince, and of a Piece of Gold suspended to the Neck of the Patient, the Distemper gradually left him, and could never return whilst the Gold remained. My Concern, says he, for the Disuse of this is the greater, because I always look'd upon the Miracles wrought on these Occasions, as the only Proof of the Divine Right of Kings, or that they were bestowed on us immediately from Heaven.

My Friend thus fortified with so refined Notions of Religion and Policy, was very zealous of seeing this ancient Practice revived. As a Disciple of *Machiavel*, I heartily concurred in Opinion with him, who seemed rejoiced at my Agreement with him on any Terms, and said, very few, Sir, of your Countrymen, have any true Notion of Religion or Politicks; I know you have many *Arcana* in *England* but none equal to this; it is even preferable to *Ward*'s Pills, which, I hear, make a great Noise with you; the Operation is both safer and easier, being attended with neither of those Evacuations (so disagreeable to all cleanly Persons) and the Effects are much more certain.

Whilst we were thus gravely reasoning upon so serious a Subject, a young Abbé (who is a noted *Rieur*) broke in upon our Conversation; and being informed of what had amused us, he immediately fell a laughing, and said, that the Revival of this Practice was a chimerical Project, attended with many insuperable Difficulties.

In the first Place, says he, we live under a frugal Administration, where there is nothing to be squandered away; all our Publick Revenues are appropriated, and our Civil List is hardly thought (by some) sufficient to satisfy the keen Appetite of the Court; who then, says he, do you think, will provide the Pieces of Gold necessary to employ in the Cure of so many thousand People, by this idle, stupid Piece of Bigottry, this Confederacy of Priestcraft and K—craft?

My Friend, the Courtier, who had a plodding Head, and had always been dabbling in State Projects, particularly those relating to the Finances, immediately reply'd, it would be very easy to find an Expedient for this Difficulty; the —— Fund, says he, is the natural Resort for defraying the Expence of all publick Services, that cannot otherwise be provided for.

But, says the Abbé, supposing this Difficulty, as to the Gold, got over, there is still another stands in the Way. How do you know that the Operator for this Miracle will be willing to lie under those Restraints, which seem necessary to qualify him for the Performance of it? The Hand employ'd in the Solemnity, must (like other consecrated Utensils) be appropriated wholly to that Use; it must never be profanely employ'd for any unhallowed Purpose, or so much as touch any Thing sinful, wicked, or unclean, lest the Power and Efficacy of the Miracle be thereby defeated.

If this Objection were maturely considered, the Scheme must be rejected. Can it be supposed the Performer, to qualify himself for the solemn Operation, would be content to carry the Hand in a Sling, like an Invalid? Or how must he, when Necessity requires, scratch his A—, if it should happen to Itch, a Symptom of Nature that is no Respecter of Persons? Must he be confined to employ one Hand only in that most delightful Recreation?

You have, I know, says the Abbé to my Friend, a fertile Brain for Expedients, and you may imagine, that on a sudden Call of this Kind, there is hardly a Courtier but would chearfully lend his S —— a Hand; or that if need be, the Office of Scratcher in Ordinary might be erected for that Purpose. But even that Expedient is attended with its own Difficulties also; such an Employment would, in its Nature, be a great Trust and Confidence, and fit only to be bestowed on a Person of the first Rank.

A Minister would be persecuted with many Candidates, and however worthily he might happen to bestow this honourable Employment, he would, no doubt, send many away discontented, who might therefore revolt from his Measures, and desire him for the future, to do his dirty Work himself; and if, to avoid this Dilemma, he should endeavour to gratify several at once, by putting this Office in Commission, the Duty of it indeed will be more easily performed, the Commissioners might take their Turns in Waiting. But there must be considerable Appointments for each Commissioner, which would be a dead Weight on the Civil List; and I am sure if I were P— I would never pretend to touch for the Evil on these Terms, but scratch my own A—, rather than, for any Reason of State, be at so much Trouble and Charge to have it done by others.

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I don't think, says the Courtier, that the Power of working this Miracle can be defeated by any other Uſe of the Hand. If ſo, how coo'd the Right R—d *B*——s convey the ſpiritual and apoſtolical Benediction? But however (ſays he) as there are many People whoſe Scruples may ſtill remain, there is an eaſy and known Remedy: For as the Devil may be immediately expelled by a proper Exorciſm, the ſame Method may be uſed with the Hand in queſtion, before its Employment in theſe Cures; and the B— of ——, who, from the Remoteneſs of his D——, and the great Eaſe with which he diſcharges the Duties of his Function, has ſo much Leiſure as conſtantly to attend the D——g Room, and oftner pays his Devotion to the Court than his God, would be a very proper Exorciſt; which Office might be annex'd to his B——, and held *in Commendam*.

Craftſman, Aug. 13. N° 579.

THIS *Paper contains a ſecond Letter from the ſame Author, concerning the* Stage, *which, as well as the former, (p.* 432.) *was originally written above* 12 *Years ago. In this he examines the Reaſons which are urg'd for* dumb Shews, Pantomimes, *&c. And among other Things, ſays:*

The *pretty Gentlemen of the Town*, who love to be thought great Wits, excuſe themſelves for frequenting theſe ſtupid Innovations, by telling us that it is only to paſs away a few idle Hours, and make themſelves merry; imagining, perhaps, that they have no other Effect upon them. But I have obſerv'd, in my former, that our *Manners* are in a great Meaſure influenced by the *Characters*, which are preſented to us upon the *Stage*; and I am afraid, that the *groteſque Habits*, in which many of them affect to appear, are copied from *theſe Models*; for methinks their light *tripping Pumps*, and large *Harneſs Buckles*, their ſhort *Mop Whigs*, *black Bags*, and *Windmill Sweeps*, favour ſtrong'y of ſuch an Imitation; and I can impute it to nothing elſe that ſo many fine Gentlemen, now-a-days, look more like *Harlequins* and *Scaramuches* than *Perſons of Fortune and Diſtinction*.

Another Argument is, that *theſe Entertainments* are really no Innovations, but can be traced up to the firſt Inſtitution of the *Stage*; for which they quote the *antient Greek* and *Roman Pantomimes*. Now this, with Submiſſion, is defending of Stupidity, by diſcovering of Ignorance; for the *ancient Pantomimes* were no more like our *modern Harlequins*, than the perſonating of *natural Characters*, and mimicking *probable Actions*, are like inventing *unnatural Characters*, and performing the *moſt monſtrous improbable Actions*. In the former Caſe, there may be a great deal of good moral Inſtruction; in the latter, nothing but Abſurdity and groſs Impoſition.

The TATTLING TRAVELLER, *continu'd from p.* 315.

My dear URANIA,

AS the Diſorder I have ſo frequently been affected with, is now come to an *Intermiſſion*, 'tis during one of theſe *Intervals* that I have Leaſure to acquaint you of the good Succeſs of my *Phyſician's Preſcriptions*; after one *Intermiſſion* more he has order'd me a large Doſe of *Lac Sulphuris*, to be taken inwardly, which he is in great hopes will make a perfect Cure. As the Diſeaſe has now ſpread ſo far as to become almoſt univerſal, he thinks it highly neceſſary the *learned World* ſhou'd no longer be unacquainted with ſuch an ineſtimable Remedy; and for my own Part, I can't but think if the World had been apriz'd of ſuch a Remedy before the *Revolution*, THE ITCH OF SCRIBBLING might by this Time have been very much allay'd, if not quite cur'd. It has long been a Diſpute amongſt the Learned in the *Eſculapian Faculty*, whether this Diſorder lies in the *Brain* or in the *Nerves*; but as the Diſtemper has often appear'd to me more *raging* and *violent* in thoſe Perſons which (morally ſpeaking) it's impoſſible ſhou'd feel any Diſorder in the former, I therefore conclude it muſt be in the latter; and when to this I add my own Experience, 'tis ſtill a ſtronger Confirmation. My *Phyſician* tells me he has already communicated this Secret to the Rev. and learned Dr. *W—r—d*, who notwithſtanding the Length of Time he has labour'd under this *heavy Affliction*, inſomuch that it is almoſt become *hereditary to Nature*, is now come to a Determination to make tryal of its Virtues. If it meets with the deſir'd Succeſs, I expect Mr. *F—ſ—r* and Dr. *S—b—g* will ſoon follow his Example. But you'll pardon this Digreſſion, and give me leave to tell you, how much I'm pleas'd with the near Approach I'm now making towards *my dear Urania*. We arriv'd at our old Quarters in *B—rm—ngh—m* on the 12th of this Inſtant *Auguſt*, which as they are the moſt agreeable, I expect we may be detain'd the longer. I doubt not but you have good Nature enough to pardon this *impertinent Scribble* and chit-chat Amuſement; for

I no pretence to wit or humour make,
But merely ſcribble juſt for ſcribbling's ſake.

My *Brother* being ſo agreeably entertain'd when in Town laſt, found means to introduce himſelf into the Company of ſome few very worthy Gentlemen and ſubſtantial Tradeſmen, who frequently meet at this Houſe for Converſation in an Evening; and what added to the Pleaſure was, the *B—r* the *D—r* and one other very *peculiar little Gentleman*

Gentleman happen'd that Night to be absent, to the universal Satisfaction of all the rest of the Society. The chief Topick of Discourse that Evening related to the extraordinary Behaviour of the C——h W———s of the two *Parishes* for the preceding Year: Those for the old *Parish* the Gentlemen seem'd to acquit, one of them especially; but the other two were universally condemn'd, and not without severe Marks of Reproach, which my *Brother* imagin'd to be just. But one of the Gentlemen, who hates the Repetition of a bad Action, and willing to divert the Company, gave a Turn to the Conversation by relating the following *Story*. He said about a Fortnight past he had been told the two C——h-W———s for the *upper Parish* having some slender Scruples upon their Consciences, with regard to their past Conduct, propos'd them one Evening over a Bottle to a certain *Curate* in the Town, well known for his deep Penetration and Skill in all the Branches of *casuistical Divinity*. This *Gentleman*, after having *privateer'd* as deep into their Consciences, as *Turpin* cou'd have done into their *Purses*, and applying the best Remedies for a *fear'd Conscience* that he was able, gravely left 'em just where he found 'em: One of them, whether thro' a Weakness in his *Head*, or the Effect of *Liquor*, he cou'd not determine, seem'd frequently under an uncommon Disorder, wou'd loll *supinely* upon his *Elbows* for a few Moments, then on a sudden start up and talk of — *Charity-Sermon Money* — *giving up his Accompts at* L——c——d — *regaling the Spirits with a Bottle* — *sipping Bumpers at a Parish Expence*, &c. — with other incoherent Stuff, that seem'd to be the Effect of *Liquor* or a *distemper'd Mind*. The other *Gentleman*, good Mr. *Casuist* said, seem'd to be troubled with a very great Oppression upon his Lungs, occasion'd by the Fumes of *Sulphur* and *Charity-Sermon Bottles*, that it appear'd exceeding difficult coming at his *Conscience*; and he gave it as his Opinion that it cou'd not be done, till his *worthy Superintendants* shou'd admit proper *Evacuations* to be made for that Purpose. Mr. *Casuist*, after advising them both seriously to peruse *John Bunyan*'s *Excellency of a broken Heart* and his *Good News to the vilest of Men*, with a parting Glass left them to their own Meditations.

A Gentleman in the Company said, he thought the Inhabitants of the Place cou'd not do better than make an Application to his *Lordship the Bishop of the Diocese*, who was then in Town, to have the Words NE FURATOR *in large Gold Letters* a Foot long put up at the Head of each C——h-W———'s Pew, and if it shou'd happen to join to that of an *C—l—r's of the Poor*, one Inscription might serve both; and as both the Gentlemen are Men of *Learning*, he said he imagin'd they would very readily know where to look for the *Command* in their Mother Tongue: He added, and 'tis possible, *Gentlemen*, from such an Example as this, the *Legislature* might one Time or other reinforce the Command by ordering it to be put up in some particular *Tradesmens Compting-Houses*, *in Brass and Spelter Ware-Houses*, *Coffee-Houses* and other *publick Rooms*, where Workmen on some *particular Occasions* are often oblig'd to attend their Masters.

My *Brother*, who is naturally *a grave Man*, and thought the Subject treated in too *ludicrous* a Way, said, indeed Gentlemen, for my Part I can't think all Mankind have such just Ideas of *moral Virtue* as they ought to have; and tho' I'm far from turning a Subject like this into *Jest and Ridicule*, yet notwithstanding all the *Sagacity* that appears in a great Part of the trading World, as well as in the Countenances of your *worthy C——h W———s*, I think there's a Possibility of too many self-interested *Traders* mistaking the Command, as I'm afraid many of their Fathers have done before 'em, by imagining it reachrs only to *Cut-Purses*, *Foot-Pads* and *Highwaymen*; and I question not but many who are *hang'd at Tyburn* are less criminal than some who are *Spectators* of the Tragedy, and might perhaps have the Honour to sit upon the *Bench*. I presume, Gentlemen, you have not forgot what SOLON, one of the wise Men of *Greece*, said of the *Laws*, viz. that they were like *Spiders Webs*, which only catch the small silly *Flies*, while more *turbulent and perfidious Insects* break thro' and escape them. We often see *Equity* and *Justice*, *Right* and *Wrong*, ebb and flow by the secret Influences of a *long Purse*; and 'tis my sincere Opinion (resum'd he with a good deal of Warmth) if the Account I have had of your two *C——b O——s* be true, and they were try'd even by a *Spartan Jury*, whose Laws gave them a Liberty to *steal*, (but never fail'd punishing those that were not *dextrous* and *ready-handed* in making a clean Conveyance) I say, were they acquitted by this *Lacedemonian Law*, I'm afraid they'd not find the same kind Indulgence in the Vale of *Jehoshaphat*, where the *Laws* are establish'd on a quite different Foundation.

The Observation made upon this Story by *Tom Skip*, who you know is an arch *Wagg*, pleas'd me very much. *Tom* had diligently attended to his Master's Discourse, while he waited at Supper; and perceiving him smile when he was taking away the Cloth, I ask'd him in a familiar Way, what were his Sentiments upon the Matter: To which he reply'd with a low Bow, 'tis my humble Opinion, *Madam*, nothing can be found in the whole *Codex Juris Anglicani* so proper to purge these Gentlemens Consciences from dead Works, *as a Cat of nine Tails*: This, says he,

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he, (in a very grave Tone) might perhaps save them the Trouble of making up their Accompts at *L—f—d*. and going to *W——k* to pay the Reckoning; but says he,

If —— should be their unhappy fate,
Let asses draw them in a coach of state.
I am, my dear Urania, *your sincere*
CAMILLA.

A

Daily Gazetteer, Aug. 18. N° 672.

THE *Craftsman* makes grievous Complaints of what he calls the *extraordinary Measures* that were taken against his Paper: But I believe it will appear that there was nothing at all *extraordinary* in them. It is not to be disputed now, because it has often been determined and settled for Law, *That Secretaries of State may commit, as Conservators of the Peace did at common Law, and that it was incident to the Office, as it is to the Office of Justice of Peace, who are not authorized by any express Words in their Commission to that Purpose, but do it* Ratione Officii.

Those Persons, therefore, that were *taken up*, and *detained in Custody*, for the *Craftsman* of *July* 2. were *taken up and detained* by virtue of a legal Warrant and Authority, for a Crime which our Law esteems to be of a very heinous Nature; that is, for printing and publishing a most scandalous and infamous Libel against *one* whose Person the same Law esteems sacred, and holds in such high Veneration, that it is a Maxim in it, that *he can do no Wrong*.

As to the *Seizing the Papers*, there is no Question but there is the same Law for seizing the Libel, as there is for apprehending the Person who wrote it. Libels are a Kind of contraband and prohibited Goods, which may be seized where-ever they are found: And a Smuggler may, with equal Justice and Reason, complain of the Custom-house Officers for seizing run or prohibited Commodities, as the *Craftsman* of the Persons who execute the Warrant of a Secretary of State, for seizing his Libels.

Let us now proceed to that Part of his Complaint, which it is impossible can be true, in the Manner he relates it. For the Case really stands thus: His Men were taken into Custody for printing and publishing a scandalous Libel, as they very well deserved to be, and as they legally might be; they were detained in Custody till they could procure Bail to answer the Matters in charge against them, as it was likewise highly proper they should be, and which the Magistrates would have been blameable for, if they had not been; the natural Consequence of this was, that for want of Men, the Paper could not be published the Week following; and his *Workmen* still continuing in Custody for Want of Bail, it put him to some Difficulty and Expence to procure others to supply their Place. This is the State of the Case, even according to his own Account of this Matter: And now I would be glad to know what Hardship or Oppression he has suffered in all this? And what Reason or Foundation there is for his Complaint?

B

Extraordinary Bail is undoubtedly a Hardship; but what may be *extraordinary Bail* in one Case, may not be so in another. But since he complains to the Publick of being *obliged to procure extraordinary Bail*, why does he not vouchsafe to let the Publick know what Bail was demanded from him, that they may judge whether it was extraordinary or no? (See p. 432, 436.)

C

Craftsman, Aug. 20. N° 580.

Sir Roger L'Estrange *and the present C——t Writers compar'd.*

D

I HAVE been lately dipping into Sir *Roger L'Estrange*'s Paper call'd the *Observator*, wrote in the Reign of K. *Charles* II. and wonder that none of our *London Journalists*, *Free Britons*, or *Gazetteers*, have transcribed them into their Works, instead of torturing their own poor Brains for Arguments to the same Purpose. They will there find Matter in Abundance against the *Country Party* of those Times, under the present modish Appellations of *Libellers*, *Incendiaries*, *Republicans*, *Rebels* and *Traitors*, with a plentiful Intermixture of *Rogue*, *Rascal* and *Villain*; whilst the *modest Knight*, like our *present Drudges in Scandal*, is constantly complaining of Asperity against *himself*, and calling upon the *secular Arm* to proceed against his *Adversaries* with the utmost Rigour. They will there see *Patriotism* resolved into *Faction*, as well as *Liberty* into *Licentiousness*, and all Opposition to the *Administration of Government* represented as the Effect of *disappointed Ambition*, or a continued Plot against the *Constitution* itself, which his *Patrons* were then manifestly destroying. They will find him treating the *Magistrates* and *Citizens of London* as a Pack of *flurdy*, *insatiable Beggars*, *seditious Mechanicks*, and *perjured Villains*. They will see all *Petitions to the* Parliament, *for Redress of* Grievances, made the Subject of Abhorrence; whilst *flattering Addresses to the* King, are strenuously vindicated and applauded. As for *Bribery* and *Corruption*, *Prerogative*, the *Dependency of Parliament*, and an *unlimited Confidence in the Crown*, they will meet with much better Arguments than they have been able to produce upon the *same Subjects*, considering the great Difference between *those Times*, and the *present*, when all *such Principles* are solemnly abolish'd by *Law*, and our *Liberties* have received a *new Confirmation*. In short, I can hardly look

E

F

G

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into one of *theſe Papers*, without fancying to myſelf that I am reading the Works of our *Walſinghams* and *Oſbornes*; for they are ſo much alike, that *one* would do for the *other*, with a few Alterations, adapted to the particular Circumſtances of the *reſpective Times*; and, indeed, I am apt to believe that *ſome of them* have been obliged to *old Sir Roger* for the choiceſt Flowers of their *Wit* and *Rhetorick*; particularly that Mirror of Knighthood, Sir *A. B. C. He then gives a Specimen of Sir* Roger's *Manner of Writing, as he did before of* Dryden's. (*See p.* 435 D.)

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON-MAGAZINE.

SIR,

AFTER the many mortifying Diſappointments, my vain Preſumption has newly met with; — (I mean, with regard to thoſe poor, excluded Excurſions, of the poetical Sort, — which have ſucceſſively, of late, been ſeverally thrown aſide, as quite unworthy of the Light: — I ſay, — conſidering theſe repeated Diſcouragements; — and, after all this unkind Uſage of an old Correſpondent; —) it may ſeem ſomewhat extraordinary, in ſo unfortunate a Scribbler, to think of perſecuting you any further, with his pedling Performances: Which, in all human Probability, wou'd only expoſe him, (eſpecially, now you ſeem to have got a Trick of ſerving him in this ſhameful Manner,) to the much-dreaded Diſgrace of a freſh Repulſe. Rage and Reſentment (you may very juſtly imagine,) have above half-determin'd him to fly for Refuge to your moſt formidable Antagoniſt at St. *John's Gate*: and, (like a brave, reſolute Soldier, whoſe very beſt Services ſeem altogether ſlighted,) to deſert, without more ado, to the alluring Enemy. For we are all perfectly ſenſible, that almoſt any Thing in the World, — be it ever ſo wretchedly *weak*, or deſpicably *low*, — paſſes *muſter* very readily with the incurious, injudicious *Urban*. Any Kind of coarſe *Garbage* ſerves well enough for poor, ſimple *Sylvanus*; and helps rarely to fill up his ungarniſh'd *Gallimaufry*.

In a Word, — the moſt *ponderous* Productions are moſt manifeſtly calculated for the fore-mention'd Meridian, * and (methinks, very ſeaſonably for poor *Syl,*) wou'd add ſomething of *Weight* to his frothy Collections.

But, when all's done, Sir, — I muſt own, I've a natural Ambition to be ſeen in the *Eaſt of Company*; and therefore have now, again, preſumptuouſly inclos'd a ſmall poetical Preſent. † Which, perchance, may fortunately meet with a more favourable Reception, than ſome late ones, I ſeem'd ſo obſtinately deſirous of forcing upon You. I'm, in part likewiſe, animated to this bold and ſturdy Perſeverance by a certain conſolatory Kind of *Advertiſement*, that my poor, ſorrowing, dejected Eyes were, at length, aware of: (and which (as I ſuppoſe,) was intended, by way of *Cordial*, for your *drooping* Correſpondents. Herein, Sir, you very plainly intimate (as I take it,) a cheerful and *conſtant Willingneſs* to oblige your ſaid *verſifying Vaſſals*. Nay, — (to the no ſmall Comfort of all *Journeymen-Jinglers*, — as well as for the due Encouragement of thoſe raviſhing *Rhyme-Jobbers*, of ſuperior Rank,) you moreover moſt kindly condeſcend even to *deſire the Continuance of* (what you're very complaiſantly pleas'd to call) *their Favours*. And therefore, — ſhou'd we, accordingly, — in eager Purſuance of this generous Invitation, — officiouſly *continue* our ſmall Scantling of Services, — (tho' it be, by *caſting* only, now and then, *a Mite* into your *Treaſury*,) we hope, you'll deal ingenuouſly with your *faithful* Friends, and graciouſly accept of their humble *Contributions*.

But if, by your diſcouraging (I had almoſt ſaid, — *heart-breaking*) *Omiſſions*, you provokingly give us Room to call your *Sincerity* in queſtion; — if, — notwithſtanding your *warm* Profeſſions of Reſpect, and an *ardent* Deſire of gratifying our Ambition, — you begin to look *coldly* upon Cuſtomers, and diſdainfully reject their moſt elaborate Efforts: — ſuch a contradictory Procedure, ſuch *cool* and unlook'd for Neglect, muſt inevitably occaſion a very conſiderable Abatement of our natural *heat*, — put a ſudden Stop to the *Impetuoſity* of our Genius; — and (in particular,) not only mortify the *aſpiring Vanity*, but quite deaden too the *expiring Vivacity* of,

From my Garret, *in* Grub-Street. Aug. 17, 1737.

SIR,
Your moſt obſequious Slave,
Poetaſter Jingle.

Common Senſe, Aug. 20: N° 29.

Conſolatory Advice to the Ladies, during their Receſs in the Country.

THO' the Separation of the Parliament generally ſuſpends the Vigour of political Altercations, I doubt it creates domeſtick ones; and, poſſibly, the Individuals of both Houſes, may find as warm Debates at Home, as any they have met with during the Courſe of the Seſſion.

Their Motion for adjourning into the Country, is, I believe, ſeldom ſeconded by their Wives and Daughters; and if at laſt they carry it, it is more by the Exertion of their Authority, than by the Cogency of their Reaſonings. I think therefore I ſhall do my

* *St.* John's Gate. † *See poetical Eſſays, pag.* 450. *(Epitaph on* Ed. Johnſon, *&c.)*

Country

Country good Service, if, by any Advice and Conſolation I can offer to my fair Country-women, I can alleviate their Misfortunes, and mitigate the Horrors of their 6 Months Exile.

I know no Caſe of greater Compaſſion, and few of greater Conſequence, than that of a fine Woman, hurried, not only by her Huſband, but with her Huſband, from all the Joys of *London* to all the Horrors of the Manſion-Seat, in the Country; where (not to mention many other Circumſtances of this Tyranny) in one particular, I fear it too often reſembles the *Mezentian* Cruelty, of tying a living Body to a dead one.

I firſt addreſs myſelf to thoſe Ladies, whoſe diſtinguiſh'd Beauty, Delicacy, and Accompliſhments, juſtly place 'em at the Head of the Pleaſures and Faſhion of the Town. I am not abſurd enough, even to hint the uſual rural Recreations, of fetching a Walk, a Horſe Race, an Affize Ball, or a Silly-bub under the red Cow, which muſt all of 'em be exceſſively ſhocking to their Delicacy. I wiſh I could procure 'em a ſix Months Sleep or Annihilation; but as that is not in my Power, the beſt Advice I can give 'em, is to carry down a Proviſion of the tendereſt Books, which will at once improve their Style, nouriſh all the Delicacy of their Sentiments, and keep Imagination awake.

The moſt voluminous Romances are the moſt ſerviceable, and wear the beſt in the Country, ſince four or five of them will very near hold out the Seaſon. Beſides that, the pleaſing Deſcriptions of the Flowery Vales, where the tender Heroines ſo often bewail'd the Abſence of their much-lov'd Heroes, may, by the Help of a little Imagination, and an elegant Sympathy, render the ſolitary Proſpect of the neighbouring Fields a little more ſupportable.

Some Time too may be employ'd in Epiſtolary Correſpondence with diſtreſs'd, ſympathizing Friends in the ſame Situation, pathetically deſcribing all the diſagreeable Circumſtances of the Country; with this juſt Exception only, *That one could bear with it well enough for two or three Months in the Summer, with the Company one lik'd, and without the Company one diſlik'd.*

With ſuch Amuſements, I ſhould hope they may paſs, or rather kill the tedious Time of their Baniſhment, without very great Anxiety; but if that can't be, there is one Expedient more which I have often known practis'd with Succeſs; that is, the Cholick, and Pains in the Stomach, to ſuch a Degree, as abſolutely to require the Aſſiſtance of the *Bath*. The Cholick (in the Stomach I mean) is a clean, genteel Diſtemper, and by no means below Women of the firſt Condition; and they ſhould always keep it by 'em, to be us'd as Occaſion requires.

As for thoſe Ladies who move but in a ſecond Sphere in Town, their Caſe is far from being ſo compaſſionate, their Fall from *London* to the Country being by no Means ſo conſiderable; nay, in ſome Particulars, I am not ſure if they are not Gainers by it. For they are indiſputably in the Country what they never are in Town, the Firſt. They give Currency to Faſhions and Expreſſions; they are ſtar'd at, admir'd, and conſulted. They are likewiſe of a more accommodating Temper, and can let themſelves down to Country Recreations: It is true, theſe are Condeſcenſions, and Condeſcenſions too, which they would be horribly aſham'd of, ſhould they be detected in the Fact by any of their *London* Acquaintance; but ſtill, with theſe Helps, the Summer goes off tolerably well, till bad Roads, bad Weather, and long Evenings change the Scene. Then comes the dire domeſtick Struggle; the Lady expoſes with Satire and Contempt the ruſtick Pleaſures, that detain 'em in the Country; the Huſband retorts the Pleaſures of a different Nature, which, he conceives, invite her Ladyſhip up to Town; Warmth enſues, the Lady grows eloquent, the Huſband coarſe; and from that Time, till the Day is fix'd for going to *London*, Peace is baniſh'd the Family.

The *Bath* would be of ſovereign Efficacy in this Caſe too, and, like the Waters of *Lethé*, would waſh away the Remembrance of theſe diſagreeable Incidents; but if that can't be compaſs'd, the laſt Reſort I can recommend to theſe Ladies, is, by the alternate and proper Uſe of Clamour and Sullenneſs, Invectives and Tears, to reduce their Huſbands to ſeek for Quiet in Town.

Old Whig, Aug. 25. N° 129.

Of Suicide, or Self-Murder.

SELF-*Murder* appears to me to be incapable of any rational Defence. 'Tis worthy of our Conſideration, that it is condemned by the common Conſent and Senſe of Mankind; even thoſe not excepted who wou'd put the moſt favourable Conſtruction on the Action, by ſaying, that no Man can perpetrate the Fact without being *pro tempore* a Lunatick: which plainly proves, that even ſuch People own it to be a *mad*, or an *irrational Action*. But this Way of treating *Suicides*, in general, is ſurely very faulty, ſince we have had many Inſtances of *Self Murderers*, who have proved to us, by every precedent Part of their Behaviour, that they had as great a Command of their intellectual Faculties as any Man can be ſaid to have, who commits Adultery, robs his Neighbour of his Property, or takes away his Life.

But it is ſaid more directly in Vindication of the Action, 'That altho' *human Laws* 'have

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'have condemned it, yet it is no where forbid by any expreſs *divine Law*.'

It muſt be own'd, that there is no expreſs written Law of God which ſays, *Thou ſhalt not kill thy ſelf*. But then the Law of God expreſly ſays, *Thou ſhalt do no Murder*, or *Thou ſhalt not kill*. Now then, if a Man's taking away his own Life be neither *Killing*, nor *Murdering*, then I own that there is no *expreſs divine Law* againſt it.

But the *Devil* in the Book of *Job*, reaſons better than our *Suicides*; and that *Accuſer* plainly proves to us, from the Knowledge he had of human Nature, that there was no more Reaſon for an expreſs Divine Law againſt *Self Murder*, than there was to forbid a Man's neglecting *Food* when he was hungry.

But again, it is ſaid in Defence of the *Suicide*, 'That a Man's Life is his *own Property*, 'freely given to him of God, and as a free 'Agent he may diſpoſe of it at his Pleaſure.'

But this Inſinuation can in no ſuppoſed Caſe be ſupported. For Inſtance; had I no *Relation* or *Friend* in the World to which I ſtood more immediately obliged, and was there no particular or ſpecial Demand on me from the *Publick*, yet this is not ſufficient to conſtitute me quite independent. The Author of my Being has placed me in a fixed ſtanding Relation to the Whole; and by *the Law of my Make* has obliged me to contribute all in my Power to the Good of the Whole. But my taking away my own Life is an *explicite Refuſal* of my Duty, and aſſerting an Independency to which I have no manner of Claim.

The *Freedom of Agency* with which I am endowed, gives me no more Right to take away my own Life, than it does to affront *God* my *Maker* in any other Regard.

Nor will it be any ſufficient Defence to ſay, 'I have more *Evil* than *Good* in my 'preſent Allotments, and therefore I have a 'Right to give my ſelf a *Diſcharge*.'

I could almoſt imagine, that that antient Book of *Job* was written on purpoſe to anſwer ſuch an Objection, or ſolve ſuch a Difficulty. The chief *Character* that *dramatick Writing* preſents us with, is a Man thrown from the Summit of Proſperity to the loweſt Ebb of Calamity and Diſtreſs. And what does he ſay, or how does he behave? Why, his *Wife* ſeems to have adviſ'd him to turn *Suicide*—*Curſe God and die*, * ſays ſhe. His Anſwer is, *Shall we receive Good at the Hand of God, and ſhall we not receive Evil?* I would aſk any Man, whether this does not diſcover a much nobler Mind, and infinitely more Bravery of Spirit, than if he had given way to *Cowardice* and *Deſpair*, and meanly deſerted the *Poſt* aſſigned him by his *General* or *Commander*, becauſe a difficult one?

The heathen *Theology* has taught, that *Patience*, *Submiſſion*, and *Reſignation* under Afflictions, are Virtues which moſt exalt and perfect human Nature. So taught a *Socrates*, a *Seneca* and an *Antoninus*: And nothing is more apparently the Spirit of the Chriſtian Doctrine, as may be ſeen fully confirmed by the whole Behaviour and Conduct of the Holy *Jeſus*. In a Word, the *New Teſtament* cannot be defended in its Precepts and Examples, if *Self-Murder* be either lawful or indifferent.

This *State* is evidently a State of Tryal, and as ſuch, requires a conſiderable Mixture of *Affliction* or *natural Evil*; in order to curb, and blunt the Edge of the Appetite toward *moral Evil*, and is an uſeful and proper Antidote againſt it, in the preſent Oeconomy of Things.

To conclude, It is a ſurprizing Circumſtance which belongs to ſome of the *Defenders* of this unnatural Crime, *viz.* 'that they are 'in Doubt about the Certainty of a *future* 'Exiſtence.'

Methinks a *mere Doubt* about the Reality of a *future State*, is a Reaſon ſufficient to dread a Departure out of the preſent. It is like *Hobbs*, *to take a great Leap in the Dark!* gloomy Idea, a *Leap* into Chaos and endleſs Night! or fixed Miſery! To this, ſurely, no Circumſtance of *Being* here, but what muſt be preferable; becauſe, theſe we know are not fixed, but changeable; and tho' very afflictive now, Good may anon gain the Aſcendency. What an unaccountable Creature then muſt he be, who ſo daringly makes this ſtupid, this wicked Adventure!

PHILANTHROPUS.

Craftſman, Aug. 27. N° 581.

THIS *Paper contains ſome more Quotations from Sir* Roger L'Eſtrange, *which Mr.* D'Anvers *concludes, with a ſhort Remark or two upon the Whole.* And *firſt*, (ſays he) we may obſerve that the *worſt Miniſters* in the World will never want *Advocates*, whilſt they continue in Power. *2dly*, It appears, from theſe Inſtances, that *bad Miniſters* have always an implacable Hatred againſt the *common People*, whom they treat worſe than *brute Beaſts*, and will not allow them the Uſe of their Senſes, to judge whether they are *well govern'd* or not. The *Revolution* was a moſt ſolemn and practical Condemnation of all ſuch *ſlaviſh Doctrines*; and nothing can be more abſurd than to revive them under a *Government*, which receiv'd its very Being from Principles diametrically oppoſite.

* Job's *Wife ſeems to have had a right Notion of Self-Murder*; *for ſhe ſuppoſes that a Man's deſtroying himſelf*, *muſt be the Effect of his angry Reſentments againſt his Maker*, q. d. *curſing thy God*, and *killing thy ſelf*, will agree well enough together.

The

The Palace of FANCY.

HIGH on the bright expanſe of azure ſkies,
Hid from the ken of *Galilæo*'s eyes,
A planetary orb revolves its ſphere
Round, as its center, the remoteſt ſtar.
Not *Flamſtead*'s ſelf could e'er diſcern its phaſe
Thro' the bright convex of increaſing glaſs:
Nor are its motions more exact ſurvey'd,
Progreſſive, ſtation'ry or retrograde;
Unſolv'd the whole by *aſtronomick* rules,
Or obſervations of ſtar-gazing ſchools:
From vulgar minds eternally conceal'd,
To quick imagination only yet reveal'd.
An airy goddeſs its dominion claim'd,
Fancy by men, by gods *Phantaſia* nam'd:
No kind embrace of genial love brought forth
The dame, (to nature's laws a monſtrous birth)
But from the drunken deity's temples bred,
As wiſdom iſſu'd from the thund'rer's head.
The jovial god once quaff'd beneath his vine
Too free, when lo! the flaſhy fumes of wine
In painful vapours fluſh'd his lab'ring head,
Till ripe for birth leap'd forth the full-grown maid;
Of form ſo various, of ſuch medley mind,
Now true, then falſe, now courteous, then unkind;
The angry gods expell'd her from their eyes,
And left her to poſſeſs the lower ſkies.
Here in refulgent majeſty ſhe reigns,
In a grand ædifice not made with hands;
By magick ſkill the curious ſtructure wrought
And to perfection rais'd as quick as thought,
Pendent in air, uplifts its gilded tow'rs
By ſtrong effluvia of magnetick pow'rs:
The frontiſpiece of coſtly *Parian* ſtone
Studded with gems, in ſparkling luſtre ſhone,
On earth unmatch'd, beyond conception fine,
Or poets ſkill, or painters gay deſign.
The walls around with breathing canvaſs fill'd
(Where *Hogarth*'s ſelf might ſee himſelf excell'd)
Of various kinds, in fabulous tales expreſs
The goddeſs' influence, and her power confeſs.
Here we behold in lively colours drawn
* Th' adventrous fire but more adventrous ſon,
In that impervious maze for life confin'd
Which his own choice invention had deſign'd:
Till thought gave wings and taught them how to fly
With borrow'd plumage thro the liquid ſky:
Mark! the raſh youth now tow'ring out of ſight,
Too near alaſs! he feels the god of light;
The ſoften'd wax relaxes in the flame,
He falls and gives the ſeas beneath a name.
There the ingenious artiſt had diſplay'd
† The furious raviſher and flying maid,
See! the ſtrong colours to the life expreſs
Horror, amaze, confuſion in her face, [forth
When at th' appointed time the fair brought
Her fruit, half-man, half-beaſt, a monſtrous birth.
Here in another pourtraiture are ſeen
The dreaded ills of melancholy men;
Pity that ſpoke, and tears that ſeem'd to fall,
Expreſſive ſighs, and wiſhes fill'd the wall;
Surmiſings, jealouſies, and empty fear,
With all the ghaſtly train of black deſpair.
There its reverſe on th' adverſe ſide pourtrays
Deluſive hopes and airy promiſes,
Proſpects of motley hue, *Elyſian* ſchemes,
Aſturia's mines, *Pactolus*' golden ſtreams,
Vage reveries, that on the ſenſes creep,
When reaſon nods, and fancy ſports in ſleep.
Such nice deſigns, the pencil's ſtrokes expreſs'd,
The ſpangl'd portal of her palace grac'd;
Two lofty valves its inner parts compleat,
The maſſive doors on golden hinges grate,
Which opening wide, thro ſpacious paſſages,
Leads to the palace' innermoſt receſs.
On either ſide of coſtly work is ſeen
Neatly contriv'd a curious magazine;
Where hoarded up unpopal reliques lie,
Vows unperform'd, and death-bed charity;
The maiden's chaſtity, the knaves good name,
Kept miſtreſs' conſtancy, and lover's flame;
The tradeſman's honour, and the ſick man's heirs;
[pray'rs,
The great man's promiſe, and the grief of
The doctor's faith, the lawyer's conſcience,
The parſon's learning, gown-man's eloquence;
All treaſur'd here, long, long ſince miſs'd on earth,
Till new *Saturnian* Times recal them forth.
Thence paſſing forward thro' the ſacred dome
Aſcend ſix gradual ſteps the preſence room:
There on a gorgeous ſeat, which far outſhines
The wealth of *Africk* or *Peruvia*'s mines,
Of that ineſtimable jewel wrought
Philoſophers ſo long on earth have ſought,
In royal ſtate exalted ſits the queen
Of various figure and unſettled mien;
About the throne her coſtly garments flow,
And vie for colours with the radiant bow.
Myriads of airy forms around her ſtand,
Prepar'd to follow inſtant her command.
Theſe over human race intent preſide, [guide:
Watch all their ways, and all their motions
Unſeen to us are ever on the wing,
And grief or gladneſs, pain or pleaſure bring.
By theſe machines the goddeſs long has reign'd
With arbitrary power o'er the mind;
Thro' all her mazes the fond ſoul beguiles,
And glads or ſorrows, as ſhe frowns or ſmiles.
Thus when the dame vouchſafes a chearful day,
And her pleas'd looks a graceful ſmile betray;

* Dædalus *and* Icarus. *The Art of Flying, a Science much improv'd by a late Modern, the Biſhop of* Cheſter. † Saturn *and* Phillyra. *The Birth of the Centaur, a Chimæra.*

Swift

Swift to their posts the airy elves repair,
And whisper pleasures in the mortals ear:
With various raptures ev'ry bosom's fir'd,
Like the mad priestess by the god inspir'd.

[*To be concluded in our next.*]

Sonnet *from Monsieur* Fontanelle.

'TIS I (so said whilome to *Daphnis Apollo*,
As puffing and breathless the nymph he did follow,
Repeating the while with a most earnest spirit,
A long list of his feits to set of his merit.)
'Tis I inspire poets with poetical fire,
'I'm acknowledg'd the god both of poets and
But poetry could not, and wit wanted the charms
To persuade the fair nymph to the god's long-
ing arms. [prevail,'
'Musick I know, sure musick will o'er you
But for once even musick so pow'rful, did fail.
'By my deep skill in herbs a physician I'm
made
'And I am by profession the god of the trade,'
A physician! that word added wings to her
flight [fight.
And quicker than ever she skims out of his
Had he said, see the conquest you have in
your pow'r,
I ever am handsome, ever fresh as a flow'r,
With youth everlasting full of smiles in my
face, [end to the race.
The nymph, saith, had stop'd and put an

To Miss Nancy T——r.

THE goddess of *Paphos*, in terrible pain,
Was sought for by *Cupid*, but sought all
in vain; [streets,
When thus the blind urchin proclaim'd in the
Whoever the beautiful wanderer meets,
And tells me, her sorrowing son, where she is,
The greatest reward I can give, shall be his.
To the marks I describe your attention bestow,
And I'm sure you my mother from thousands
will know.
Each charm of her face, and each glance of
her eyes,
In spite of indifference forces surprize.
Ten thousand soft beauties encircle her waist,
And ecstacy melts on her heav'nly breast.
Her beautiful tresses hang down on her back,
Now wanton in air, and now play on her
neck.
On her lips all the sweets of *Arabia* dwell,
Such sweets, gods! as none but who taste
them can tell.
What painter can draw, or what poet express,
The carelessly flowing and ease of her dress?
Ambitious to gain the blind god on my side,
To what he said, thus I in raptures, reply'd,
Oh! *Cupid*, the god I have always ador'd,
Fair *Venus* shall soon to your arms be restor'd;
For by your description (unless it deceives)
I'm sure I can tell where the goddess now lives.
Haste, haste, said the god, prithee, do not
delay; [way.
But to the dear place, where she is, lead the
I led him to *Camberwell*—there in the grove,
And shew'd (as I thought her) the goddess of
love.
How great was his wonder, how strong his
surprize,
When first he beheld T——r's powerful eyes!
He gaz'd on each feature, and studied each
grace,
That gave a fresh lustre and charm to her face.
Is't possible, heav'ns! all in raptures he cried,
There should be such beauty untainted with
pride! said,
I'm pleas'd with thy error, fond mortal, he
For now all my losses are doubly repaid;
In search of my mother in vain I may rove,
Then henceforth be T——r the goddess of
love. [below;
Thou'st seen the most charming of women
And she's the reward which on thee I'll be-
stow.

The lasting BEAUTY.

AMONG the roses white and red,
That o'er fair *Flavia*'s face are spread,
With painted wings young *Cupids* play,
As sporting on a holiday;
And let their random arrows fly,
In mirth, among the standers-by:
But quickly will, their pastime done,
Pick up their arrows, and be gone;
And only the bruis'd flow'rs declare,
The little urchins had been there.
But unto *Sylvia*, as their home,
Venus and all the graces come.
Here *Cupids* numberless are seen,
As at the court of beauty's queen;
Not bent on sport, but ready stand
Obedient, at their queen's command,
To send the love-creating dart,
And reach with skill the destin'd heart:
And there with constant care shall wait,
'Till *Sylvia*'s self submit to fate.
Flavia's beauty gives surprize,
Like lightning, to the sense, and dies.
But *Sylvia*'s, like the vestal fire,
Does awful reverence inspire;
While *Venus* and her son supply
The sacred flame, that ne'er shall die.
The blossom in the infant-year
Like *Flavia*'s beauty does appear:
Frail being! form'd too weakly fair
The sky's inclemencies to bear;
Or, if from casual harms secure,
Born but a moment to endure.
But *Sylvia* lasting beauty shares,
As that the sacred laurel wears;
Whose bought a heav'nly lot partake,
By *Phœbus*, lov'd for *Daphne*'s sake;
Blest by the god, unchang'd to wear
Perpetual verdure all the year;

And

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And with unfading leaves to crown
The deathleſs poet with renown.
Thus charms to laſt with life are giv'n
To *Sylvia*, fav'rite nymph of heav'n:
And ſhe too ſhall thick honours ſpread
Around her happy poet's head.
But ſet not, *Sylvia*, thy devoted ſwain,
Who loves like *Phœbus*, love like him in vain.
O do not thou, like *Daphne*, cruel prove!
Change not thy nature to deny me love.
So by my muſe to furore ages ſhewn,
Thy virtues and perfections ſhall be known:
Who pleas'd ſhall read the wonders I rehearſe,
And trace thy beauties living in my verſe.

De CUPIDO & de ſa DAME.

Tiré de MAROT.

AMOUR trouva celle qui m'eſt amere:
Et j'y eſtois, j'en ſçay bien mieulx le compte:
Bon jour, dict il, bon jour, Venus ma mere,
Puis tout à coup il veoit qu'il ſe meſcompte,
Dont la couleur au viſage lui monte
D'avoir faillу: honteux Dieu ſçait combien:
Non, non, Amour, ce dy je, n'ayez honte:
Plus clers voyans que vous s'y tromperent bien.

The above imitated by Mr. *Lockman*.

The LOVELY MISTAKE.

AS *Mira* once and I were laid
Beneath the woodbine's trembling ſhade,
Comes *Cupid*; *dear mamma*, he cries
(Bright anguiſh ſtealing from his eyes)
Alas! I've fought you all the day,
Surpriz'd where *my mamma could ſtray*;
O'er dales and hills and rocks I flew,
E'er gliding fairies ſip the dew:
Sighing, to Jove I breath'd a vow:
'Twas heard; *for oh! I've found you now.*
Love's riſing joy his ſmiles expreſt,
When ſwift he ſprings to *Mira*'s breaſt;
But going to kiſs her roſy cheek,
Amaz'd he ſtarts, and ſcarce can ſpeak.
Thus to miſtake! O ſad diſgrace!—
Confuſion ſweetly ſluſh'd his face.—
How folks will laugh! this woke his pride;
He hangs his head, and turns aſide.
Seeing the rover tortur'd thus;
Fond child, ſays I, *why all this fuſs?*
Suppreſs your bluſhes, be not griev'd;
Much quicker eyes have been deceiv'd.

An ANSWER *to the* RIDDLE for the Ladies.

(See p. 392.)

IF ſhe ſhall firſt be made a wife,
Who firſt your name can gueſs;
The thing is done, I'll lay my life
That I ſhall have ſucceſs.
Hard iron from the earth is brought,
Deſign'd for mortals aid,
And muſt in various ſhapes be wrought,
Before the NEEDLE's made.
By induſtr'ous hand with active ſpeed
Thro' flow'ry lawns it's ſent;
And helps the maid in time of need,
When parents *wealth* is ſpent.
True emblem of conjugal love!
Get me a man of worth,
My conſtancy to him ſhall prove
As *thine* is to the *north*.
Tho' maids of honour ſlight thine aid,
('Cauſe play is ſo bewitching;)
My good man never ſhall upbraid
My negligence in ſtitching.

A Letter from an Apothecary's 'Prentice in W——ſtreet *to his Friend at* Oxford, *in Anſwer to an Epiſtle which expoſes the logical Opinions that prevail in the* Univerſity.

Dear Tom,

AS forward children learn to talk,
By imitating wiſer folk,
So I by your example ſir'd
To hudibraſtick have aſpir'd,
Laid aſide gallipots and glaſſes,
To ſee which thought in verſe ſurpaſſes;
And as for juleps, fomentations,
With all our other preparations,
Of vegetable, animal,
Chemical or *Galenical*,
One hour they're baniſh'd from my brain
For ſake of a poetick ſtrain.
Why ſhould they not? ſince imitation
Is ſureſt ſign of approbation.
Well then — a word of our phyſicians,
Who nearly imitate logicians;
But troubled with much ſtranger fancies,
What one agrees to — t'other gainſays.
Each has eſtabliſh'd theories,
And numberleſs hypotheſes,
Fetch'd from as many diff'rent points as
The mariner can tell in's compaſs.
There's not a thing they all agree in
But acceptable form of feeing.
Aſk them from whence proceed diſeaſes,
You're anſwer'd juſt as fancy pleaſes;
With one 'tis acid quality,
T'other affirms it alkali,
A third will give them both the lye.
But ſtay — do I not ſatyrize?
Which only is the part o'th' wiſe.
Well be it ſo — I'll turn my cue
And give the other ſide their due.
Thoſe whoſe opinion never varies
Like underſtanding 'pothecaries
(Who ſtrive to heal by following nature)
Are far beyond the reach of ſatyre;
Omitting aſtrologick notions
They mark th' effects of pills and potions;
And as for all the diff'rent knowledge
That's fought for by our learned college,
Supply its place with botany,
Chemiſtry and anatomy,

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Knowing full well that they contain
More than enough for human brain,
And are by all thought moſt prevailing
To the chief point the art of healing.
In ſhort, did all with theſe agree,
The nobleſt art would never be
Loaden as 'tis with infamy.

Perhaps you'll wonder how I can
Attack the ſage phyſician,
(Whoſe learned pen in diſſertation
Inſtructive, rails at our vocation,
And would in healing part deny us
A nobler taſk than gonorrheas;)
Therefore I'll verſify a ſtory,
To ſet the matter right before ye.

One day (as fabuliſts report)
A painter of the meaner ſort
Was haſting on to croſs the waters,
With ſigns and ſome ſuch kind of matters;
But ſeeing an impendent ſhow'r,
Turn'd back for ſhelter to the *Tow'r*:
When by a ſhilling's aid he'd ſeen
The crown of *England*'s king and queen,
He turn'd aſide to caſt his eye on
That dreadful animal — the lyon:
With prying eye he view'd the beaſt,
The beaſt as ſternly views his gueſt,
Who now with inward pride elate
Shews him in paint two lyons fate,
Where ſpight of all the beſt they can do
They're worſted — by a ſingle man too.
The noble king of beaſts reply'd,
What ſhoals of men by us have dy'd,
Arabia's deſerts can atteſt
And many nations in the weſt;
'But here's the worſt on't — we have not
'The art of painting 'mong us got.
Now to apply — while doctors write,
And we like fools ſtand out of ſight,
No wonder that they brag and glory,
Juſt like the painter in my ſtory.

But now, dear *Tom*, to end my letter,
Since length can ne'er make dullneſs better,
May health and happineſs attend you
And all the learning heav'n can ſend you.

H. W.

AN EPITAPH on *Edward Johnſon*, Webſter: Who devis'd a Copyhold-Tenement, towards the Maintenance of a Miniſter, to preach at the Chapel of *Talk-on-the-Hill*, in the County of *Stafford*.

A Sl an earthly bleſſing from the Lord receiv'd,
So again to his uſe I have it bequeath'd.
As I no iſſue had, ſome t' my friends I gave;
The reſt to Talk, *that preaching they might have,*
To help their ſouls to heav'n, the high abode,
Where ſaints and martyrs ſing the ſongs of God.

On the foregoing Verſes. [*By Mrs.* Barbara Billingſgate.]

SUCH ſtuff before was never writ!
The fellow's, ſure, quite void of wit;
Nor pity has, nor ſenſe of ſhame,
To make his verſes, all, dog-lame!
And then,—what adds to my ſurprize,—
They are expos'd to publick eyes; *
Which, tho' half blind, may plainly ſee,
His ignorance and pride agree.
All will, no doubt, be much amaz'd,
And cry,—*alas! the poet's craz'd!*—
Poor man! — *I pity his condition:*
His phrenzy has no intermiſſion.
Pri'thee, let me adviſe, for once;
And never write again, thou dunce!
Thou heavy clod!—thou hobbling creature!
Plague not a pen; — ſcrawl not a letter:
Holding the plow'll become thee better.

The Requiſite Remonſtrance; or, Grave Rebuke: *An Epiſtle,—— to the Rev. Mr.* B—ch, *Curate, Schoolmaſter, and Poet; On his moſt profoundly ſublime Epitaph on* Edward Johnſon, *Webſter.* [*By* Poetaſter Jingle, *Eſq; the* Grubſtreet *Laureat.*]

BOLD, barbarous brother!—O what haſt thou done?
Why,—murder committed, as ſure as a gun.
Bloody work (in good truth!) thy ſoul fingers have made on't: [make a trade on't.
But, in grace o' good luck, boy,—they won't
What a monſter is here!—*all feet*, — and *no head!*
Sure, thou by a *fatuus ignis* waſt led, [*Colly*'s
Not inſpir'd by a *muſe*, child!—unleſs couſin
For thou art his match, in poetical follies;
And, as worthy to tell us of *heav'nly abodes*,
As he, to compoſe us divine *birth-day odes*:
So, my vote and beſt int'reſt,—if thou but ſurvive,—
Thou ſhalt certainly have, bro', (if I be alive,)
His poor, piſt-on garland to win, and to wear:
For, to his laught at laurel, at law thou art heir.
But, then,—ſoar not too high,—leſt thy *Pegaſus* founder; [der.
And ſtumbling on clouds, fall as flat as a ſtoun-
I ſuppoſe, you have read,—among *Ovid*'s relations,— [*mations*,)
(I mean thoſe of ſundry and ſtrange *Tranſfor-*
Of *Phaeton* bold:—him, at leaſt, you have heard on; [I aſk pardon:)
(For you mayn't teach ſo far, ſir;—if ſo,—

* *They were kindly intended, by the Author, for* Johnſon's *Grave-Stone; and very liberally inclos'd in a learned Letter to the Truſtees, for their previous (tho' quite unqueſtionable) Approbation. But, alas!—either the depreſſing Envy of the preſent Times,—or, the unaccountable ill Taſte of modern Criticks,—or both,—gave the Preference (it ſeems) to another Epitaph, that was (ſurprizingly enough) ſuppos'd to be better Penn'd.*

How,

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How, being got *out of his road*, like a fool, sir,
And, the *sun's* fiery coursers unable to rule, sir,
He rais'd, here below, a most mighty com-
bustion: [sustian;
Like a grovelling poet, that deals much in
Whose ambitious attempts end, at last, in *a flame*,
Thro' a senseless pursuit of a whimsical fame.
Of one *Icarus* too,—and his *counterfeit wings*,—
(In your diction'ry, at least, — among other such things,) [higher,
You have possibly read:—who veer'ring much
Than prudence advis'd, or his cunning old fire,
Came tumble, tumble, tumble,—without stop or stay,— [the sea.
And fell wi' th' head foremost, plumb into
So that *flights high* and *lofty*, as well as too *low*, [woe.
May occasion (you find sir,) a great deal of
But, if,—after all—you've an itching desire
To scribble still on,—spite of *water*, or *fire*,—
And, *invitâ Minervâ*;—(but hold! 'tis not common
To come out with *Latin*, before an *old woman*:)
I say,—if you'll needs be for making diversion,
Apprehending no harm, or from *flame*, or *submersion*; [said,—
But hope.—notwithstanding what yet has been
To go off with honour and die in your bed:
If (in short,) you'll e'en venture to flourish and vapour, [and paper;
And play tricks, and conjure, with pen, ink,
Consider, old friend, — this the case does not alter:
Impunity helps many a one to an *halter*.
Think too, what you risque, thus to kill and to slay:
You're a *parricide* both, and a *felo de se*.
For you murder, without any consideration,
Your abus'd *mother* tongue, and your *own reputation*.
Bouncing *Bays* before-mention'd, thy proud predecessor, [transgressor,
Of the same savage sort, a most shameful
Wou'd make us believe, he has study'd *Longinus*;
And seem full as subtil, as *Thomas Aquinas*:
But the Light,* he sets out with, serves only to blind us.
But, for wresting sound words, sir, and mangling fine speeches, [*Tom Cr——'s*,
Pray, what's his just fate?—why, the same with
In *Effigie*, at least, more than once has he swung; [rung.
And, both long and loud, his great *infamy*
Nay, his prostitute credit—(and what can be sadder?) [the ladder.
Each revolving new-year, is twice turn'd off
And not without cause;—for (when loading his desk,)
On *majesty's* self, he e'en dares to burlesque.

For which vile offence, (were he both starr'd and garter'd,) [quarter'd.
He richly deserves to be hang'd, drawn, and
To so gracious a king, to be so disloyal!—
How comes it, the wretch is not brought to his trial? [tack:
For he eats of his bread, and drinks of his
And the trait'rous ingrate shou'd be put on the rack.
Him too be dishonours, whom great *George* represents: [sents.
Which, the zeal of so *pious* an age, sure, re-
For he strangely perverts and prophanes holy scripture; [be *whipt*, sure.
And, for this, you'll allow, that he ought to
Beside,—what's the reverse of *creation*, but *murder*? [spurr'd her,
So *C—b—r's* dull jade, when at start he had
Cry'd, — *let there be light* †! — and, (to give him his dues,)
Straight, the palpable *darkness* of *Egypt* ensues.
To recover my *subject*, as well as my *sight*; — [both, quite:)
(For, in troth! I had like to ha' lost 'em
Thy unmusical lyre keeps no manner of *time*;
But 'tis hard, there shou'd be neither *reason*, nor *rhyme*. [sweeter,
If thy labours, in *prose*, are no better, nor
But as dull, and as flat, and as lame, as thy *metre*; [vex'd,
Lord!—how any man, in his wits, must be
To see thee, poor soul, *hobble* after thy *text*!
And surely, 'twould raise our contempt, or our pity, [a *ditty*.
Shou'd a fellow, that's *dumb*, try to give us
And a poor, scrambling *cart-horse*, that's both *lame* and *blind*, [clim'd,—)
(Nay, — as well to the *staggers*, as *spavin*, in-
Is an *ass*, for his pains, if he needs will turn *racer*; [pace, sir,
Since he hard'y will mend much his wonted dull
For, tho' damnably spur-gall'd, and flog'd, o'er and o'er, [*wrong foot* before;
He'll come wheezing and gamb'ling, wi'th'
And but make people laugh, 'till their sides are e'en sore.
Old *Hopkins*, and *Sternhold*, their *ekes*, and their *ayes*, [lays.
Us'd, as so many props, to support their weak
Tho' the work be but *coarse*, yet you there have good *measure*; [fit and pleasure.
And their hymns may recite, both with pro-
But thy brains awkward offspring is such an odd creature, [*ture*;
It has neither *proportion*, nor one goodly *fea-*
Nor one sparkling of *wit* was e'er spy'd in the minion: [opinion,—
Nay, 'twou'd puzzle a divine, to be ask'd his
In this thy poetical jargon, and canting,
If agreeable *sound*, or good *sense*, be more wanting.

* *See* London Magazine, *Vol. I. page* 365.

† *See*, — *the bright Beginning of the above-cited Ode.*

Had not *Johnſon's* induſtrious ſhuttle ran ſmoother, [ſuch a ſoother,
He, nor living, nor dead, wou'd have had
As fawning *M—t B——ch*; — whoſe hopes were then budding, [*pudding*.
Of having a ſhare * in the webſter's *plum-*
But, O *Pædagogue* rare!—precious *prieſt* of *Apollo!* — [we thee follow?
Thro' the intricate maze, pray, how ſhall
Thou haſt no more regard to *conſtruction* [*fanatic*, *grammatic*,
Than, — to good, decent *forms*, a foul, filthy
If, in *ſun'ral*-harangue †, *Ned* no better was fitted, [omitted.
Thy compliments groſs had as well been
For thy very *third line*, man, obliquely does hint,
That his table of ſins had *adultery* in't;
And makes him come out with a tacit confeſſion, [tranſgreſſion.
That he ſomething had known of that *modiſh*
At firſt glance, this appears, from thy ſtile comprehenſive: [*extenſive*.
But *Ned's charity*, ſure, was not quite ſo
And now, — brother *B——ch*, — (leſt you think me quite rude,) [conclude. —
With ſome *ſerious advice*, I'll make bold to
In your ſtudy, — (if any you have,) — or, in *ſchool*, [the fool.
I charge you, take care, you no more play
'Gainſt ſunday, read o'er, — with attention moſt ſteady, —
And *homily* ſtrive to get perfect and ready.
Mind your *nouns*, and your *verbs*: — and I prithee, friend, mind, [*declin'd*.
That CARMEN's a word, that may well be
Regard what I ſay, — leſt your flock, at the church, [you i'th' lurch: —
In the midſt of your *dream*, ſhou'd all leave
And the lads, at the ſchool, ſhou'd, at length, be aware, [thing to fear.
From thy merciful *rod*, that they've no-
For *they* too will *laugh*, and be glad in their heart, [*ſmart*.
When *Birch* has not pow'r to make any thing

Upon the Tranſlation of the Right Revd. Dr. POTTER *to the See of* CANTERBURY.

WHEN rev'rend *Wake* in peace reſign'd his breath,
And fell a victim to impartial death;
Potter the great, (whoſe venerable name
Stands conſecrated to immortal fame;)
Was by our faith's defender thought to be
The worthy'ſt biſhop for the vacant ſee.
Now rev'rend *Potter Lambeth's* ſeat doth grace,
As his juſt right, when merit claims the place.
Learning and honour, juſtice, truth divine,
In *Potter's* ſacred breaſt ſerenely ſhine;
Laud's piety, and *Sheldon's* zeal appear,
And *Juxon's* loyalty divinely fair.
Sure, rev'rend *Potter* was by heav'n deſign'd
To give divine inſtructions to mankind;
As he by providence divine was ſent,
To guard the church, and be her ornament;
Kind heav'n permit, that he may live to ſee
Our ſacred temples in proſperity;
Piety-ſhoutiſh, hereſy abate,
And rites divine regain their ancient ſtate.
When his immortal ſpirit mounts on high,
And leaves behind its dull mortality;
May he a crown of endleſs glory wear, [are,
In thoſe bleſt realms where ſaints and angels

On the famous Lord *Theodore*. Found in a fool Copy under the Title of *Miſerere tu Felicium*. I think it ſhou'd be rather, *Miſerere Infelicium*.

NAVITA, mercator, haro, dux Theodorus,
& armis
Inclytus, et civis tutus orbis erat.
Et modo regales felix aſſumſit honores; —
Et modo, depoſitis faſcibus, exul abit.
Carcere concluſus tandem, & ſpoliatus ad aſſem,
O quid non fuerat? O Theodore, quid es?

To the Author of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THE Epigram ſo much talk'd of at preſent,
Dum dubitat natura, marem faceretve puellam,
Factus es, O pulcher pene puella puer;
is far from being either grand or juſt. Doubtleſs Auſonius *only intended it as a pretty little Compliment to a Child; and in ſuch manner it ſhould be Tranſlated:*

While nature meditated that and this,
Forth cam'ſt thou, lovely boy, almoſt a miſs!

But if we turn the Compliment, and make a Gradation from the Female *to the* Male *(inſtead of from the* Male *to the* Female*) then the Compliment will be both great and delicate. It was thus done about a year ago by a Friend of mine, and deſervedly applied to a very agreeable young Lady, as follows.*

To Miſs E. H—pk—ns.

While nature doubted, youth or nymph to frame;
Forth to the wond'ring world *Eliza* came. —
Thus by meer chance, explain it as you can,
One female (and but *one* ſince time began)
Has all her ſex's *charms* and all the *ſenſe* of man.

* *He made Intereſt, about that Time, for the Place.* † *Mr. B—— preach'd* Ned's *Funeral-Sermon.*

The

The Discription of a Handkercchief, *writ upon Condition of being rewarded with a real one.*

NO common theme display'd in rhime
Teach me, *Pierian* maids, to sing;
Here, humble votary, to your shrine
The trophy'd *handkerchief* I bring.
Whether the silk-worm spin to form
Its texture, or the cotton-tree
With vegetable wool adorn,
Still all in its applause agree.
See! this the drooping *flage* relieves;
Poets to its protection go;
Hence *tragedy* pathetic grieves;
Effectual engine this of woe!
This animates the *preacher's* line;
Pulpits awak'ning truths reveal,
While brandish'd this by hand divine
Streams out the instrument of zeal.
Thou art (if thee we may address)
Chief mourner at the miser's bier;
Now, chang'd the scene, dost joy express
By frolic swains high way'd in air.
Oft thou around the aching head
(While hawthorn spends its drops in vain,
In vain while spouting blood is shed)
Forbidst to rage the temples pain.
Edg'd with no sparkling lace the coat,
What is it thus attracts the eye?
The pocket's pride thou peepest out,
Becoming superfluity!
Here for the fainting virgin thou
Dost vials liquid fragrance borrow;
From thee detach'd quick spirits flow,
Recal her colour, chase her sorrow:
There nymphs to thee neat works impart,
Which painters colours have design'd;
Around thee sports the needle's art
Leaving gay tracks of flow'rs behind.
The abject task dost thou despise?
Fly'st thou to hood-wink *Cupid* o'er?
Absurd pursuit! still veil the eyes
Of justice, but of love no more.
But haste, and with thy charms surround
Corinna's neck too often bare;
There let thy blooming wreaths abound;
Spread vi'lets, lilies, roses there.

LONDON'S ORDINARY.

THRO' the *Royal Exchange* as I walked,
Where gallants in fattin did shine:
At midst of the day they parted away,
At several places to dine.
The gentry went to the *King's Head*,
The nobles unto the *Crown*:
The knights unto the *Golden Fleece*,
And the plowman to the *Clown*.
The clergy will dine at the *Mitre*,
The vintners at the *Three Tuns*:
The usurers to the *Devil* will go,
And the fryers unto the *Nuns*.
The ladies will dine at the *Feathers*,
The *Globe* no captain will scorn:
The huntsman will go to the *Grey hound* below,
And some townsmen to the *Horn*.
The plummer will dine at the *Fountain*,
The cooks at the *Holy Lamb*:
The drunkards at noon to the *Man-in-the-Moon*,
And the cuckolds to the *Ram*.
The roarers will dine at the *Lyon*,
The watermen at the *Old Swan*:
The bawds will to the *Negro* go,
And the whores to the *Naked Man*.
The keepers will to the *White Hart*,
The mariners unto the *Ship*:
The beggars they must take their way
To the *Eg-shell* and the *Whip*.
The farriers will to the *Horse*,
The blacksmith unto the *Lock*:
The butchers to the *Bull* will go,
And the carmen to *Bridewel Dock*.
The fishmongers unto the *Dolphin*,
The bakers to the *Great Loaf*:
The turners unto the *Ladle* will go,
Where they may merrily quaff.
The taylor will dine at the *Sheers*,
The shoe-makers will to the *Boot*:
The *Welshmen* they will take their way,
And dine at the sign of the *Goat*.
The hosiers will dine at the *Leg*,
The drapers at the sign of the *Bruse*;
The fletchers to *Robin Hood* will go,
And the spendthrift to *Beggars Bush*.
The pewterers to the *Quart Pot*,
The coopers will dine at the *Hoop*:
The cobblers to the *Last* will go,
And the barge-men to the *Scoop*.
The carpenters will dine at the *Axe*,
The colliers will dine at the *Sack*:
Your fruiterer he to the *Cherry Tree*:
Good fellows no liquor will lack.
The goldsmiths to the *Three Cups*,
Their money they count as dross:
Your puritan to the *Pewter Can*,
And your papists to the *Cross*.
The weavers will dine at the *Shuttle*,
The glovers will unto the *Glove*:
The maidens all to the *Maiden-head*,
And true lovers unto the *Dove*.
The sadlers will dine at the *Saddle*,
The painters to the *Green Dragon*:
The *Dutchman* will go to the sign of the *Vrow*,
Where each man may drink his flagon.
The chandlers will dine at the *Scales*,
The salters at the sign of the *Bag*:
The porters take pain at the *Labour-in-Vain*,
And the horse-coorser to the *White Nag*.
Thus every man in his humour,
From north unto the south:
But he that hath no money in his purse,
May dine at the sign of the *Mouth*.
The swaggerers will dine at the *Fencers*,
But those that have lost their wits,
With *Bedlam Tom* let there be their home,
And the *Drum* the drummers best fits.
The cheater will dine at the *Chequer*,
The pick-pocket at a blind ale-house;
Till taken and tried up *Holbourn* they ride,
And make their end at the gallows.

THE

N. B. *The* Nun, *Prayer of* Manasses, *and several other Pieces, must be deferr'd, for want of Room.*

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THE
Monthly Chronologer.

SUNDAY, *July* 31.

THEIR Majeſties, their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales*, and their Royal Highneſſes the Princeſſes *Amelia* and *Caroline* went to Chapel, at *Hampton-Court*, and heard a Sermon preached by Dr. *Blomer*. Their Majeſties and the reſt of the Royal Family, abovementioned, dined afterwards in Publick, as uſual, before a great Number of Spectators: About 5 o'Clock the ſame Afternoon, her R. H. the Princeſs of *Wales* began to find herſelf in ſome Pain, and the ſame continuing by Intervals, about 7, Coaches were ordered to be got ready, and ſoon after the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales*, attended by ſeveral Ladies, ſet out from thence for St. *James's*, where they arrived about 9 at Night; and her Royal Highneſs's Pains encreaſing, ſhe was, a little after 11 o'Clock, ſafely and happily delivered of a Princeſs. About half an Hour after 10, the Prince diſpatched one of his Pages to *Hampton-Court*, to acquaint their Majeſties with the News of her Royal Highneſs's being in Labour, and the Queen immediately thereupon ſet out for St. *James's*, accompanied by his Grace the Duke of *Grafton*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, the Right Hon. the Lord *Harvey*, her Majeſty's Vice Chamberlain, and the ſeveral Ladies of her Majeſty's Bed-Chamber in Waiting; and arriving there about 4 o'Clock, her Majeſty, after a Stay of about 2 Hours, return'd again to *Hampton Court*. The next Day, *viz.* *Aug.* 1, about 11 in the Morning, the Guns in the *Park* and at the *Tower* were fired, and at Night there were Bonfires, Illuminations, and other Demonſtrations of Joy throughout the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*.

A ſmall SQUIB *for the Firſt of* Auguſt, 1737.

WHAT thunder is that which breaks from the *park*,
Proclaiming the joy of the nation?
O, this is the day true proteſtants mark
For *Hanover's* happy acceſſion.

But that is not all, for now Sir, we hear
That bliſs is extended ſtill further;
Auguſta the fair is heaven's great care,
And her highneſs this morn is a mother.

Tho' 'tis not a prince, we'll count it no leſs,
Some brave *Engliſh* ſoul in a woman;
Who knows but it may be another queen *Beſs*,
To humble the *Spaniard* and *Roman*.

Or elſe a queen *Anne*, to reign o'er the main:
That *Marlborough* ne'er may be wanting,
Let all our young heroes go make the campaign,
Inſtead of ſoft eaſe and gallanting.

THURSDAY, 4.

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* waited on his Majeſty, to congratulate him on the Birth of a Princeſs; and Mr. Baron *Thomſon*, their Recorder, made their Compliments in the following Speech.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

THE Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* moſt humbly entreat your Majeſty's Permiſſion to congratulate your Majeſty upon the ſafe Delivery of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales*, and the Birth of a Princeſs.

Theſe your Majeſty's moſt faithful and dutiful Subjects, having a juſt Senſe of the many Bleſſings they enjoy under your Majeſty's Protection, rejoice at any Good attending your Royal Family, and have a real Satisfaction by this Addition to it.

Every Branch of your illuſtrious Race muſt be dear and valuable to your Majeſty's Subjects, as it gives them a pleaſing Proſpect of the Continuance of that Happineſs which your Royal Houſe has ſecured to this Nation.

We wiſh that all your Majeſty's Subjects were truly ſenſible of their Felicity. They would then acknowledge, that they are in the full Poſſeſſion of their Liberties and Properties; that they are governed by Laws of their own making, under a mild and gracious Prince, who makes thoſe Laws the Rule of his Actions.

Happy is the Lot of ſuch a People!

Theſe, Sir, being our humble Sentiments, we beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that you may depend on the moſt hearty Endeavours in our Sphere, to promote a dutiful and affectionate Regard to your Royal Perſon and Government, and a zealous Attachment to the Proteſtant Succeſſion in your Royal Family.

To which his Majeſty return'd this moſt gracious Anſwer.

I thank you for your Congratulation upon the Birth of a Princeſs, and I take very kindly this repeated Inſtance of your Duty to me, and Affection to my Family.

They all had the Honour to kiſs his Majeſty's

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jeſty's Hand, who was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood on *Joſeph Hankey*, Eſq; Alderman.

They were afterwards introduced to her Majeſty, and Mr. *Baron Thomſon* made their Compliments as followeth.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* moſt humbly beg Leave to congratulate your Majeſty upon the ſafe Delivery of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales*, *and* the Birth of a Princeſs.

Every Thing which brings Joy and Comfort to your Majeſty, muſt give a true Satisfaction to all his Majeſty's Subjects. Your Majeſty's conſtant and indulgent Regard for their Welfare upon all Occaſions, demands the moſt dutiful and grateful Return on their Part.

Theſe his Majeſty's moſt faithful Subjects, preſume to tender their humble Acknowledgments, and to expreſs their Joy upon this happy Occaſion.

The Addition of a Princeſs to your Royal Family, yields them the agreeable Hope, of another Pattern of Virtue and Goodneſs, to be formed by your Majeſty's pious Inſtructions: They beg leave to offer their hearty Wiſhes for Proſperity to your Majeſty, and every Branch of your Royal Family: That they may be happy themſelves, and give Happineſs to others; that they may prove a Bleſſing to Nations; and in that, and every other Reſpect, reſemble your Majeſty, and imitate your Royal Example.

To which her Majeſty return'd a moſt gracious Anſwer; and they all had the Honour to kiſs her Majeſty's Hand, and were afterwards entertained at Dinner.

Upon the Mention of Mr. *Freeman* being appointed one of the 4 Horſe-Carriers to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, we had the following Paragraph.

This was the Office that old *Hobſon* enjoyed, in which he acquired ſo large a Fortune as enabled him to leave the Town that ever-memorable Legacy, the Conduit that ſtands on the *Market-Hill*, with an Eſtate to keep it perpetually in Repair. The ſame Perſon gave Riſe to the well known Adage, *Hobſon's Choice, This or none*; founded upon his Management in Buſineſs: He uſed to keep, it ſeems, Hackney Horſes, that he let out to young Gentlemen of the Univerſity, with whoſe Characters being well acquainted, he ſuited his Beaſt to his Rider, who upon a Diſlike, was ſure to receive that Anſwer from him, *This or none.*

They write from *Edinburgh*, That the 5th of laſt Month, being the firſt Sederunt of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of *Scotland*, *Patrick Lindſey*, Eſq; acquainted the honourable Fraternity, that he was charg'd by the Right Hon. *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, to make his Compliments to this honourable Convention in the moſt reſpectful Manner, and to acquaint them, that he had accepted of the Preſent of Table Linnen they had ſent him laſt Winter, with a hearty Aſſurance, that ſo far as his Intereſt and Influence went towards promoting the Manufacture of Home-made Linnen, they might rely upon it: and as a Teſtimony of his good Will and ſincere Intention to encourage ſo valuable a Branch of Buſineſs, he made a Preſent of 100 *l.* Sterling to be applied to the Uſe of the Manufacture, in ſuch a Manner as the Hon. Convention ſhall think proper; which by a Committee appointed for that Purpoſe, is diſtributed into Prize-Money, to ſuch as ſhall make the beſt Table-Linnen in the Years 1738, 1739, and 1740.

At the Aſſizes at *Alingdon* for the County of *Berks*, 3 Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Francis Hill* for the Murder of a Child about three Years ago at *Speenham Land*. *De la Fontaine Foreman*, for breaking the Houſe of the Duke of St. *Albans*, and taking his Grace's *George*, a Gold-headed Cane, and a conſiderable Sum of Money. And *William Abel*, for breaking open two Houſes near *Whitley*.— At *Northampton*, 3 Men receiv'd Sentence of Death for a Robbery on the Highway.

At *Derby*, *William Walker* was condemn'd for the Murder of *Iſaac Harriſon* of *Belper*; and 2 were ordered for Tranſportation.

At *Buckingham*, 3 Men receiv'd Sentence of Death; and at *Sarum* one for ſetting Fire to a Barn.

At *Rocheſter* Aſſizes, *Margaret Wickes* was try'd for the Murder of *Lydia Fagg*, an Infant about 18 Months old, Daughter of Mr. *Thomas Fagg* of *Dover*, and was capitally convicted. It appear'd upon the Tryal, that the Creature took the Child out of a Bed in her Maſter's Houſe, about 4 o' Clock in the Morning, the 28th. of *May* laſt, and carried it under *Dover* Caſtle, and threw it into the Sea, and drowned it, to be reveng'd on her Miſtreſs, with whom ſhe had ſome Words the Day before.

SATURDAY, 6.

At *Kingſton* Aſſizes for the County of *Surry*, 4 Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. George Green*, for breaking open the Houſe of Capt. *Thomas Foſter*, at *Rotherhith*, and ſtealing two ſilver Spoons, half a Guinea in Gold, and 40 Shillings in Silver: *Joſeph Morey*, for ſtealing a ſilver Tankard and two ſilver Spoons; and *John Hammond* and *Samuel Ealing*, for robbing Mrs. *Toms* of *Richmond*, and ſome other Ladies in a Coach. They were all four repriev'd for Tranſportation.

THURSDAY, 11.

At *Norwich*, 2 Men receiv'd Sentence of

Death for Horſe-ſtealing; and 10 were order'd for Tranſportation, among whom were 6 Smugglers.—At St. *Edmund's Bury*, for *Suffolk*, a little before, 2 Men were condemn'd, one for Houſe-breaking, and the other for ſtealing ſome Brandy.

SATURDAY, 13.

The Aſſizes ended for *Devon*, when the following Perſons received Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Thomas Collins*, for the barbarous Murder of *Ann Upcott* a Fiſherwoman, by cutting off her Head, cutting open her Body, taking out her Heart, and carrying it away on the Top of his Bill-Hook; *Richard Brice*, of *Tiverton*, for beating his Wife, and throwing her out of the Window into the Street, of which ſhe died; *James Gray*, Mariner, for robbing a Man of a Moidore, and ſix Shillings in Silver, who had nothing to ſay in his Defence but that he did it only for *Fun*; and a Man for forging a Note of Hand for ſix Shillings, who was reprieved for Tranſportation for 14 Years.

WEDNESDAY, 17.

At *Glouceſter*, 8 Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Abraham Wood* and *John Wood*, for the Highway; *John Chapman*, *William Turner*, and *John Thomas*, alias *Ewan Prothero*, for Horſe ſtealing; *John Willis*, *Thomas Rickets*, and *John Gibbs*, for Houſe-breaking.

THURSDAY, 18.

This Day Don *Thomas Geraldino*, Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the King of *Spain*, had his firſt private Audience of his Majeſty at *Hampton-Court*, and deliver'd his Letters of Credence.

WEDNESDAY, 24.

Sir *John Barnard*, Knt. and Alderman, was preſented with the Freedom of the City of *Edinburgh*, in a curious Silver Box, by Meſſ. *Blackwood* and *Corbett*, who afterwards elegantly entertain'd him.

THURSDAY, 25.

This Day a Man well dreſs'd on Horſeback rode as faſt as poſſible from *Fulham* along the King's Road, who call'd out to the Keepers of the ſeveral Turnpikes, when he was at ſome Diſtance from them, to open their Gates, telling them he was a Meſſenger, and was going to St. *James's* with an Account of her Majeſty's Death; which Alarm preſently took Wind and was ſpread about the Town for Truth; whereupon a Meſſenger was immediately diſpatch'd by his Royal Highneſs to *Hampton-Court*, who ſoon return'd with the agreeable News that their Majeſties and the reſt of the Royal Family were in good Health. Upon the above Report ſeveral Woollen Drapers went and bought Black Cloth at *Blackwell-Hall*, and ſome conſiderable Mercers diſpatch'd immediately Expreſſes for *Norwich*, to buy up Blacks there; and ſeveral of them went into *Spitalfields*, to beſpeak Black Silks, Grey Lutſtrings, *&c.* and Blacks and Greys immediately roſe 26 *per Cent.*

FRIDAY, 26.

The Vice-Chancellor, and ſeveral Heads of Houſes deputed by the Univerſity of *Oxford*, waited on his Majeſty at *Hampton-Court* with an Addreſs of Congratulation on the Birth of the Princeſs; and the next Day they made their Congratulations to the Prince. The ſame was ſoon after done by the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

MONDAY, 29.

This Evening the new-born Princeſs was baptized at St. *James's*, by the Name of AUGUSTA; his Majeſty, by his Proxy the Duke of *Grafton*; her Majeſty by the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*; and the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Saxe-Gotha*, by the Counteſs of *Burlington*, being Sponſors. The Ceremony was perform'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

MR. *John Evans*, Son of *Thomas Evans*, Eſq; a Gentleman in the Commiſſion of the Peace for the County of *Carmarthen*, lately married to Mrs. *Manſell*, a Widow Lady of 10,000 *l.* Fortune.

The Rt. Hon. the Lord *Haverſham*, to the Siſter of the Earl of *Angleſea*.

Pawlet Wright, Eſq; to Miſs *Mary Tyſſe* of *Hackney*.

Robert Whetcombe, Eſq; to Miſs *Gaunt*.

Capt. *Dives*, of the 2d. Reg. of Guards, to Miſs *Montgomery*, a *Yorkſhire* Lady of 7000 *l.* Fortune.

Daniel Moor, of *Woodſtock*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Curzon*, Relict of *Abraham Curzon*, Eſq; a Lady of 25,000 *l.* Fortune.

Mr. *Vandeval*, a rich *Dutch* Merchant, married, at the *Bull-and-Mouth* Meeting, to Miſs *Ingram*, Daughter of Mr. *Ingram*, a Linnen-Draper in *Cheapſide*; a Fortune of 10,000 *l.*

The Lady of Sir *William Heathcote*, Bart. brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Counteſs of *Albemarle* likewiſe brought to bed of a Daughter.

The Lady of the Rt. Hon. the Lord *Naſſau Pawlet* alſo deliver'd of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

IN *Dean-ſtreet*, Major *Paul de Gally*.

At *Cottenham*, the Rev. Dr. *Charles Fleetwood*, Archdeacon of *Cornwall*, Prebendary of *Ely*, and Rector of *Cottenham*, *Cambridgeſhire*. He was the only Son of the late learned Biſhop *Fleetwood*.

Rev. Mr. *James Ford*, Fellow of *Clare-hall*, in *Cambridge*.

Herbert Price, Eſq; one of the Clerks of the Board of Green-cloth.

Rt. Hon. the Counteſs of *Cavan*, in *Ireland*. She was Neice to the late famous Sir *Richard Steele*.

At his Seat in *Scotland*, Lord *Alexander Hay*,

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Hay, Uncle to the Marquis of *Tweedale*.

At *Tring*, *Hertfordſhire*, the Hon. Lady *Mary Gore*.

At *Edinburgh*, *William Drummond*, of *Grange*, Eſq;

Hon. *Edward Leigh*, Eſq; Heir Apparent to the Lord *Leigh*.

Rev. Dr. *King*, Maſter of the *Charter-Houſe*.

At his Seat in *Scotland*, *Robert* late Earl of *Carnwarth*.

At *Hampſtead*, *William Carbonnel*, Eſq;

At *Sheerneſs*, *Joſeph Dunbar*, Eſq; formerly a Commander in the Royal Navy.

At *Mortlake*, *Richard Edwards*, Eſq;

At *Litchfield*, *George Middleton*, Eſq; many Years Governor of *Bermudas*, and ſome Time Governor of *Placentia*.

At his Seat in the County of *Salop*, *George Gibbon*, Eſq;

At *Darking*, *Eſſex*, *Jacob Bellamy*, Eſq;

Rev. Mr. *James Watſon*, Fellow of *Clare-Hall*, *Cambridge*.

Rev. Dr. *Day*, one of his Majeſty's Chaplains, and Firſt Chaplain to *Chelſea-College*.

At his Seat in *Eſſex*, *David Morgan*, Eſq;

At the *Spa* in *Germany*, *William Kingſford*, of *Canterbury*, Eſq;

At *Blackbourn*, *Lancaſhire*, Sir *Clement Stone Lloyd*, Knt.

Rev. Mr. *Manners*, Fellow of *Winchester-College*.

At *Colnbrok*, *George Honeywood*, Eſq;

At *Sandywell*, *Glouceſterſhire*, Capt. *John Carey*.

At *Chelſea*, the Lady of the Right Hon. Sir *Robert Walpole*.

At *Richmanſworth*, *Gabriel Cornforthe*, Eſq;

At *Swallow-field*, *Berks*, *David Clayton*, Eſq;

At *Mouſley*, *Surrey*, *John Thompſon*, Eſq;

At *Hampton-Court*, his Excellency Baron *Hartoff*, his Majeſty's Secretary of State for the Affairs of *Hanover*.

At *Bratles*, *Warwickſhire*, the Rev. Dr. *Evans*, Miniſter of that Pariſh.

At *Warwick*, *Philip Hatton*, Eſq;

James Leake, Eſq; formerly a Director of the *South-Sea* Company.

Miſs *Catherine Cullum*, only ſurviving Daughter of the late *Tho. Cullum*, of *Ealing*, *Middleſex*, Eſq;

Sir *Harry Peachy*, Bart. Member of Parliament for *Midhurſt* in *Suſſex*.

Rev. Mr. *Arthur Williams*, Archdeacon of St. *David's*, and Rector of St. *Mary's* in *Cheſter*.

Mr. *Edward Barnard*, an eminent Surgeon in *Great Ruſſel-Street*.

The Lady of Mr. *Reynolds*, Son to the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

In the 88th Year of his Age, the Rev. Mr. *Samuel Bold*, Chaplain to the preſent Lord Biſhop of *Winchester*, and Rector of *Steeple* in *Dorſetſhire*, of which Pariſh he had been 56 Years Incumbent; a Perſon whoſe Character is ſufficiently eterniz'd by the great Mr. *Locke*, and was well known to the learned World by the ſeveral Tracts which he has publiſh'd. It is remarkable there have been but 5 Rectors of *Steeple* ſince the Reign of K. *Henry* VIII. which is near 200 Years.

Mr. *Thomas Cuthbert*, one of the ſenior twenty-four Muſicians in Ordinary to his Majeſty, and an eminent Performer on the Violin.

At *Tunbridge*, in the 94th Year of his Age, —— *Ferguſon*, Eſq; who for ſeveral Years was Receiver General of the Cuſtoms in *Scotland*.

David Morley, Eſq; an old Officer in the Army.

Eccleſiaſtical Preferments *in our next*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

Archibald M'Aulay, Eſq; elected Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, in the Room of *Alexander Wilſon*, Eſq;

Duke of *Newcaſtle* choſen High Steward of *Cambridge*.

Nathaniel Blackerby, Eſq; choſen Chairman of the *Weſtminſter* Seſſions, in the Room of Sir *John Genſon*, who reſign'd.

Thomas Bloodworth, Eſq; appointed Maſter of the Horſe to the Princeſs *Amelia*.

Capt. *George Cooke*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Penſilvania*.

Wentworth Odiam, Eſq; made Serjeant at Arms to the Houſe of Commons.

Mr. *Cæſar Hawkins*, of *Pall-Mall*, made Surgeon to the Prince of *Wales*.

Earl of *Berkeley* made Lord-Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the County of *Glouceſter*, and Cities of *Briſtol* and *Glouceſter*.

Major-General *Tyrrell* made Governor of *Weſt Tilbury Fort* and *Graveſend*.

Major-General *Barrel* made Governor of *Pendennis Caſtle*.

John Price, Eſq; made Lieutenant Governor of *Berwick*.

Chriſtopher Webb, Eſq; made Equerry to her Majeſty.

Earl of *Abercorn*, *Edward Walpole*, and *Luke Gardiner*, Eſqrs; appointed of the Privy Council in *Ireland*.

Counteſs of *Tankerville* made a Lady of the Bed-Chamber to her Majeſty.

Mr. *Robert Foſter* made Inſpector-General of the Cuſtoms throughout *England*.

Brigadier *Cavalier* made Adjutant-General of the Forces.

Nicholas Man, Eſq; choſen Maſter of the *Charter-Houſe*, in the Room of Dr. *King*.

New Members choſen.

Tho. Carew, Eſq; for *Minehead*.

Robert Brown, Eſq; for *Dorcheſter*.

Sir *Charles Gilmour*, for the Shire of *Edinburgh*.

Duncan Urquhart, Eſq; for the Burghs of *Inverneſs*, *Nairn*, &c.

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Perſons declared BANKRUPTS.

MARY *Jenkins*, of *Barnſtaple*, *Devon*, Woollen draper and Chapwoman.

John Norris, near *Chelſea*, in the Pariſh of St. *George*, *Hanover-Square*, Victualler and Chapman.

Thomas Clarke, of *Long-Lane*, *Southwark*, Dealer and Chapman.

John Gallopine, of *Fiſh ſtreet hill*, *London*, Tobacconiſt.

John Saward, of *Lambeth*, *Surrey*, Refiner of Lead and Iron, Dealer in Metals and Chapman.

Thomas Bean, of *Rye*, *Suſſex*, Innholder and Chapman.

Thomas Lloyd, late of *King ſtreet*, *Weſtminſter*, and now of *Chelſea*, Wine-Merchant.

Robert Gibſon, of *Gawbet-Hall*, in the Pariſh of *Halifax*, in the County of *York*, Chapman.

John Davies, of St. *Martin's in the Fields*, in the Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, Woodmonger and Chapman.

Elizabeth Webb, late of *Plymouth*, *Devon*, Grocer.

John Hurſt, late of *Leiceſter*, Baker.

Robert Jackſon, of *Borough Gardens*, *Suffolk*, near *Yarmouth*, Dealer in Brandy.

Robert Philipi, late of *Queen-ſtreet*, in the Pariſh of St. *Giles's in the Fields*, Bricklayer.

Thomas Crouch, late of *Agmondeſham*, *Bucks*, Innholder and Chapman.

Bartholomew Swift, of St. *Paul's Shadwell*, *Middleſex*, Anchorſmith and Chapman.

Richard Hill, of *Ludgate-Hill*, Grocer.

Edward Heylyn and *Rob. Rogers*, of *Briſtol*, Merchants and Partners.

Abraham Arnold, of *Battle-Bridge*, *Southwark*, Lighterman and Chapman.

Edward Grenvile, of *Briſtol*, Grocer.

Geo. Alker, of *Shrewſbury*, Dealer in Cotton.

William Hoare, of *Haverford-Weſt*, Shopkeeper and Chapman.

Edward Buckler, of *Briſtol*, Malſter and Chapman.

John Wools, late of *Romſey*, *Hants*, Taylor.

Henry George Rounds, of *Shoreditch*, Cordwainer.

Wm. Feales, of the *Strand*, Bookſeller.

Thomas Taylor, of *Woodbridge* in *Suffolk*, Chapman.

John Stolough, late of St. *Giles's in the Fields*, Saleſman.

Francis Kent, of *Newcaſtle Underline*, Chapman.

John Daniel, of St. *Martin's in the Fields*, Brewer.

Joſeph Weſtwood and *John Weſtwood*, of *Brentwood*, *Eſſex*, Butchers, Saleſmen and Partners.

John Dawes, of St. *Andrew's Holborn*, Victualler and Chapman.

Nehemiah Eaſtman, of *Thames-ſtreet*, Dry-Salter.

Alexander Worthington, of *Manchester*, Chapman.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	101 ¼ a ⅜	*Afric.*	14
—*Bonds*	4 16	*Royal Aſſ.*	108 ½ a 9
—*Annu.*	111 ¼ a 11 ¼	*Lon. ditto*	14 ¾ a ⅞
Bank	145 ½ a ¾	3 *per C. An.*	106 ⅛ a ¼
—*Circ.*	3 15	*Eng. Copper*	
Mil. Bank	123 ¼	*Salt Tallies*	1 a 5
India	176	*Emp. Loan*	113
—*Bonds*	6 16	*Equiv.*	112

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	34 9 a 10	*Bilboa*	40 ½
D. Sight	34 8 a 8 ¼	*Legborn*	49 ¾ a ⅝
Rotter.	34 11 a 35	*Genoa*	52 ½
Hamb.	33 9 2 a 10	*Venice*	50 ⅛
P. Sight	32 1/16 a ⅜	*Lisb.*	51 5d ½
Bourdx.	32 ¼	*Oport.*	5s 5d ⅜ a ½
Cadiz	39 ⅛	*Antw.*	34 10 a 11
Madrid	40 ¼	*Dublin*	9 ⅛

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	28 34	*Oates*	10 13
Rye	13 18	*Tares*	22 24
Barley	16 19	*Peaſe*	27 31
H. Beans	20 25	*H. Peaſe*	16 17
P. Malt	22 27	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *July* 26 to *Aug.* 23.

Chriſtned	Males 570	Females 661	1231
Buried	Males 959	Females 1054	2013
Died under 2 Years old			812
Between 2 and 5			201
5	10		75
10	20		66
20	30		133
30	40		181
40	50		183
50	60		135
60	70		104
70	80		82
80	90		34
90 and upwards			7
			2013

Hay 48 to 60*s.* a Load.

Since

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Since our laſt we have the following Accounts.

FROM the *Muſcovite* Army under *Count Munich*, That having paſſed his whole Army over the River *Beg* on the 27, 28, and 29th of *June*, he marched directly to *Ochakow*, where his advanced Guard arrived the 9th of *July*, and next Day his whole Army: On that very Day he inveſted the Place, and next Day attacked and drove the *Turks* from every one of the Outworks and Fortifications on the Outſide of the covered Way. On the 12th he attacked and drove the Enemy from the Counterſcarpe and covered Way; and on the 13th he gave the general Aſſault to the Place, which the *Ruſſian* Soldiers made with ſuch Vigour and Alacrity, that by Noon the Gariſon hung out the white Flag, and ſurrendered. As this City is ſurrounded with a Wall with ſeveral Baſtions, all lined with Stone, without which there is a large and deep Ditch, and without that again a regular Counterſcarp; and as it was provided with a Gariſon of 17,000 Men, of the beſt *Turkiſh* Troops, it is really ſurprizing how it was poſſible for the *Muſcovites* to make themſelves Maſters of it in three Days, and without ſo much as opening Trenches. There never was a more convincing Proof of the extraordinary Effects of good Government and a right Police: It is not the military Art alone that has wrought ſuch a Change on the *Muſcovite* and *Turkiſh* Troops; there muſt beſides be ſome good Management in the preſent Government of *Muſcovy*, which has raiſed the Spirit and whetted the Courage of that whole Nation; and on the other Hand there muſt have been a Series of bad Oeconomy in the *Turkiſh* Government, which ſeems to have deſtroyed the Spirit of their regular Troops, as well as the reſt of their Subjects.

From the other *Muſcovite* Army under *General Lacy*, That on the 30th of *June*, he paſſed his Army over a narrow Part of the Sea which almoſt ſurrounds the *Crimea*, by means of a Bridge of Boats he had cauſed to be built near *Cadzis*; from whence he marched towards *Arrabat* about 8 Leagues from *Kerez*, without ſo much as ſeeing an Enemy, except about 400 *Tartars* who were immediately put to Flight; the Reaſon of which was, that the *Kam of Tartary*, with his grand Army, had poſted himſelf at *Precop*, imagining that to be the only Place by which the *Muſcovites* could penetrate into the *Crimea*.

From the *German* Army commanded by *Count Seckendorff*, That on the 12th of *July*, they built a Bridge over the *Morawa*, which the Army paſſed next Day, and immediately Hoſtilities were begun againſt the *Turks*, by attacking ſome of their *Palanka's* or little Redoubts, thrown up for defending their Frontiers. The firſt Incampment of the Army, within the *Turkiſh* Territories, was at *Barakin*; from whence *General Philippi*, with ſix Regiments of Cavalry, was detached on the 20th towards *Nizza*; and on the 22d the whole Army marched to a new Camp marked out for them at *Schupolach*. On the 22d *General Philippi*, with the Detachment under his Command, inveſted *Nizza*, and immediately ſummoned the Governor to ſurrender, who thereupon deſired a Truce for 20 Days, in order that he might ſend to know the *Grand Seignior's* Pleaſure; but an Anſwer was returned, that if he did not ſurrender the Place by the 25th they would attack it Sword in Hand, and would give no Quarter: Upon this the few *Janizaries* who were in the Place, were for holding it out to the laſt, but the Militia and Inhabitants mutinied upon them; ſo that the Governor was obliged to propoſe a Capitulation, which was agreed to on the 25th; only he deſired for his Honour's Sake, he might not be obliged to evacuate the Place till the grand Army came up, which they did on the 28th. That Evening three of the Gates were put in Poſſeſſion of the *Imperialiſts*, and next Day the *Turkiſh* Gariſon evacuated the Place, and, with ſuch of the Inhabitants as had a Mind to retire, were conducted to *Sophia*.

From the *German* Army in *Tranſylvania* under *General Wallis*, That they had entered the Provinces of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, and as they found no Army to oppoſe them, they had laid both the Provinces under Contribution, having divided the Army in four different Bodies for that Purpoſe, and were in hopes of being very ſoon Maſters of that whole Country.

Hitherto we have heard of nothing but great Succeſs againſt the *Turks*, but from the Army under the *Prince Hildbourghauſen*, and other Parts of *Boſnia*, where the famous *Count Bonneval* commands as *Baſhaw* and General of the *Turks*, we are to give a different Sort of Accounts. In this Province the *Germans* began Hoſtilities againſt the *Turks*, likewiſe upon the 12th or 13th of *July*, and after having paſſed the *Save* and made themſelves Maſters of ſeveral *Turkiſh Palanka's*, the Prince with an Army of 14,000 regular Troops, and about 10,000 *Sclavontans*, marched and laid Siege to *Bagnaluck* on the 21ſt. While he was employed in this Siege, a Body of *Croatian* Militia of about 5 or 6000, with about 600 regular Troops marched to attack the Caſtle of *Zatbia* belonging to the *Turks*; but in their March a Body of about 10,000 *Turks* came upon them by Surprize, and entirely defeated them: In this Action the *German* regular Troops behaved moſt gallantly, but being ſoon deſerted by the cowardly Militia, they were moſtly cut to Pieces, together with the *Baron de Raunach*, who commanded that little Army, and ſeveral other good Officers.

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The Prince notwithſtanding went on with the Siege: But whilſt the Governour was amuſing him by a Feint as if he wanted Ammunition, and entering into a Capitulation; *Bonneval* came by Surprize upon the Prince's Army of Obſervation, and gave them a ſignal Overthrow; while the Governour made a vigorous Sally upon the beſieging Army, ſo that both were put to the Rout, and the Enemy left in Poſſeſſion of their Cannon, Mortars, Baggage and War-Office. The *Turks* alſo cut down the *Germans* Bridge of Communication over the *Verbas*, ſo that the main Body of the *German* Army, attack'd by *Bonneval*, were either drown'd in the River or maſſacred by the Enemy.

The Monthly Catalogue *for* Auguſt, 1737.

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

1. HORACE to *Auguſtus*. By Mr. *Pope*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

2. A Poem to the Princeſs of *Wales*, occaſion'd by her late happy Delivery of a Princeſs. By Mr. *Weſted*. Printed for *J. Walthoe*, price 6*d*.

3. Miſcellany Poems. By a Gentleman of *Oxford*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

4. The Ladies Miſcellany. N° I. Sold at *Furnival's-Inn* Coffee-Houſe, price 1*s*.

5. The Diſtreſt Fair; or, the Happy Unfortunate. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

* 6. A new Edition of the *Tatler*. In 4 Vols, price 10*s*.

* 7. A new Edition of Poems on ſeveral Occaſions. Written by Dr. *Thomas Parnell*. Printed for *H. Lintott*, 8vo, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

* 8. Love of Fame, the Univerſal Paſſion. The 3d Edition. By Dr. *Young*. Printed for Meſſ. *Bettefworth* and *Hitch*, 8vo, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

* 9. An Eſſay on Mr. *Pope's Odyſſey*. By Mr. *Spence*. The 2d Edition. Printed for *S. Wilmot, Oxon*, 8vo, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

* 10. The OEconomy of Love. The 2d Edition. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

11. Heſiodi Aſcræi opera, Græce & Latine, in Quarto. Præmittitur Diſſertatio de Vita, Scriptis, & Ætate Heſiodi, Ed. Tho. Robinſon, S. T. P. Proſtant apud Meſſ. Knapton, 4to, price 16*s*.

12. Medulla Poetarum Romanorum; or, the moſt beautiful and inſtructive Paſſages of the *Roman* Poets. Publiſh'd by Mr. *Henry Baker*. Printed for *D. Midwinter*, Meſſ. *Bettefworth* and *Hitch*, Meſſ. *Pemberton*, *R. Ware*, *A. Ward*, Meſſ. *Knapton*, *T. Longman* and *R. Hett*, 2 Vols. 8vo, price 12*s*.

13. A Propoſal for building the new Bridge. By the late Mr. *Hawkſmoor*. Engraven on Copper. Sold by *J. Wilcox*, price 1*s*.

14. A Letter to the Moral Philoſopher: Being the Vindication of a Pamphlet, entitled, The Immorality of the Moral Philoſopher. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 6*d*.

15. An Account of the Burning of the City of *London*. Printed for *J. Stone*, pr. 6*d*.

* 16. *England's* black Tribunal. The 6th Edition. Printed for *C. Rivington*, 8vo, price 5*s*. 6*d*.

* 17. The Modern Cook. By Mr. *Chapelle* The 3d Edition. In 3 Vols. 8vo. Printed for *T. Osborne*, price 18*s*.

* 18. Youth's Introduction to Trade and Buſineſs. By M. *Clare*. The 4th Edition. Printed for *E. Symon*, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

PHYSICAL.

* 19. S. Dale, M. L. Pharmacologiæ; ſeu, Manuductio ad Materiam Medicam. Editio Tertia. Impenſis Innys & Manby, 4to, price 13*s*. 6*d*.

20. An Eſſay on Hot and Cold Bathing; with ſome Obſervations on the Mineral Waters at *Bungay* in *Suffolk*. By *J. King*. Sold by Meſſ. *Bettefworth* and *Hitch*, price 3*s*.

21. An Eſſay upon the *Witham Spa*. By *James Taverner*, M. B. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

SERMONS.

22. A Sermon preach'd at *Briſtol*. By *G. Whitefield*, A. B. Printed for *C. Rivington*, price 6*d*.

23. Four Diſcourſes; with an Appendix in relation to the Moral Philoſopher. By *B. A. Atkinſon*. Printed for *D. Farmer*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

24. A Sermon preach'd in the *Old Baily*. By *J. Anderſon*, D. D. Printed for *R. Ford*, price 6*d*.

25. A Thankſgiving Sermon preach'd at the Chapels of the *Fleet* Priſon and *Poultry* Compter. By *J. Patterſon*, M. A. Sold by *W. Mears*, price 6*d*.

26. A Sermon occaſion'd by the Death of the late Rev. Mr. *Platts*. By *J. Richardſon*. Printed for *R. Hett*, 8vo, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

27. A Sermon on *Auguſt* 1, 1737. By *W. Harris*, D. D. Printed for *R. Ford*, pr. 6*d*.

* 28. A Sermon preach'd at a Wedding. By *J. Sprint*. The 4th Edition. Sold by *J. Fiſher*, price 3*d*.

THEOLOGICAL.

39. The Plain Account, *&c.* not drawn from, or founded on Scripture. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

30. A Rational Account of the Principles of Chriſtianity and the Practice thereof. By the late Rev. Mr. *J. Platts*. Printed for *R. Hett*, 8vo, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

* 31. A Review of the Doctrine of the Euchariſt. By *D. Waterland*, D. D. The 2d Edition corrected. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, 8vo, price 6*s*. 6*d*.

* 32. The Country Parſon's Advice to his Pariſhioners. The 2d Edition. Printed for *B. Motte*, 12mo, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

SEPTEMBER, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT, *continued from Page* 431

WE ſhall now begin to give a regular Account of the moſt remarkable Proceedings and Debates of the laſt Seſſion, according to the Order of Time in which each reſpective Affair was introduced.

On *Wedneſday*, *Feb.* 2. a Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and other Freeholders of the County of *Norfolk*, whoſe Names were thereunto ſubſcribed, in behalf of themſelves, and of a great Number of the Freeholders of that County, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the ſaid County, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; and 'twas ordered, that the Matter of the ſaid Petition ſhould be heard at the Bar of that Houſe, upon *Thurſday* the third Day of *March* then next; and that Liſts, with reſpect to the ſaid Election, ſhould be, in purſuance of the Reſolution of that Houſe, delivered by that Day three Weeks, *viz.* *Feb.* 23.

This was the firſt Petition relating to controverted Elections that was preſented, and, if it had been proſecuted, would certainly have taken up all the Time the Seſſion had to ſpare for ſuch Affairs, and would probably have ended in the ſame Manner with the *Yorkſhire* Election in the preceding Seſſion; but on *March* 2, a Motion was made, that the Petitioners might be at Liberty to withdraw their Petition, which was accordingly granted, and, the Controverſy being thus ended, Mr. Speaker was next Day ordered by the Houſe to iſſue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out a new Writ for electing a Knight of the Shire to ſerve in the preſent Parliament for the ſaid County, in the Room of *William Wodehouſe*, Eſq; who had died after his Election and Return, againſt which the ſaid Petition was preſented.

Tho' this Election was thus given up, yet there was one Thing happened relating to it, which, as the Point was not then properly determined, may hereafter occaſion a Diſpute in ſome other Election; and therefore we think ourſelves obliged to give ſome Account of it.

The Reſolution of the Houſe relating to the delivering of Liſts of controverted Voters, which is a Reſolution always agreed to the Beginning

ning of each Seſſion, and in purſuance of which the Liſts with reſpect to this controverted Election, had been ordered to be delivered as before mentioned, is as follows, *viz. That in all Caſes of controverted Elections for Counties in* England *and* Wales, *to be heard at the Bar of that Houſe, or before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, the Petitioners ſhould by themſelves, or by their Agents, within a convenient Time, to be appointed either by the Houſe or the Committee of Privileges and Elections, as the Matter to be heard ſhall be before the Houſe or the ſaid Committee, deliver to the ſitting Members or their Agents, Liſts of the Perſons intended by the Petitioners to be objected to, who voted for the ſitting Members; giving, in the ſaid Liſts, the ſeveral Heads of Objection, and diſtinguiſhing the ſame againſt the Names of the Voters excepted to; and that the ſitting Members ſhould, by themſelves, or by their Agents, within the ſame Time, deliver the like Liſts on their Part, to the Petitioners or their Agents.*

In purſuance of this Reſolution, and according to the Order of the Houſe, the Petitioners for the County of *Norfolk*, and the ſitting Member for that County, there being then only one in the Houſe, who ſupported the Election of himſelf and the other Member deceaſed, delivered Liſts to each other reſpectively, within the Time limited by the Houſe; but in the Liſts delivered by the Petitiones to the ſitting Member, the Heads of Objection were not properly diſtinguiſhed againſt the Names of the Voters excepted to; for almoſt all the material Heads of Objection that could be made againſt any Voter for a County, were ſet againſt the Name of almoſt every Voter they excepted to; which the ſitting Member thought contrary to the Reſolution, and therefore he made his Complaint to the Houſe, and repreſented, That the Reſolution had been agreed to, in order to ſave Trouble and Expence to both Parties concerned, and likewiſe to prevent either Party's taking up the Time of the Houſe with examining Witneſſes to an Objection he could not fully prove, and then flying from that to another, from thence to a Third, *&c.* That if either Party thought he had ſeveral Objections to any one Voter, each of which would be of itſelf ſufficient, he ought, by the Reſolution, to fix upon that Objection which he thought he could moſt clearly prove, and diſtinguiſh that Head of Objection only againſt the Name of that Voter; by which means the other Party might know what he had to do, and might prepare proper Proofs or Materials for ſupporting the Right of his Voter againſt that Objection: But in the Manner the Liſts had been delivered to him, it would be impoſſible for him to know what to do, for that it would be vaſtly troubleſome and expenſive to prepare proper Proofs and Materials for ſupporting the Right of a Voter againſt every Objection that could be made; and if he prepared to anſwer one Objection only, he might at laſt find himſelf obliged to anſwer another Objection, for the Anſwering of which he could not then poſſibly have an Opportunity to prepare: That if the Method in which the Petitioners Liſts were drawn up ſhould be admitted, it would render that Part of the Reſolution quite uſeleſs, which relates to the diſtinguiſhing the Heads of Objection againſt the Names of the Voters excepted to; for if all the Heads of Objection that could poſſibly be made againſt any Voter, ſhould be ſet againſt the Name of every Voter, it would be the very ſame with making no particular Objection at all, which would leave both Parties as much at Liberty to vex one another, and to take up the Time of the Houſe unneceſſarily, as

if

if no such Resolution had ever been made: And lastly, that in the particular Case then before them, it would be a very great Hardship upon him; because in the Lists he had delivered to the Petitioners. he had strictly conformed to the Resolution of the House, which would give the Petitioners a very great Advantage over him; therefore he desired they might be ordered to amend their Lists, and to put them in that Method which was prescribed by the Resolution.

To which 'twas answered, That by the Resolution it was not intended to limit either the Petitioners or the sitting Member to the making but one Objection only against each Voter excepted to; nor could it be supposed that the House meant any such Thing when they agree'd to that Resolution; because it would be doing Injustice to both, to limit them to the making but one Objection to a Voter against whom they had several material Objections; therefore it was to be presumed, the Resolution intended only to oblige each Party to explain and expressly mention the several Objections they were to make against each Voter excepted to, which was the Method the Petitioners had taken with respect to the Lists they had delivered; and by that Method the sitting Member might know what to do, and could be put to no greater Expence or Trouble than the Nature of the Case required; for if he found that any one of the Objections proposed was well founded, and would probably be sufficiently proved, it would be quite unnecessary for him to put himself to any Expence or Trouble in supporting the Right of a Voter, who, he knew, had no Right; nor could the Time of the House be unnecessarily taken up, because each Party would begin with examining Witnesses as to that Objection which he thought the strongest, and which he thought he could the most fully prove; and if he found he had fully proved that Objection, he would proceed no further, nor trouble himself or the House with proving any other Objection; whereas if his Witnesses for proving that Objection should not, in their Examination before the House, come up to that which they had declared to him in the Country, which was often the Case, it would be Injustice to preclude him from proving any other Objection, when he found he neither had nor could fully prove the Objection he had first insisted on; therefore they did not think themselves obliged by the Resolution to amend their Lists, or to deliver them in any other Manner than what they had done: However, that they might not be thought to intend, and as they did not desire to take any sort of Advantage of the sitting Member, they were willing to amend their Lists, and to put them in the very same Method with those delivered to them by him; so that it would be quite unnecessary for the House to interpose in the Affair, or to come to any new Resolution, or Order, upon that Head.

This Compliance in the Petitioners prevented a Reply, and likewise prevented the House's coming to any new Resolution, or to any Determination, for explaining their former Resolution; so that the Point in dispute remains undetermined, and, if no new Law be made for regulating the Elections for Counties, it may be the Subject of some future Debate.

Upon the same Day, *viz. Feb.* 2. and immediately after the proper Orders were made for hearing the Petition from *Norfolk*, as before mentioned, a Petition of Sir *John Glynn*, Bart. complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of *Flint*, in the County of *Flint*, was presented to the House and read; and 'twas ordered, That the Matter of the said Petition should be heard upon *Tuesday*, *March* 8. then next;

which Order was afterwards put off to *Thurſday, March* 24. when the Houſe proceeded to the Hearing of the Matter of the ſaid Petition; and the Petition, and the laſt Determination of the Houſe, concerning the Right of electing a Burgeſs to ſerve in Parliament for the ſaid Borough, made *May* 21, 1728; and alſo the ſtanding Order of the Houſe, made *Jan.* 16, 1735, for reſtraining the Counſel at the Bar of that Houſe, or before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, from offering Evidence touching the Legality of Votes for Members to ſerve in Parliament for any County, Shire, City, Borough, Cinque-Port, or Place, contrary to the laſt Determination of the Houſe of Commons; were read.

Then the Counſel for the Petitioner were heard; and the original Poll, taken at the ſaid Election, being produced; and the Title thereof, and the total Number of Votes for each Candidate, being read; they examined ſeveral Witneſſes, touching the Behaviour of the returning Officers at the Time of taking and cloſing the ſaid Poll, and the Declaration of the Number of Votes, and of the Majority, and touching a Scrutiny to be had, and the Manner of making the Return, and the Declaration of one of the returning Officers, and the Inſtructions to him given by the ſitting Member previous to the Election, and other Occurrences at and after the ſaid Election: After which the ſaid Return, dated *May* 16, 1734, on which Day the Poll was cloſed, being read; the Counſel for the Petitioner were further heard, as to the Merits of the Return; when they inſiſted, that the Counſel for the ſitting Member ſhould proceed to juſtify the Return, before the Merits of the Election ſhould be proceeded upon: As to which Point the Counſel for the ſitting Member were heard by way of Anſwer, and the Counſel for the Petitioner by way of Reply; and then the Counſel on both Sides being, according to Direction, withdrawn, the following Motion was made, *viz.*

That the Counſel for the ſitting Member be directed to proceed, in order to juſtify the Return for the Borough of Flint, *before the Merits of the Election are proceeded upon.*

Upon this Motion there was a long Debate, and the Queſtion being at laſt put, it was carried in the Negative, by 205 to 166.

After which, the further Hearing of the Matter of the ſaid Petition was ordered to be adjourned to *Tueſday* then next; when the Counſel for the Petitioner proceeded in their Evidence; and having propoſed to qualify ſeveral Perſons, whoſe Votes for the Petitioner appeared, upon the original Poll taken at the ſaid Election, to have been diſallowed by the returning Officers, they examined *Benjamin Hughes*, one of the Church Wardens of the Pariſh of *Flint*, at and before the Time of the ſaid Election, in order to qualify one of the ſaid Perſons; and a Paper being by the ſaid Witneſs produced, purporting to be the Church and Poor Rate for the Borough of *Flint* in the Year 1733, the Counſel for the ſitting Member (having croſs examined him, and examined a Witneſs in relation to the ſaid Paper) objected to the admitting of that Paper in Evidence: As to which Objection, the Counſel for the Petitioner were heard by way of Anſwer, and the Counſel for the ſitting Member by way of Reply; and then the Counſel on both Sides being, by Direction, withdrawn, the following Motion was made, *viz.*

That the Paper produced by Benjamin Hughes *be admitted in Evidence, as the Rate for the Church and Poor of the Borough of* Flint *for the Year* 1733.

Upon this Motion there was likewiſe a Debate, but upon the Queſtion's

tion's being put, it was carried in the Negative; and then the further Hearing of this Matter was ordered to be adjourned till *Thurſday* Morning then next.

On that Day the Counſel for the Petitioner examined ſeveral Witneſſes, and produced Evidence, in order to qualify ſeveral Perſons, whoſe Votes for the Petitioner appeared, upon the original Poll taken at the ſaid Election, to have been diſallowed by the returning Officers; and on the *Tueſday* following, being *April* 5, they examined ſeveral Witneſſes, and produced Evidence, in order to add to the Poll of the Petitioner ſeveral Perſons, who offered to vote for him at the ſaid Election, but were refuſed by the returning Officers; and having propoſed to add to the ſaid Poll *Matthias Rogers*, by proving that his Landlord paid Scot and Lot for the Tenement, in which the ſaid *Matthias Rogers* inhabited, they thereupon acquainted the Houſe, that they intended to offer the like Proof, as to the other Perſons; upon which they were directed to withdraw, and upon their being withdrawn, the following Motion was made, *viz.*

That the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Boroughs of Flint, Rhydland, Caerwys, Caerguerley, *and* Overton *(including* Knolton *and* Overton-Foreign) *renting Lands or Tenements, for which the Landlords thereof only pay Scot and Lot, have a Right to vote in the Election of a Burgeſs to ſerve in Parliament for the Borough of* Flint *in the County of* Flint.

Upon this Motion there was alſo a long Debate, and the previous Queſtion being propoſed, *viz.* Whether that Queſtion ſhould be then put? It was upon a Diviſion carried in the Negative by 149 to 115; ſo that there was no Queſtion put upon the Motion: After this the Counſel were again called in, when they proceeded in their Evidence, by examining Witneſſes, and producing Evidence, in order to add to the Poll of the Petitioner the ſaid *Matthias Rogers*, and ſeveral other Perſons, who offered to vote for the Petitioner at the ſaid Election, and were refuſed by the returning Officers.

Next Morning, the Houſe, according to Order, proceeded to the further hearing of the ſaid Matter, when the Counſel for the Petitioner examined ſeveral Witneſſes and produced Evidence, in order to diſqualify ſeveral Perſons, who voted for the ſitting Member; after which the further Hearing was ordered to be adjourned to *Tueſday* the 19th, on Account of *Eaſter Holy-Days*.

Accordingly, on the 19th, The Houſe reſumed the Hearing of the ſaid Matter, and the Counſel for the ſitting Member being heard, they examined ſeveral Witneſſes touching the Occaſion of examining upon Oath into the Qualification of the Electors, and of protracting the Poll; and touching the Threats and abuſive Language offered to the returning Officers, and an Aſſault upon one of them; and the Declaration of the Number of Votes, and the Demand of a Scrutiny; and the Manner of declaring the Majority, and other Tranſactions at and after the Election: And the Record of *Niſi Prius* upon an Information proſecuted againſt *Richard Williams*, Clerk, for the ſaid Aſſault upon *John Roberts*, one of the returning Officers, being produced; the Verdict of the Jury, by whom the ſaid *Richard Williams* was convicted of the ſaid Aſſault, was read: After which the further Hearing was ordered to be adjourned till next Morning.

Next Day, and the Day following, the Counſel for the ſitting Member examined ſeveral Witneſſes, and produced Evidence, in order to diſqualify ſeveral Perſons, whoſe Votes for the Petitioner appeared, upon the original Poll taken at the ſaid Election, to have been diſallowed by the re-

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returning Officer, and whom the Petitioner's Counſel had endeavoured to qualify; and in order to diſqualify ſeveral Perſons, who offered to vote for the Petitioner at the ſaid Election, and were refuſed by the returning Officers, and whom the Counſel for the Petitioner had endeavoured to add to his Poll; and likewiſe they examined ſeveral Witneſſes, in order to juſtify the Votes of ſeveral Perſons, who voted for the ſitting Member, and whom the Counſel for the Petitioner had endeavoured to diſqualify.

On *Tueſday* the 26th, when this Affair was again reſumed, the Counſel for the ſitting Member proceeded further to juſtify, as laſt mentioned; and then they examined Witneſſes, and produced Evidence, in order to qualify ſeveral Perſons who offered to vote for the ſitting Member at the ſaid Election, and were refuſed by the returning Officers; after which they examined ſeveral Witneſſes, and produced Evidence, in order to diſqualify ſeveral Perſons, who voted for the Petitioner at the ſaid Election.

On *Thurſday* the 28th, the Counſel for the ſitting Member ſummed up their Evidence: Then the Counſel for the Petitioner were heard by way of Reply; and examined ſeveral Witneſſes, and produced Evidence, in order to juſtify the Votes of ſeveral Perſons, who voted for the Petitioner at the ſaid Election, and whom the Counſel for the ſitting Member had endeavoured to diſqualify; and alſo to diſqualify ſeveral Perſons, who offered to vote for the ſitting Member at the ſaid Election, and who were refuſed by the returning Officers, and whom the Counſel for the ſitting Member had endeavoured to add to his Poll; and alſo to diſcredit and contradict ſeveral Witneſſes, examined on the Part of the ſitting Member: After which, Part of the Information proſecuted againſt *Richard Williams*, Clerk, for the Aſſault upon *John Roberts*, one of the returning Officers, was read; and the Counſel for the Petitioner having finiſhed their Reply, the Counſel on both Sides were ordered to withdraw.

Thus the Hearing of the Matter of the ſaid Petition being finiſhed, and the Counſel withdrawn, the following Motion was then made, *viz.*

That Sir George Wynne, *Bart. is duely elected a Burgeſs to ſerve in this preſent Parliament, for the Borough of* Flint *in the County of* Flint.

Whereupon, Sir *George Wynne*, the ſitting Member, having been firſt heard in his Place, and afterwards withdrawn, as uſual in ſuch Caſes, there enſued a long Debate; and the Queſtion being at laſt put, it was carried in the Affirmative upon a Diviſion, by 158 to 107.

Tho' an impartial Examination, and juſt Determination of Elections in general, be an Affair in which every freeborn Subject of *Great Britain* is deeply concerned, yet a Diſpute relating to any particular Election is not an Affair of ſuch a general Concern; therefore we have not given an Account of any of the Debates that happened in this Election, becauſe we could not ſpare Room for ſo doing, without laying ourſelves under a Neceſſity of omitting ſome of thoſe Debates which are of a more general Concern; and as this was the only controverted Election determined during laſt Seſſion, that was very remarkable, we think it unneceſſary to give an Account of any other.

The H—ſe of C——ns having reſolved on the ſaid *Feb.* 2, that they would next Morning take into Conſideration the Speech of the Lords Commiſſioners, appointed by his Majeſty, for holding that Parliament, to both Houſes of Parliament, they accordingly proceeded next Day to take the ſaid Speech into Conſideration, and

and the ſame being again read by Mr Speaker, a Motion was made, That a Supply ſhould be granted to his Majeſty; whereupon 'twas reſolved, That the Houſe would next Morning reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the ſaid Motion.

Thus the Committee of Supply was eſtabliſhed in the uſual Form, and as that Committee is in every Seſſion one of the chief Committees, we ſhall give the Hiſtory of it during laſt Seſſion, before we give an Account of any of the Debates that happened in it; in order that our Readers may have at once, and as it were at one View, all the Reſolutions agreed to in that Committee.

On the 4th, the Order of the Day being read, for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into the ſaid Committee, the ſaid Speech of the Lords Commiſſioners was ordered to be referred to the ſame; and the Houſe having then reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Committee, they reſolved, That it was the Opinion of that Committee, that a Supply ſhould be granted to his Majeſty; which was on the *Monday* following reported and agreed to by the Houſe *Nemine Contradicente*.

On the 9th, the Houſe, according to Order, reſolved itſelf again into the ſaid Committee, and came to the following Reſolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.*

That *ten thouſand Men* ſhould be employed for the *Sea Service* for the Year 1737, beginning from *Jan.* 1 1736: That a Sum, not exceeding 4*l. per* Man *per* Month, ſhould be allowed for maintaining the ſaid 10,000 Men for 13 Months, including the Ordnance for *Sea-Service:* And that a Sum, not exceeding 219,201*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty for the Ordinary of the Navy (including half Pay to Sea Officers) for the Year 1737.

On the 18th, the ſaid Committee came to the following Reſolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Gariſons in *Great Britain*, and for *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, for the Year 1737, ſhould be (including 1815 Invalids, and 555 Men, which the ſix independent Companies conſiſt of for the Service of the *Highlands*) 17,704 Men, Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers included: That a Sum, not exceeding 647,549*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* ½ ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the Charge of the ſaid 17,704 Men: That a Sum, not exceeding 215,710*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* ½ ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for maintaining his Majeſty's Forces and Gariſons in the *Plantations*, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, and for Proviſions for the Gariſons at *Annapolis Royal*, *Canſo*, *Placentia*, and *Gibraltar*, for the Year 1737.

On the 28th, the ſaid Committee came to the following Reſolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* That a Sum, not exceeding 79,723*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service, for the Year 1737: That a Sum, not exceeding 604*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the extraordinary Expence of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service, and not provided for by Parliament: That a Sum, not exceeding 62,401*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* ¼ ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, to make good the Deficiency of the Grants, for the Service of the Year 1736: That a Sum, not exceeding 10,043*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* ¼ ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, to replace, to the Sinking Fund, the like Sum paid out of the ſame, to make good the Deficiency of the additional Stamp Duties at *Chriſtmas* 1735, purſuant to a Clauſe in an Act of Parliament paſſed in the 4th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, for raiſing 1,200,000*l.*

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1,200,000*l.* by Annuities and a Lottery for the Service of the Year 1731: That a Sum, not exceeding 42,187*l.* 10*s.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, on Account of the Subſidy payable to the King of *Denmark*, purſuant to the Treaty bearing Date *Sept.* 19, 1734, for three Quarters of a Year, to *Sept.* 19, 1737.

On *March* 4, the ſaid Committee came to the following Reſolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* That a Sum, not exceeding 28,707*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, upon Account, for Out-Penſioners of *Chelſea Hoſpital*, for the Year 1737: That a Sum, not exceeding 56,413*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* ½ ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying ſeveral extraordinary Services and Expences, incurred in the Years 1735, and 1736, and not provided for by Parliament: That a Sum, not exceeding 10,000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, upon Account, towards the Support of the Royal Hoſpital at *Greenwich*, for the better Maintenance of the Seamen of the ſaid Hoſpital, worn out and become decrepid in the Service of their Country.

On the 9th, the Houſe reſolved itſelf again into the ſaid Committee, and made ſome Progreſs; and on the 11th being again in the ſaid Committee, they came to the following Reſolution, which was reported, and agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* That the Sum of *one Million* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increaſed Capital of the *South Sea* Company, as is now commonly called *Old South Sea Annuities*.

On the 16th, the ſaid Committee came to the following Reſolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* That a Sum, not exceeding 20,000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, towards ſettling and ſecuring the Colony of *Georgia* in *America:* That a Sum, not exceeding 10,000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, to be applied towards the Maintenance of the *Britiſh* Forts and Settlements belonging to the Royal *African* Company of *England*, on the Coaſt of *Africa:* That the Sum of 4,000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, towards repairing and finiſhing the Collegiate Church of *St. Peter's Weſtminſter:* That a Sum, not exceeding 44,685*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, upon Account, for reduced Officers of his Majeſty's Land Forces and Marines, for the Year 1737: That a Sum, not exceeding 3,945*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for paying of Penſions to the Widows of ſuch reduced Officers of his Majeſty's Land Forces and Marines, as died upon the Eſtabliſhment of half-Pay in *Great Britain*, and who were married to them before *Dec.* 25, 1716, for the Year 1737: That a Sum, not exceeding 50,000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, towards the Rebuilding and Repairing the Ships of the Royal Navy, for the Year 1737.

This was the laſt Time of the ſaid Committee's Sitting, and by the above-mentioned Reſolutions it appears, that the Total Sum granted by laſt Seſſion of Parliament amounts to 2,025,172*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* ½, beſides the *Million* granted for redeeming ſo much of the *South Sea* Capital.

As ſoon as the Houſe had agreed to the three Reſolutions of the Committee of Supply, firſt above mentioned, relating to the Seamen and Navy, which was on *Thurſday, Feb.* 10. they reſolved, that they would next Morning reſolve themſelves into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of Ways and Means for raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty; and accordingly, next Day the Houſe reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Committee, in which they reſolved, That 'twas their Opinion, that towards raiſing the Supply granted

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to his Majesty, the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry, which, by an Act of Parliament of the 9th Year of his Majesty's Reign, had continuance to *June* 24, 1737, should be further continued, and charged upon all Malt which should be made, and all Mum which should be made or imported, and all Cyder and Perry which should be made for Sale, within the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, from *June* 23, 1737 to *June* 24, 1738. Which Resolution was, according to Order, reported to the House the next Day, and agreed to; and the House ordered that a Bill should be brought in upon the said Resolution, and that Sir *Charles Turner*, Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, &c. should prepare and bring in the same.

The said Committee was by Order continued from Time to Time, without sitting, till *Monday*, *March* 14, when the House resolved itself again into this Committee, and came to the following Resolution, which was reported and agreed to by the House, *viz.* That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, the Sum of 2*s.* in the Pound, and no more, should be raised in the Year 1737, upon Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Pensions, Offices, and personal Estates, in that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*; and that a proportionable Cess, according to the 9th Article of the Treaty of Union, should be laid upon that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*: After which the House ordered, That a Bill should be brought in upon the said Resolution; and that Sir *Charles Turner*, Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, &c. should prepare and bring in the same.

On the 18th, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and agreed to by the House, but with some Amendments to the Third, as below mentioned, *viz.* That the Duty of 36*s.* a Barrel on Sweets granted by an Act of the 5th Year of her late Majesty *Queen Anne*, for the Term of 99 Years, and since made perpetual, should from and after *June* 24, 1737, cease and determine. That there should be granted to his Majesty for every Barrel of Sweets made for Sale, from and after *June* 24, 1737, the Sum of 12*s.* the said Duties to be paid by the Maker and Makers of the said Sweets, and so in Proportion for greater or lesser Quantities. That the Allowance of 5*s.* *per* Barrel on *British* made Gunpowder exported, granted by an Act of the 4th Year of his present Majesty's Reign, which was to expire the End of that Session of Parliament, should be further continued for seven Years. That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, a Duty of 2*s.* per Bushel should be laid upon all Apples, which at any Time or Times, from and after *June* 24, 1737, should be imported and brought into the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, over and above all Customs, Subsidies and Duties before imposed thereon. The third Resolution as amended and agreed to by the House was as follows, *viz.* That the Allowance of 4*s.* 6*d.* *per* Barrel on *British* made Gunpowder exported, granted by an Act of the 4th Year of his present Majesty's Reign, which was to expire the End of that Session of Parliament, should be further continued for 7 Years. Then the House ordered, That Leave should be given to bring in a Bill or Bills upon the said Resolutions; and that Sir *Charles Turner*, Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Mr. *Dodington*, Sir *George Oxenden*, the Lord *Sundon*, Mr. *Winnington*, Mr. *Attorney General*, Mr. *Sollicitor General*, Mr. *Scrope*, and Mr. *Edward Walpole* should prepare and bring in the same.

From the said *March* 18, the Order for this Committee was continued

nued from Time to Time, till *Friday*, *May* 6, when the Houſe reſolved itſelf again into the ſaid Committee, and came to the following Reſolutions, which were reported to the Houſe on the *Monday* following, and were as followeth, *viz.* That 'twas the Opinion of that Committee, that towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, there ſhould be iſſued and applied the Sum of one Million out of ſuch Monies as had ariſen, or ſhould or might ariſe of the Surpluſſes, Exceſſes, or overplus Monies, commonly called the Sinking Fund. That for the Encouragement of the Paper Manufacture of this Kingdom, there ſhould not be allowed any Drawback or Repayment of Cuſtoms charged upon foreign Paper, which ſhould be imported into *Great Britain*, upon the Exportation thereof. That towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, a further Duty of *nine Pence per* Buſhel ſhould be laid upon all Oyſters imported into *Great Britain*. Of theſe three Reſolutions the Firſt and Second were agreed to by the Houſe; but the Third was recommitted: And 'twas ordered that it ſhould be an Inſtruction to the Gentlemen who were appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill or Bills upon the Reſolutions of the 18th of *March* above mentioned, that they ſhould inſert a Clauſe or Clauſes in one of the ſaid Bills, purſuant to the ſaid ſecond Reſolution.

On the 17th, the ſaid Committee came to the following Reſolutions, which were reported, and agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* That the ſeveral Rates and Duties then payable upon foreign Oyſters imported into this Kingdom, ſhould from and after *June* 24, 1737, ceaſe and determine. That a Duty of *ſeven Pence* per Buſhel, ſtrike Meaſure of the *Wincheſter* Corn Buſhel, ſhould be laid upon all foreign Oyſters imported into this Kingdom, in lieu of all other Rates and Duties before impoſed thereon. After which 'twas ordered, that a Bill ſhould be brought in purſuant to the ſaid Reſolutions; and that Sir *Charles Turner*, Mr. *Horſemanden Turner*, Mr. *Scrope*, Mr. *Pollhill*, Admiral *Haddock*, and Mr. *Gybbon*, ſhould prepare and bring in the ſame.

This was the laſt Time of the ſaid Committee's ſitting, and from their Reſolutions it appears, that the Ways and Means propoſed for raiſing the Supply for the preſent Year, were (beſides the Million granted out of the Sinking Fund) the Malt Tax, which is generally ſuppoſed to produce near 700,000 *l.* a Year, and the Land Tax, which, at 2*s.* in the Pound, produces near *a Million*; and for making good the Deficiency, his Majeſty was enabled to borrow any Sum or Sums of Money, upon the Credit of the Duties laid on Sweets, not exceeding 500,000 *l.* at an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent. per Annum*.

Several of the above mentioned Reſolutions both in the Committee of Supply, and in the Committee of Ways and Means, occaſioned long Debates; but we thought it was proper to give firſt the Reſolutions by themſelves, that our Readers might at once ſee the ſeveral Sums granted for the Service of this Year, and the ſeveral Ways and Means propoſed for raiſing thoſe Sums; and hereafter we ſhall give an Account of the Debates in Order as they occurred, the Firſt of which was in Relation to that Reſolution of the Committee of Supply for keeping up 17,704 Men of regular Forces.

The Houſe having on *Feb.* 18, as before mentioned, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe to conſider further of the Supply granted to his Majeſty, Sir *W—m Y—ge*, S——y at W—r, after having in a ſhort Speech ſhewn the Neceſſity there was for keeping up the ſame Number of regular Forces that were kept

kept up the preceding Year, moved, That it might be reſolved by the ſaid Committee, that the Number of effective Men to be provided, &c. (as before mentioned, p. 467.) And as this Number was thought by ſeveral Gentlemen to be much greater than was neceſſary, and more than ought to be kept up in Time of Peace, therefore the Motion was oppoſed, and thereupon a long Debate enſued, in which the Arguments for the Motion were in Subſtance as followeth, *viz.*

Sir, it has always been allowed, and, I believe, it will not now be controverted, that no Government can be ſupported without ſome Sort of military Force. In every Society it is abſolutely neceſſary to have a certain Number of Men properly armed and diſciplined, for protecting the Society againſt foreign Invaſions, as well as for preventing the Weak from being oppreſſed by the Mighty, and for putting the Laws of the Society in Execution againſt Offenders of every Rank and Degree. In former Times this military Force conſiſted chiefly of the Militia of every Country, who for that Reaſon were all properly armed and diſciplined, and obliged to anſwer the Call of thoſe who had the Command over them; but of latter Ages, and ſince Mankind have begun to apply themſelves to Arts and Induſtry, they have neglected to breed themſelves up to Arms and military Diſcipline, and therefore it has been found neceſſary in moſt Countries, eſpecially in all our neighbouring Countries, to provide and maintain a certain Number of Men, whoſe chief Buſineſs it is to breed themſelves up to the Art of War, and who for that Reaſon are called regular Troops. To them the Defence of the Society both againſt Invaſions from without, and Inſurrections from within, is chiefly intruſted, and by that means the reſt of the People of the Society are enabled to purſue Trade, Manufactures, Agriculture, and other induſtrious Employments, with greater Application and Aſſiduity than they could poſſibly do, if they were every now and then obliged to withdraw from their Labour, in order to learn their Exerciſes as Soldiers, or to march againſt a foreign or domeſtick Enemy.

This, Sir, is the chief Reaſon that Arts and Sciences have of late flouriſhed ſo much in *Europe*, and it is by this Method only that Trade and Induſtry can be ſupported and encouraged in this Kingdom; therefore I ſhall not ſuppoſe that any Gentleman will be againſt our keeping up any Number of regular Troops. That ſome certain Number of regular Troops ought always to be kept up in this Iſland, is a Queſtion which I ſhall take for granted; ſo that the only Queſtion that can come this Day properly before us, is, What Number of regular Troops may be ſufficient for protecting this Iſland againſt any foreign Invaſion, and for ſupporting our Government in the Execution of the Laws of their Country? With reſpect to this Queſtion, Sir, we ought to conſider, that in a free Country as this is, and, I hope, will forever remain, tho' every Man enjoys many Advantages and great Happineſs by the Liberties and Privileges he is entitled to, yet that private Good is, and always muſt be, attended with this publick Inconvenience, that it begets, and ſupports Parties, Factions, and Diviſions among the People in general; and when the Government is not provided with a ſufficient military Force for a neceſſary and juſt Support, thoſe Parties and Factions are apt to come to Extremes: The Diſcontented, let their Complaints be never ſo unreaſonable, are apt to raiſe Inſurrections, and to break out in open Rebellion, when by the Imbecillity of the Government they conceive Hopes of obtaining by

Force, those Ends which they neither were intitled to, nor could obtain, by the Laws of their Country; the necessary Consequence of which is, that the People are always exposed to, and must often fall under the Misfortunes of a Civil War; and in such a Case the prevailing Party but seldom shews any great Regard to that very Constitution, the Support of which was at first, perhaps by both Sides, made the sole Pretence for engaging in War.

To this general Consideration, Sir, we ought to add another which is peculiar to this Kingdom: It is not only peculiar to this Kingdom, but is in itself of a most peculiar and a most extraordinary Nature. In this free, this happy Country, we have a Party amongst us, and a considerable Party too, who are every Day labouring to destroy that Freedom to which only they owe their very Existence as a Party, who are every Day contriving Plots for putting an End to that Happiness of which they themselves are equal, but unworthy Partakers. When I say this, I believe, I need not tell Gentlemen I mean the *Jacobites* and *Papists* in the Kingdom. I hope their Party is every Day tending to its utter Dissolution; I am confident it has not of late received any Addition or Nourishment; but there are such Numbers of our mean and ignorant Sort of People affected with that Sort of Madness, that if it were not for our regular Army, I am convinced that Party would not keep so quiet as they have done of late Years. If we should leave the Government unprovided of a sufficient military Force, it would immediately revive their Hopes, and if they should again break out in open Rebellion, they would certainly be joined by all the Abandoned, the Profligate, and the Desperate, who will generally chuse that Side, as being that from which they may expect the greatest Reward in case of Success; in which Case we would again be obliged to fight for our Liberties, and the most fortunate Event would be attended with great publick Loss, and with many private Calamities.

But, Sir, tho' we were in no Danger of any publick Insurrection, or open Rebellion, yet a pretty large Number of regluar Troops seems now to be necessary, even for protecting us against private Rogues and Pilferers, and for putting the Laws in Execution against the most notorious Criminals; for the People of this Country have for many Years accustomed themselves so little to the Use of Arms, that if it were not for the Body of regular Troops kept up, a Gang of Thieves and House-breakers, by providing themselves with Arms, and keeping in a Body, might be able to protect themselves against a whole County, and to plunder the Inhabitants at Pleasure; at least it would not be possible to reduce them, without losing the Lives of many industrious and useful Tradesmen, and perhaps of some of the best Gentlemen of the County. Then with regard to Mobs and Tumults, we find by Experience, that regular Troops are of great Use, not only for preventing any such from happening, but for quelling and dispersing them after they have happened, and that without any great Mischief's being done of either Side: Whereas if we had no regular Troops to be employed in such Services, tho' the Civil Power might perhaps at last be able to put an End to the Tumult, and to seize and punish the Rioters; yet 'tis certain, the Mob or Tumult would always be gathered to a great Height before the Civil Power could effectually interpose, and the Rioters would oppose the Civil Power frequently with such Obstinacy that great Mischief would be done on both Sides, before the Tumult could be suppressed.

With respect, therefore, to the in-

inteſtine Peace and Tranquillity of the Country, a ſufficient Number of regular Troops muſt always be of great Uſe; but, Sir, with regard to our foreign Affairs, and with regard to the protecting our People againſt Invaſions, it is ſtill more neceſſary; for as all our Neighbours are highly ſenſible of the great Inequality between Militia and regular Troops, as Experience has often ſhewn what a vaſt Number of the former may be attacked and put to Flight by the latter, they therefore now put their only Confidence in their regular Troops; and every Nation in *Europe* is now reſpected and eſteemed by the Reſt, in proportion to the Number of regular Troops they have in their Pay; ſo that to preſerve that Reſpect and Eſteem which we have, and ought always to have, among our Neighbours, we ought to keep up a conſiderable Body of regular well diſciplined Troops; becauſe if any of our Neighbours ſhould begin to deſpiſe us, they would of courſe begin to inſult, and perhaps to invade us, which would keep our Sea Coaſts in a continual Alarm, and might expoſe many of our maritime Counties and Cities to be plundered and ravaged by a Handful of foreign Troops, landed in any Corner of the Iſland. I do not ſuppoſe, Sir, that a Handful of any Sort of Troops would be able to conquer the Iſland; but if we had nothing but Militia to ſend againſt them, they might do us infinite Miſchief, before we could gather and form ſuch a Body of Militia as durſt oppoſe them.

From theſe Conſiderations, Sir, I muſt be of Opinion, that it is no way conſiſtent with true Wiſdom and Policy, or with the Peace and Security of the People, to diminiſh the Number of regular Forces we have at preſent on Foot. It is the leaſt Number has been kept on Foot for many Years, and Experience has ſhewn us that from ſuch a Number there are no Inconveniences to be apprehended; but on the contrary we have felt many good Effects from keeping up that Number, and even from augmenting it now and then as Occaſion required. It would be too tedious to recapitulate all the Advantages we have from thence acquired; but in general it muſt be granted, we have for near theſe 20 Years enjoyed a moſt profound Tranquillity both at Home and Abroad, which is chiefly to be attributed to our keeping up ſuch an Army as made our Enemies both at Home and Abroad ſtand in Awe, and to the other prudent Meaſures which his Majeſty and his glorious Predeceſſor have during that Time purſued. Even but lately, when the greateſt Part of *Europe* were involved in the Flames of War, we were left at Liberty to purſue our Trade through all Parts of the World in Peace and perfect Security; and by the ſmall Addition we made to our Army, and the Augmentation of our Fleet, we not only preſerved our own, but we contributed greatly to the Reſtoring of the publick Tranquillity; for by ſo doing we ſet Bounds to the ambitious Views of the Victorious, and convinced them that, if they endeavoured to purſue their Conqueſts any further than was conſiſtent with preſerving the Balance of Power in *Europe*, we were not only reſolv'd to interpoſe, but would be ready to interpoſe with ſuch a Force as would be ſufficient to ſtop their Progreſs, and to make their Enemies triumph in their Turn. This, Sir, was what made them ſo ready to hearken to equitable Terms, to Terms which did not eſſentially vary from the wiſe Plan his Majeſty, in conjunction with his Allies the *States General*, had been pleaſed to propoſe for reſtoring the Tranquillity of *Europe*.

Since therefore we have experienced ſo many Advantages from keep-

keeping up the preſent Number of regular Forces, and have felt no Inconvenience; ſince no Danger or Inconvenience can be apprehended during his preſent Majeſty's Reign, I cannot think any Gentleman of this Houſe would be for diminiſhing the Number, even tho' there were no particular Reaſon at preſent ſubſiſting for keeping up the ſame Number we had laſt Year; but, Sir, there are in my Opinion 3 very ſtrong Reaſons peculiar to the preſent Times for continuing the ſame Number at leaſt for this next enſuing Year, 2 of which are of a foreign, and the 3d of a domeſtick Nature. There is, 'tis true, no War at preſent ſubſiſting between any of the Chriſtian Princes or States of *Europe*; with reſpect to any ſuch War the publick Tranquillity may properly be ſaid to be reſtored; but it cannot be ſaid that the Tranquillity of *Europe* is altogether reſtored. The *Muſcovites* are already engaged in a War againſt the *Turks*, and 'tis more than probable the *Emperor's* Arms will ſoon be turned the ſame Way. As yet the other Powers of *Europe* ſeem to have nothing but peaceable Inclinations to all publick Appearance; but we do not know how long that ſerene Appearance may hold: There are ſome other Powers of *Europe* who have ſeldom long remained at Quiet, when they found the *Emperor* involved in a War with the *Turks*; and if they do not take that Opportunity for attacking the *Emperor*, it is to be apprehended they may think it a proper Opportunity for making Incroachments upon ſome other of their Neighbours: Tho' perhaps no ſuch Thing may be intended directly againſt this Nation, yet it muſt be granted, that no ſuch Incroachment can be made in which we have not ſome Concern; and when there is ſo much Reaſon to fear ſuch Attempts, it would be very imprudent in us, by an unſeaſonable Reduction of our Forces, to put it out of our Power to defend ourſelves or aſſiſt our Allies, in caſe of a ſudden Inroad or Invaſion upon either.

Beſides, Sir, as the Syſtem of Affairs in *Europe* ſeems to be very much altered by the late Treaty between the *Emperor* and *France*, and as the Terms of that Treaty ſeem not yet to be fully diſcovered, we do not know but that there may be ſome ſecret Conventions between thoſe two Powers, which may be found prejudicial to the Neighbours of both. In ſuch a Caſe, that Treaty, inſtead of being a Foundation for eſtabliſhing the Tranquillity of *Europe*, would prove a Firebrand for rekindling, perhaps the moſt general and the moſt furious War that ever was in *Europe*: A War in which this Nation could not avoid being one of the principal Parties concerned; and therefore, I muſt think we cannot with Safety disband any of the Forces we have at preſent on Foot, till the Conſequences of this new Syſtem of Affairs may be fully ſeen through, which they cannot be till all the ſecret Articles of that Treaty are fully diſcovered, and the Views and Deſigns of both the contracting Parties perfectly underſtood.

The 3d Reaſon for keeping up the ſame Number of Forces, at leaſt for this enſuing Year, is, as I have ſaid, of a domeſtick Nature, and is founded upon that Spirit of Diſcontent and Diſſatisfaction which has been ſo induſtriouſly ſpread over the whole Nation, and has of late produced Mobs, Riots, and Tumults, almoſt in every Corner of the Kingdom. I am perſuaded every Gentleman that hears me will join with me in ſaying, his Majeſty's Government, ever ſince he came to the Crown, has been ſo mild and juſt, that no Man can really have the leaſt Reaſon to complain. It cannot with Juſtice be ſaid his Majeſty has ever attempted the leaſt Incroachment upon the Liber-

ties

ties and Privileges of the Subject in general, nor can any private Man in particular complain that he has met with Injuſtice or Oppreſſion; yet there is ſuch a Spirit of Diſſatisfaction and Sedition gone forth, that the lowermoſt Rank of our People are every where ready to fly in the Face of the Civil Magiſtrate; and even the Acts of the whole Legiſlature have been moſt heinouſly inſulted, and miſrepreſented. I ſhall not pretend to ſhew how this ſeditious Spirit has been raiſed, or to what it is chiefly owing; but while it continues, I muſt ſay, it would be very unwiſe in us to diſmiſs any Part of our regular Army; for if we can but keep the People quiet till they have Time to think and conſider, they will ſoon find their Diſcontents and Clamours to be without any Reaſon, and will then of courſe become quiet and peaceable Subjects. This we may probably do by keeping up our Army for the enſuing Year; becauſe in that Time the Minds of the People may be quieted, and while we have ſuch an Army, thoſe who are diſaffected will not dare to take any Advantage of the Diſcontents they have raiſed, nor will they dare to puſh thoſe they have ſeduced, upon any violent Meaſures: Whereas if we ſhould at this Juncture disband any great Part of our Army, the disbanded Soldiers would probably join with the Diſcontented, which might produce Conſequences I tremble to think of; but this Houſe will, I hope, prevent my Fears, by agreeing to the Motion I ſhall now make; which is, To reſolve, *&c.* (See p. 467 A.)

To this 'twas anſwer'd in Subſtance as follows, *viz.*

Sir, as I am not, nor do intend to ſpeak againſt our keeping up any ſtanding Army at all, I have no preſent Occaſion to take Notice of the Arguments that have been made uſe of for ſhewing the indiſpenſable Neceſſity of ſuch a Meaſure: However, leſt it ſhould be thought, that I am likewiſe of Opinion, that a Government cannot now be ſupported, nor the Laws put in Execution, without a Body of what we call regular Troops, permit me to give ſome Reaſons for my being of a contrary Sentiment. I know, Sir, that all our Neighbours have now fallen into a Method of keeping up a large Body of regular Troops; but it is not for the ſole Reaſon, that ſuch Troops muſt always have a great Superiority over Militia, or that a Government cannot be ſupported without the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Troops; it is becauſe among moſt of them, I may ſay among all of them, ſome Sort of abſolute and arbitrary Government has been lately introduced; and for ſupporting ſuch a Government, it is abſolutely neceſſary to keep up a ſtanding Army, and to diſcourage the Uſe of Arms among all the reſt of their Subjects. In ſuch a Country a Body of regular Troops, accuſtomed to the Uſe of Arms, and acquainted with military Diſcipline, muſt always be much preferable to a Body of their Militia, moſt of whom we may ſuppoſe never touched a Sword or a Gun, before it was put into their Hands upon that Occaſion; but in a Country where no regular Army is kept up, and proper Care taken to exerciſe and diſcipline the Militia, and to infuſe a martial Spirit into all their Subjects in general, I can ſee no Reaſon why a Body of Men, who have for 7 Years been bred to hard Labour, to the Uſe of Arms, and to military Diſcipline, without any Pay, ſhould not be as good as a Body of Men bred up for the ſame Time to military Diſcipline, with Pay, and by Reaſon of that Pay, bred up in Lazineſs and Idleneſs: On the contrary, I ſhould think the former would be better able to endure the Fatigues of War, and I am certain no Man's Courage was ever improved by a State of Lazineſs and Idleneſs.

A Soldier, Sir, may learn all his Exercises to perfection in 3 or in 6 Months, and after he is once Master of his Exercises, he is as good a Soldier as he ever can be without seeing Action. He may then make as good a Figure at a Review as the oldest Veteran; but for making a good Figure in a Day of Battle, it depends upon the Courage and the Experience of the Soldier, neither of which, but especially the latter, can be acquired any other Way than by having been frequently in Action. Now with respect to the military Exercises, and to the making of a Figure at a Review, I can see no Reason why a Man who is 5 Days of the Week at Plow, or any other industrious Employment, and 2 Days at his military Exercises, may not in half a Year, or a Year, become as much Master of the latter, as he that is 2 Days of the Week at his military Exercises, and the other 5, sotting or carrousing at an Ale House or Gin-shop. Therefore if the Militia of this Country, or any Country where the Spirit of the People has not been broke by arbitrary Power, were properly regimented, and put under the Command of Gentlemen of Honour and Courage, instead of being commanded by Shoemakers and Taylors, they might in a Year or 2 be as properly called regular Troops, as any mercenary Regiment can be, which is composed of Officers and Soldiers, who never had Occasion to look an Enemy in the Face, unless it was a Gang of Smugglers, or a Mob of Pick-pockets; and while there is a Man in the Kingdom, who has been in Action, a Regiment of Militia would have as good a Chance to have some of them among them, as any Regiment of mercenary Troops can have, after a Peace of 20 or 30 Years Duration. I shall readily grant, Sir, that a Regiment of veteran Soldiers, a Regiment composed chiefly of Officers and Soldiers who have been frequently in Action, may be much superior to a Regiment of the best disciplined Militia; but I cannot admit that a Regiment of mercenary Troops, who never saw an Enemy, has any Advantage over a Regiment of Militia, well disciplined and properly commanded; for which Reason I shall always be of Opinion, that a Country may be governed, the Laws executed, and the People protected both against Invasions and Insurrections, by a regular Militia, as well as by a mercenary Army; and in a free Country I am sure the former is a much more proper Defence than the latter.

What we now call regular Troops, or standing Forces, have produced, and always will produce, the most fatal Consequences in every Country where they are kept up. In such Countries the People in general not only neglect to breed themselves up to the Use of Arms and martial Discipline, but they are bred up from their Infancy with a Sort of Terror at the Name of a Soldier; by which means the bravest, the most warlike People may, in the Space of one Century, be rendered the most dastardly and effeminate. They put their whole Trust in what they call their Army; and if that Army happens by the Chance of War to be cut off, there is no finding another that dare look a victorious Enemy in the Face, which is the Reason that every such Country has at last become an easy Prey to some foreign Invader: Whereas, in a Country where they have no Army to trust to, the Government must necessarily take care of the Militia, the whole People are bred Soldiers from their Infancy, and an invading Enemy finds them like the *Hydra's* Heads; if they have the good Fortune to cut off one Army, they immediately find another more formidable grow up in its stead; for such a People may be killed, but they cannot be conquered;

quered. I am ſurprized, Sir, to hear it ſaid that Arts and Sciences cannot be promoted, nor Trade and Induſtry encouraged but by the keeping up of ſtanding Armies. It may as well be ſaid that neither the one nor the other can flouriſh but in Countries where arbitrary Government is eſtabliſhed; for arbitrary Power has in all Countries been the certain Conſequence of keeping up a large ſtanding Army. In ſuch Countries they may have the good Luck to have a Prince, or an Adminiſtration, that encourages Arts and Sciences, and protects Trade and Induſtry; but that Period is generally of no long Continuance, and Barbariſm, Ignorance, and Idleneſs always ſucceed. In this Kingdom we know that Arts and Sciences were introduced, and Trade and Induſtry eſtabliſhed, long before we had ſuch a Thing as a ſtanding Army. In the *Grecian* and *Roman* Commonwealths their Tradeſmen and Labourers gained Laurels in the Field of Battle by their Courage, and returned to gain a Subſiſtence for themſelves and Families by their Induſtry; but when they began to keep ſtanding Armies, their Soldiers, 'tis true, for ſome Time gained Laurels in the Field of Battle, but they returned to plunder and at laſt to ſubdue their Country; which put an End to their Freedom, and of courſe to every Thing that was Praiſe-worthy among them. God forbid our Fate ſhould be the ſame! 'Tis a Miſtake to imagine our Tradeſmen would be drawn away from their Labour by breeding them up to military Diſcipline; on the contrary they might be brought to uſe it as their Diverſion, and then they would return with more Alacrity to their uſual Labour. In former Times our Holy-Days, and even Sundays, were employed in the Exerciſe of the *Long-Bow* and other warlike Diverſions; and I muſt think that ſuch Days would ſtill be much better employed in that Way, than in ſotting at an Ale-Houſe, or loitering in a Skettle or Nine-Pin Ground; but ſuch a Change of Manners is not to be introduced without the Aſſiſtance of the Government, and ſome proper Laws for that Purpoſe; and I am convinced our Government will never aſſiſt, as long as we furniſh them with a ſtanding Army; for a ſtanding Army is in all Countries a moſt uſeful Thing to thoſe in Power, and a well diſciplined Militia a moſt dangerous Thing to thoſe who are graſping at more than they ought to have.

I ſhall readily agree with the honourable Gentleman, that every Government muſt have a military Force for its Support, and muſt make uſe of that military Force when Neceſſity requires; but a legal and limited Government ought to be provided with a free and legal military Force, and not with a military Force depending upon the ſole Will and Pleaſure of the Governor; a military Force which he may make uſe of for breaking, as well as for executing the Laws of his Country. Such is our regular Army according to its preſent Eſtabliſhment. They are not free Subjects, they are Soldiers, not governed properly by the Laws of their Country, but by a Law made for them only; and all depending upon the ſole Will and Pleaſure of the King. This may in Time make them look upon themſelves as a Body of Men different from the reſt of the People; and as they, and they only, have the Sword in their Hands, they may at laſt begin to look upon themſelves as the Lords, and not the Servants of the People. They will obey and execute your Laws whilſt you make ſuch Laws as pleaſe them, but if you ſhould begin to make ſuch Laws as may be diſagreeable to them, they will neither execute nor obey your Laws; they will make Laws for themſelves,

and one of the firſt, you may depend on't, will be, a Law for diſſolving your Aſſembly: They have done ſo before, and they may do ſo again, if ever they ſhould happen to be under an ambitious King or General. I know it may be ſaid our Militia depend as much upon the ſole Will and Pleaſure of our Governor, as our regular Army; but it is not to be ſuppoſed they would ſo readily join in overturning the Laws of their Country, as a mercenary Army would, when properly garbled for that Purpoſe; and if our Militia ſhould be brought under any new Regulations, which muſt be done, before they can be made uſeful, proper Care might be taken, for putting it out of the Power of any Man to make a bad Uſe of them.

In a Country where the Government is limited and the People free, there may perhaps be more room for Party and Faction, than in a Country where the Government is abſolute and the People dare not complain; but, Sir, even in a free Country, and under the moſt limited Government, while thoſe in Power do their Duty, while they conſult the Inclinations of the People, and refrain from all manner of Oppreſſion either publick or private, no Party, no Faction can become dangerous to the Government, tho' it has no regular Troops to truſt to. Such a Government will always have a great Majority of the People, in their Intereſt, and tho' there may be ſome who, from private Views, may be diſſatisfied with the publick Meaſures purſued, yet they will for their own Sakes remain quiet and peaceable; for no Man of common Senſe will riſe in Arms againſt an eſtabliſhed Government, unleſs he is ſure not only of a general Diſcontent among the People, but that the general Diſcontent is got to ſuch a Height as to make the Majority of the People ready to fly to Arms for their Relief or Preſervation. Of this the glorious Reign of *Queen Elizabeth* is a moſt convincing Proof. I believe hardly any Hiſtory can parallel ſo long a Reign ſo little diſturbed with Faction; yet the Beginning of that Reign ſeemed to threaten the moſt violent Party Diviſions and State Convulſions. One of the firſt Steps of that glorious Queen was to overturn the Religion ſhe found eſtabliſhed in her Country, a Religion ſupported by a great Party at Home, and profeſſed and protected by the greateſt Part of *Europe*: At the ſame Time ſhe knew ſhe had a Pretender to her Crown, and a moſt dangerous Pretender too, a Pretender who was of the Religion then eſtabliſhed in the Country, a Pretender who was in Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom of her own, a Kingdom within the ſame Iſland, and a Kingdom which could vindicate the Rights of their Queen with as brave and as fierce Armies as ever marched from any Country; and what ſtill added to the Danger, that Pretender was not only Queen of *Scotland*, but Wife to the *Dauphin* of *France*. From ſuch Circumſtances, what Factions, what Commotions, what violent Convulſions were not to be apprehended; yet that wiſe Queen, without any ſtanding Army, eſtabliſhed herſelf upon the Throne, eſtabliſhed the Religion ſhe profeſſed, triumphed over all her Enemies, and after a Reign of 43 Years tranſmitted the Crown in Peace to her next lawful Succeſſor, without ever having been diſturbed by any Party or Faction's riſing in Arms againſt her, except one in the *North*, and ſome few Commotions in *Ireland*, neither of which ever became conſiderable.

In a free Country, indeed, when thoſe in Power make a weak or a wicked Uſe of their Power, or make any Attempts upon the Liberties of the People, a Party will certainly form itſelf againſt the Government, and ſuch a Party as cannot be with-

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ſtood but by means of a numerous and mercenary Army; but in that Caſe, Sir, the Government becomes the Faction, and if that Faction be enabled to ſupport itſelf againſt the general Bent of the People, the Liberties of that People are at an End; ſome outward Forms may be preſerved, but the Government, in Subſtance, becomes from that Moment arbitrary. Faction is an ugly Name, in a free Country, always beſtowed upon thoſe who oppoſe the Government; but whether they, or the Government, beſt deſerve the Name, depends upon the Meaſures purſued by each. To prevent Faction and civil Diſcord has in all Countries been the plauſible Pretence of thoſe who ſecretly aimed at the Eſtabliſhment of arbitrary Power: In moſt of our neighbouring Countries that Pretence has had the wiſhed for Succeſs, but I hope it never ſhall in this; for it is much happier for a People to be in a continual Danger of Civil Diſcord, or even of Civil Wars, than to be in a continual State of Slavery. A Civil War is an Impoſthume, it may be troubleſome, it may be painful while it laſts, but it carries off any contagious Matter that may be lodged in the Body, and generally brings Health and Vigour for many Years after; whereas deſpotick Power is an Ulcer, a Gangrene, which admits of no Cure, nor can receive any Comfort.

I have as bad an Opinion of *Jacobites* and *Papiſts* as any Gentleman of this Houſe can reaſonably have, but I never thought that either our *Jacobites* or *Papiſts* were for eſtabliſhing arbitrary Power: I am ſure very few of them are. We maintained our Liberties when the whole Nation were *Papiſts*; we may loſe them now we are *Proteſtants*; and if we ſhould, it would make many Men *Jacobites* who are very far from being ſo at preſent. People under Oppreſſion always hope for Relief from any Change: If the Liberties of this Country ſhould be once overturned, the worſt we could expect would be only changing one Slavery for another. Even the trueſt Lovers of Liberty might be prompted by Revenge to become *Jacobites*, in Order to diſappoint and puniſh thoſe who had cheated them out of their Liberties. I do not believe there can ever be a Party in this Kingdom for eſtabliſhing arbitrary Power, unleſs it be our Miniſters and their Creatures. An Itch for arbitrary Power ſeems, indeed, to be epidemical with reſpect to that Set of Men: We have often had Miniſters who have been infected with that dangerous Diſtemper: We may again have ſuch Miniſters; and for that Reaſon, chiefly, I am againſt keeping up a numerous ſtanding Army, becauſe, according to its preſent Regulation, it is too much under the Power of Miniſters: They may ſome Time or other make uſe of it for attaining to that which ſo many of them have ſeemed to long for.

There are, 'tis true, Sir, too many Rogues and Thieves in the Kingdom, there are, I believe, ſome great ones who are not yet diſcovered, but I doubt much if a numerous ſtanding Army will contribute either to their being diſcovered or puniſhed. With reſpect to any of thoſe little Pilferers that have of late been ſeized and hanged, I am ſure it cannot be ſaid the Army has been, in the leaſt, aſſiſting. They have all been apprehended by the Country People, or by the common Thief-catchers; which is a Trade, I hope no Gentleman of the Army will ever be deſired to undertake, unleſs the Thief be ſome Perſon of a very eminent Degree. I do not know that the Army has ever been employed in any Sort of Thief-catching, except with reſpect to thoſe Thieves called *Smugglers*; and the Reaſon of the Army's being neceſſary for that Purpoſe is, that our Taxes are ſo many and ſo high,

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and have been so long continued, the People begin to look upon *Smugglers* as their Friends, and therefore will not be concerned, or run any Risk, in apprehending or opposing them. If we had no Taxes but such as the People thought reasonable, and if those Taxes were applied to Uses which the People thought necessary for their Preservation, they would be as ready to join the *Hue and Cry* against a *Smuggler*, as they are now against a House-breaker or Highwayman. I am persuaded there is nothing contributes so much to the Increase of Criminals of all Sorts among us, as the great Number of regular Troops we keep up; the common Soldiers mix among the Vulgar, and by their Example, they propagate a Spirit of Lewdness, Debauchery, Idleness, and Extravagance in every County and City of the Kingdom; I wish even some of the Officers may not in this Way be a little to blame. The Credit and Subsistence of a Merchant, a Tradesman, or a Labourer, depends upon his Character: If he gets the Character of a lewd, profligate Fellow, no Man will trust him, no Man will employ him; for this Reason he is obliged at least to be a Hypocrite, and so can do no Mischief by his Example; but the Credit of a Soldier depends upon his doing his Duty, and his Subsistence depends upon his Pay; if he does his Duty he may be as lewd and profligate as he pleases, and as openly as he pleases, consequently may do great Mischief by his Example. In all Countries the young and high-metall'd are proud of keeping Company with Soldiers; they learn their Manners, and soon begin to imitate them in their Vices; by so doing they lose their Characters, and when no Man will trust or employ them, if they cannot get into the Army, they must rob or steal for Subsistence.

Among a certain Set of People, Sir, I have observed, that Mobs are represented as most hideous Things. I confess they ought not to be encouraged; but they have been sometimes useful. In a free Country I am afraid a standing Army rather occasions than prevents them; where a Magistrate has a Guard of regular Troops to trust to, he is apt to neglect humouring the People, he despises them, and even sometimes oppresses them; in which Case the People, as long as there is any Spirit among them, will certainly grow tumultuous. If a Tumult happens without any just Cause of Complaint, a little gentle Usage, and calm Reasoning, will generally prevent any Mischief, and prevail with the People to return to their Duty; but a Magistrate with an Army at his Back will seldom take this Method, for few Men will be at the Pains to persuade when they know they can compel. If a Tumult happens from a just Cause of Complaint, the People ought to be satisfied, their Grievance ought to be redressed, they ought not surely to be immediately knocked on the Head, because they happen to complain in an irregular Manner. To make use of regular Troops upon every such Occasion, is like a tyrannical School-Master, who never makes use of the soft Arts of Persuasion and Allurement, but always makes use of the Rod; such a Man may break the Spirit, but never can improve the Minds of his Scholars.

I do not know, Sir, what the Hon. Gentlemen mean by that Respect and Esteem which we have, and ought to have, among our Neighbours; surely they do not think that this Nation is to be respected only in proportion to the regular Troops we have in our Pay: In that Case there are several Princes in *Germany* who would deserve more Respect than we; there is hardly a Kingdom in *Europe* that would deserve so little; and I am sure those who keep up

up their *Hundreds of Thousands*, as some of our Neighbours do, would have no Occasion to shew us any Regard or Esteem. But I believe the Case is directly otherwise. I believe the more regular Troops we keep up in Time of Peace, the less we shall be respected or esteemed by every one of our Neighbours: They know we have no Frontier to defend, nor fortified Towns to garison, and therefore they will conclude our Government would never be at the Expence of keeping up a large Body of regular Troops, if they were beloved or esteemed by their own People. They will conclude that such a Body of Troops is kept up, only to keep the People in Obedience; and a Government that does not enjoy the Affections and Esteem of their own People, will certainly be despised by Foreigners. Whereas when those in the Government of this Nation do their Duty, when they enjoy the Affections and Esteem of the People in general, tho' we had not a Regiment of regular Troops in the Kingdom, our Neighbours know we could in a few Months appear in the Field with our *Hundreds of Thousands* of regular Troops as well as they; besides an irresistable Navy, by means of which we could carry Terror and Desolation to every Part of their Sea Coasts, and at the same Time protect our own from any Insult.

It is not therefore, Sir, to our keeping up a large Body of regular Troops in Time of Peace, we owe any Part of that Respect we may have among our Neighbours; it is to our naval Power, to the natural Bravery of our Men in general, and to our Government's possessing the Hearts of their Subjects. From hence it is we derive our Strength, from hence it is we derive our Security; and the keeping up of a large Body of regular Troops in Time of Peace, will derogate from every one of the three. It will render it impossible for us to keep up such a naval Power as we might otherwise do: It will propagate a Spirit of Effeminacy and Cowardice among all those who are not of the Army; and it will always contribute towards rendering our Government hateful to the People in general. For this Reason I will be bold to say, that if ever any of our maritime Counties or Cities be plundered by a small Party of foreign regular Troops, it will be owing to our keeping up a standing Army. Considering the Extent of our Coasts, we cannot have so much as one Regiment, nor half a Regiment, at every Place where a small Party may land; such a Party may therefore plunder and lay desolate a great Part of the Country before any of our regular Troops can come up to oppose them; and the Effeminacy, Cowardice, and Riches of the Inhabitants, will instigate our Enemies to make many such Attempts.

I am really very much surprized, Sir, to hear it said, we have felt no Inconvenience from our Army. Is not the great Debt we still owe, and the many Taxes we still pay, in a great Measure owing to our keeping up so numerous an Army in Time of Peace? Can it be said that the Quartering of Soldiers is no Inconvenience to those poor People who are subject to that extraordinary Burden? Is it not a very great Expence, as well as a great Inconvenience to every publick House in the Kingdom? And can we imagine our Soldiers are always so civil in their Quarters as never to be guilty of any Insolence or rude Piece of Behaviour? I hope the Gentlemen who tell us so, will forgive me, when I wish that some of them could be metamorphosed, for a few Weeks only, into a Country Inn-keeper, or Alehouse-keeper, with a handsome Wife, or 2 or 3 pretty Daughters, whose Virtue and Well-being he might be supposed to have some Con-

Concern for: I believe ſuch Gentlemen, upon their Return to this Houſe, would ſhew a little more Sympathy; I believe they would allow our Inn-keepers and Alehouſe-keepers might live at a leſs Expence, and with a great deal of more Eaſe and Quiet, if they had no ſuch Inmates, or not ſo many, as they are now generally plagued with. But this is not all: Can any Gentleman ſay our Liberties can never be in Danger from a ſtanding Army? Have they not once already been overturned by a Parliamentary Army? Our regular Troops are, 'tis true, at preſent kept up by our Authority, but are we certain our Authority will be ſufficient for diſbanding them, whenever we have a Mind? Our being in no Danger from his preſent Majeſty ſignifies nothing: Under a good King, we ought to adopt no Cuſtom, nor make any Precedent, which a bad one may make a bad Uſe of.

Whatever our other Meaſures may have done, I am perſuaded, Sir, neither the late Preſervation of our own Tranquillity, nor the Reſtoration of the publick Tranquillity, was owing to the Army we kept up, or the Addition we made to it. As to our own Tranquillity, it is certain our remaining quiet, was the utmoſt that could be hoped for by thoſe who began the War: Our not joining againſt them was the greateſt Favour they could expect from us, and therefore it would have been ridiculous in them to have diſturbed our Tranquillity, becauſe it would have forced us to join againſt them. And as to reſtoring the Tranquillity of *Europe*, I am ſure it cannot be ſaid to have been reſtored upon the Footing of any Scheme or Plan propoſed by his Majeſty: I am ſure his Majeſty never did, nor ever would propoſe to add ſuch a large Dutchy as that of *Lorain* to the Dominions of *France*. On the contrary, we know the Peace was clapt up between the 2 chief contending Powers without our Knowledge, without our Advice or Aſſiſtance; and I wiſh we may not find it was clapt up on Conditions which may prove diſagreeable both to us and our Allies.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that the Syſtem of Affairs in *Europe* ſeems to be altered by the late Peace; but I cannot think either of the contracting Parties has a Deſign of making any immediate Incroachment upon us or any of our Allies. If they had, our Miniſters at thoſe Courts would certainly have diſcovered ſuch a Deſign: Their Wiſdom, their Care, and their Penetration, are ſo well known, it is not poſſible to ſuppoſe ſuch a Deſign could be kept concealed from them; and if there be no immediate Deſign, there is no Occaſion for us to prepare againſt it: On the contrary, if we ſuſpect any diſtant Views, and ſuch only, if our Miniſters at foreign Courts have done their Duty, we can ſuſpect, we ought in the mean Time to ſave as much as poſſible, in order that we may be the better able to oppoſe ſuch Deſigns, when any Attempts ſhall be made for carrying them into Execution.

But, Sir, if we can ſuppoſe any Alteration made by the late Peace, with reſpect to the Syſtem of Affairs in *Europe*, it muſt be occaſioned by a real Conjuction and thorough Union between the *Emperor* and *France*: It muſt proceed from a Concert between thoſe two Potentates for preſcribing Rules to the reſt of *Europe*, or for joining together in order to make Incroachments upon ſome of their Neighbours; and in that Caſe the War which the *Muſcovites* are already engaged in, and which the *Emperor* will probably be very ſoon engaged in, againſt the *Turks*, is a Sort of Pledge for ſecuring the Tranquillity of the reſt *Europe*; becauſe it will prevent the *Emperor*'s being in a Capacity of executing his Part of any ſuch Concert.

cert. Then again, if we ſuppoſe that no ſuch Alteration has been made by the late Peace, but that *France* may take that Opportunity, as ſhe was formerly wont to do, of attacking the *Emperor* or ſome of thoſe who, according to the antient Syſtem, are his natural Allies, it is not the firſt Time the *Emperor*, in conjuction with his Allies, has ſupported ſucceſsfully a War againſt the *Turks*, and at the ſame Time ſet Bounds to the Ambition of *France*, even when he had not the *Muſcovite* to aſſiſt him, and at a Time when we had no ſuch numerous ſtanding Army in *Britain* as we have at preſent. Thus, let the Caſe be which way it will, from the preſent State of Affairs in *Europe*, there can be no good Argument drawn for our keeping up a numerous ſtanding Army in this Kingdom.

Sir, it is impoſſible to imagine or expect a Time when all the Princes of *Europe* will be not only in profound Peace, but without any Views or Deſigns of making Introachments upon one another. If we are not to diminiſh our preſent Army till ſuch a Time happens, if we are not to paſs the River till it runs dry, it is ridiculous ever to think of paſſing, or to expect a Diminution. Againſt ſecret Deſigns and ſudden Invaſions, we may always defend ourſelves by means of our Fleet; it is therefore our Buſineſs to keep the royal Navy always in good Repair, to keep a conſiderable Number of Seamen always in Pay, and to encourage military Diſcipline among our Men in general; but when we are ourſelves at Peace, we ought always to take that Opportunity to eaſe ourſelves of the Expence of maintaining a Land Army. Are we to keep up a Land Army for the Defence of our Allies? No, Sir, they have fortified Towns, and numerous Gariſons to defend them againſt any ſudden Attack; and if they do their Duty towards themſelves, if they keep the Fortifications of their frontier Towns in good Repair, and ſuch a Body of regular Troops in their Pay as is neceſſary for defending their Frontier, we ſhall always have Time to raiſe or to hire an Army for their Support, before they can be brought into any great Danger.

I am ſorry to hear, Sir, there is ſo much Diſcontent, and ſo many Tumults in the Nation; but upon ſuch an Occaſion to bring his Majeſty's Name, or his Majeſty's Government, into Queſtion, is not fair; I muſt beg Leave to ſay, I do not think it altogether decent. The King can do no Wrong, but his Miniſters may. I am ſure there is no Man in the Kingdom that ever thought himſelf wronged by his Majeſty, but I ſhall not ſay ſo much with reſpect to his Miniſters. Therefore, if there be any Diſcontents in the Nation, we are to ſuppoſe ſuch Diſcontents owing to the Meaſures purſued by the Miniſters only; and if we examine the Hiſtory of this Nation for ſome Years paſt, we may eaſily ſee how they have been raiſed, and to what they are chiefly owing. During the late great War, the People of this Nation were ſubjected to many new and heavy Taxes, and a great publick Debt incurred. Every Man was then ſenſible of the Debt contracted, every Man then felt ſeverely the Taxes he paid, but every Man comforted himſelf that in a few Years of Peace the Debt would be paid off, and moſt of the Taxes aboliſhed. We have now enjoyed a Peace of 25 Years ſtanding, and yet now we find the publick Debt near as large as it was at the End of the War, and all the Taxes but one, as high and as heavy as they were in any Time of the War. In this long Tract of peaceable Times, the People have not felt themſelves relieved from any one Tax, except a Part of the Land Tax, and even that Tax is as high in *Britain* now in Time of Peace,

as it is in *France* in Time of War. Thus the People have been long disappointed, and now at last they begin to despair of ever seeing themselves relieved from the heavy Burdens they groan under. There may be several other Reasons, there are some which I could mention, but this is the chief Reason of the Discontent's being so general, as I am afraid it is; and I am sure the keeping up of a numerous standing Army in Time of Peace, is not a proper Method for removing this Cause of Discontent. By so doing we may keep the People quiet, or knock out the Brains of those who shall presume to be otherwise, but we shall never remove their Discontents, or gain their Affections; and this must be done, or our Government must be made arbitrary; for a free Government cannot be supported but by having the Affections of the Generality of the People.

To imagine, Sir, that our Government would be in any Danger from the disbanded Soldiers joining with the Discontented is without any Foundation; for there are many Soldiers would be glad to be discharged, there are many of them would be glad to return to their former Labour and Industry, and there are some who would be entitled to *Chelsea-Hospital*; of these there are not perhaps a great many, for of late we seem to have taken more Care to make a fine Figure at a Review, than a brave Stand in a Field of Battle; so that we have not at present many old Soldiers in our Army; however there are some, and they would be glad of being put upon the Establishment of *Chelsea-Hospital*. By this Means a Reduction might be managed so as not to discharge a Man who did not look on it as a Favour; and surely it is not to be supposed that those Men who had just received a Favour from the Government would join with any Party against the Government; nor would the Number of disciplined Soldiers in the Kingdom be diminished by such a Reduction; for, as the Officers would all be put upon half Pay, both Officers and Soldiers would remain in the Island, and would be ready to assist in the Defence of their Country against any Invasion or Insurrection.

I hope, Sir, I have now shewn, there is no Force in any of the Arguments made use of for our keeping up the same Number of Forces we had last Year, nor any Danger to be apprehended from a Reduction; but I cannot leave this Subject without representing to Gentlemen the Danger our Constitution is exposed to by keeping up such a numerous Army. Such Representations have, 'tis true, often been made, but I think they ought to be repeated as often as there is an Occasion. The Number we have at present, especially considering how easily and how soon they may be increased to Double the Number, I will be bold to say, is sufficient for trampling upon the Liberties of this Nation; and the longer they are kept up, the more sufficient will they be for that Purpose; because the People will every Day grow less apt or able to vindicate their Liberties, and our Army will every Day grow the more cemented, and consequently the more fit for such an Undertaking. *Oliver Cromwel*, when he turned every Member of this House out of Doors, when he bid one of his Soldiers take away *that Fool's Bauble our Mace*, as he called it, had not a much more numerous regular Army than we have at present on Foot; and tho' the Army under *King James* II. behaved in a more honourable Manner, yet such a Behaviour is not much to be depended on; for I am convinced even that Army would not have behaved as they did, if the Discontented had not had an Army to repair to; or if proper Measures had been taken to garble them a little before Hand.

But,

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But, Sir, without any open and violent Attack upon our Liberties, like that made by *Oliver Cromwel*, our Conſtitution may, by means of our Army, and the many other Poſts in the ſole Diſpoſal of the King, be undermined, and at laſt, to uſe the military Expreſſion, entirely blown up. It may come to be laid down as a Maxim, that an Officer or Soldier ought to be as obſervant of his Orders in this Houſe, or at Elections, as he ought to be in a Camp or a Field of Battle; and that an Officer who votes at an Election, or in this Houſe, contrary to the Directions of the Prime Miniſter for the Time being, deſerves as much to be caſhiered, as he who neglects his Duty in the Field, or deſerts his Colours in the Day of Danger. Nay it may happen, that the making of a proper Intereſt at Elections, or the giving of a right Vote in the Houſe of Commons, ſhall be deemed the only Service, the only Merit, worthy of Preferment in the Army; and conſidering how many Officers are in Parliament, conſidering how many muſt always be in Parliament as long as we keep up the ſame Number of Forces we have at preſent, I may venture to ſay that, if ſuch Maxims ſhould be eſtabliſhed and purſued, it would be in the Power even of the moſt wicked Miniſter, to have always a Majority at his Command in both Houſes of Parliament. In which caſe our Parliaments, like the Senate of *Rome* under their Emperors, or the preſent Aſſemblies of the States in moſt of our neighbouring Kingdoms, would ſerve only for giving Countenance to the Schemes of our Miniſters, and for rendering them more bold in their Oppreſſions.

At preſent, Sir, we have great Reaſon, we have more Reaſon than uſual, for being afraid of ſuch Maxims. Several Officers have been lately removed from their Commands in the Army; Officers of almoſt every Rank and Station, and Officers who could not be accuſed of any Neglect or Contumacy in their military Duty; for this Reaſon the World has great Reaſon to believe, ſince we know of none other, that they were removed for ſome Neglect or Contumacy in that which with reſpect to ſuch Maxims may be called their Parliamentary Duty.

They had the Misfortune to differ from ſome Gentlemen in their Sentiments, and they had the Honour to declare their Sentiments freely, and to vote accordingly in Parliament; ſoon after this they were removed from every Poſt they had in the Army, without any Cauſe aſſigned: What can the World think of ſuch Removes? I am ſure every Man without Doors will think it was becauſe they voted according as their Conſcience and their Honour directed them in Parliament; and I am ſure every Gentleman of this Houſe who thinks ſo, muſt join with me in Opinion, that it is now high Time to think of reducing our Army, and of putting the military Force of the Kingdom upon ſome Footing very different from what it has been upon for many Years paſt. It is now the very Beginning of a Seſſion: If we now reſolve upon a Reduction, we may have Time to contrive and paſs a Bill for regulating our Militia ſo as to make it uſeful; but if we ſhould now reſolve upon continuing the ſame Number of regular Forces, I am ſure no Gentleman can expect a proper Concurrence or Aſſiſtance in any ſuch Deſign, and therefore I am ſure no Gentleman will venture to propoſe any Schemes for that Purpoſe; for many Objections may be made againſt the beſt Scheme that can be propoſed, and thoſe who have not a Mind to agree to any Scheme, will always pretend to think the Objections unanſwerable; ſo that unleſs the Queſtion for a Reduction, at a

Time of ſo profound a Tranquillity, be approved by a Majority of this Houſe, no Man can expect the Approbation of the Majority to any Scheme he can propoſe; and no Man will chuſe to propoſe a Scheme which he is ſure will be rejected.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I think it will appear, that the Queſtion now before us is not, Whether we ſhall keep up the ſame Number of regular Forces, and continue to neglect our Militia, for one Year longer? No, Sir, the Queſtion now is, Whether we ſhall keep up the ſame Number of mercenary Troops, and continue to neglect our Militia, forever? This, Sir, is truly the Queſtion now before us, and I leave it to every Gentleman who has a Regard for the Conſtitution, or for the Liberties of the People, or for the Honour and Safety of his native Country, to conſider what may be the Conſequences of his agreeing to ſuch a Queſtion? For my own Part I have done my Duty, and if I ſhould ſee our happy Conſtitution overturned, and the Liberties of the People deſtroyed; if I ſhould ſee our maritime Cities and Towns plundered, and the Honour of the Nation expoſed by that Spirit of Effeminacy and Cowardice which will ſoon prevail among all thoſe who are not of our Army, and perhaps at laſt among them likewiſe, I ſhall at leaſt have this Comfort left, that I warned my Countrymen of their Danger.

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

Sir, I ſhould be extremely glad to hear a Method propoſed by which we could provide for our Safety both at Home and Abroad, without keeping any Troops in our Pay; but the honourable Gentlemen who now ſeem to be for a Reduction, tho' they have told us our Neighbours keep up their regular Troops only for ſupporting their arbitrary Power, and tho' they have talked a great deal of the Militia, yet they have propoſed no Scheme for making the Militia of this Kingdom uſeful, nor have they ſhewed us any Method by which we can defend ourſelves againſt the regular Troops kept up by our Neighbours, unleſs it be by keeping up ſome of our own. What Reaſons our Neighbours may have for keeping up ſuch large Bodies of regular Troops as they do? or, Whether the Militia of this Country, or any Country, may be ſo well diſciplined as to be made equal to regular Troops? are Queſtions which I do not think very material at preſent; becauſe, 'tis certain every one of our Neighbours do keep up large Bodies of regular Troops, and it is as certain that our Militia, according to their preſent Regulation, would be of no Uſe for defending us againſt ſuch Troops; therefore till our Militia are made uſeful, till they are ſo well diſciplined as to be able to defend us againſt regular Troops, we can put no Truſt in them, we muſt keep up a ſufficient Body of regular Forces; and as ſoon as I ſee ſuch a Militia in this Kingdom as may be ſafely entruſted with the Defence of the Kingdom, I ſhall then moſt readily agree to the Disbanding of every Regiment we have in our Service.

But, Sir, tho' I wiſh as much as any Gentleman in this Houſe, our Militia could be made as good as regular Troops, yet I muſt ſay it is my Opinion, that the Thing is impoſſible. There is nothing, I'm afraid, but Neceſſity or Pay, can make Men be at the Trouble and Fatigue of training themſelves up to the Uſe of Arms and military Diſcipline; and as the People of this Nation are not now under any Neceſſity of ſo doing, I do not think you can ever get any Number of them to ſubmit to ſuch Diſcipline, unleſs you pay them for the Trouble they are at, and for that

Part

Part of their Time at leaſt which they employ in that Way. By Neceſſity I mean that natural Neceſſity which Men are brought under by the Circumſtances of the Country they live in. In former Ages all *Europe* was divided into a great Number of little States or Principalities, each of whom was in ſome Manner independent, and therefore they were often making Inroads upon, and plundering one another: Many of theſe little Principalities were often united under one King or Governor; but each of them had ſo much Power within himſelf, and was ſo independent of the chief Governor, that their Quarrels were oftner decided by the Sword than by the Laws of their Country; therefore every Man was under perpetual Apprehenſions, and often obliged to defend his Property by his Sword: This laid every Man under an immediate Neceſſity of accuſtoming himſelf to the Uſe of Arms and military Exerciſes; and indeed moſt of them neither thought nor practiſed much of any other Sort of Employment. But ever ſince *Europe* has been reduced under the Dominion of a few powerful Potentates, the People live in Security; thoſe of the ſame Kingdom or State have their Differences decided by the Law, and the Differences that ariſe between two great Sovereign States are oftner decided by Treaty than by the Sword; therefore the Generality of the People in each State being free from thoſe Apprehenſions their Anceſtors were perpetually under, have long ſince neglected the Uſe of Arms, and have applied themſelves to Arts and Induſtry; but this general Neglect of martial Diſcipline has made it neceſſary in each Country to keep up a Body of regular Troops; and this is the true and the natural Reaſon, for introducing that Cuſtom in every Kingdom and State now in *Europe*. The ſupporting of arbitrary Power cannot be the Reaſon in every one of them, becauſe regular Troops are kept up in all the free States of *Europe*, as well as in thoſe where arbitrary Power has been eſtabliſhed.

In this Country, Sir, the People live in the ſame Security with thoſe of any other Country in *Europe*, and for the ſame Reaſon the Generality of them have neglected, and will always neglect to train themſelves up to War. They are now under no natural Neceſſity of ſtudying or practiſing that Art; and if you ſhould pretend to lay them under a legal Neceſſity, I am afraid you will find it impracticable. Such a Law, or ſuch a Scheme, may appear extremely eaſy in Speculation, but I am convinced when you come to the Execution, you'll meet with inſurmountable Difficulties. Let us conſider, Sir, that for keeping the Militia always well diſciplined, you muſt have them out at leaſt twice a Week to learn or to practiſe their Exerciſes. If you ſhould make Sunday one of the Days, you may depend on it many of the Clergy, of all Sects and Perſuaſions, would look upon it as an Incroachment upon them, and would therefore preach againſt it; from whence many of your People would refuſe to obey ſuch a Law out of a Scruple of Conſcience; ſo that we might perhaps have Martyrs for keeping holy the Lord's Day, which might at laſt produce a religious Civil War in the Kingdom. Two Days out of ſix is what no labouring Man can ſpare; nay even one Day out of ſix, to be ſpent in military Exerciſe, without any Pay, would be hard upon a poor labouring Man who had a Family to provide for: It would be a Tax, and a ſevere Tax too, upon every labouring Man, and every Man of Buſineſs in the Kingdom. Their Time is their Eſtate, and therefore it would be taking one ſixth Part of their Eſtate from them, which, conſidering how low our

are rated to the Land Tax, be near equal to ſix Shillings a Pound upon Land. For this tion all the labouring Men, and all the Men of Buſineſs in the Kingdom, would think it a great Grievance, to be obliged to ſpend one Day of the Week, beſides Sunday, at their military Exerciſes; and what would our Landed Gentlemen, and our rich Merchants and Shop-keepers think, what would thoſe Gentlemen of this Houſe who now ſeem to be ſo fond of a well diſciplined Militia, think of being obliged to get up two Days of the Week, at five or ſix o'Clock in the Morning, wet or dry, to take a Musket upon their Shoulder, and to ſpend the whole Day in painful Exerciſe and Fatigue? It would therefore I believe be impoſſible to oblige all the Men of the Kingdom to liſt themſelves in the Militia, and it would be unjuſt to oblige a few only, unleſs you paid them for that extraordinary Service.

Gentlemen may talk, Sir, of making the People uſe military Exerciſes by way of a Diverſion; but 'tis certain the People will always chuſe their Diverſions; if you eſtabliſh any Diverſion by a Law, it becomes a Duty, and ceaſes to be a Diverſion: The People will then look upon it as a Buſineſs, and moſt of them will think it hard they ſhould be obliged to employ two ſeventh Parts, or one ſixth Part of their Time, in learning and practiſing a Buſineſs, which they can never propoſe to get any Thing by, which they may never ſo much as once in their whole Lives have occaſion to follow in a ſerious Manner. Beſides, Sir, no Man that minds his real Buſineſs or Occupation, repairs to any Diverſion till his Buſineſs be over, therefore no Man has any ſet and unalterable Time for his Diverſion; even Sunday itſelf is often incroached on, is allowed to be incroached on, when neceſſary Buſineſs requires. If you appointed one or two certain Days every Week for military Exerciſe, which would be abſolutely neceſſary, ſuch Appointment would often interfere with People's other Affairs, with thoſe Affairs by which they are to get their Bread, or provide for their Families; and if you ſent them to their Officers for Leave of Abſence, the Obtaining of ſuch Leave would probably become a Tax upon every Man that had occaſion for it, and the Tax would riſe in proportion to his Ability and the Urgency of his Buſineſs. We may from hence ſee, it is impoſſible to eſtabliſh military Exerciſe as a Diverſion: The Attempting to enforce any ſuch Thing by a Law, would raiſe a moſt general Diſcontent and Murmuring, and would conſequently expoſe our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment to greater Danger, than it can ever be expoſed to by keeping up a ſmall regular Army, and leaving the reſt of the People to purſue ſome induſtrious Art or Employment, or to follow ſuch lawful Diverſions as they themſelves ſhall chuſe, without any Let or Diſturbance.

For theſe and many other Reaſons I am of Opinion, it is impoſſible to contrive any practicable Scheme for rendering our Militia equal to regular Troops, and therefore, while we are ſurrounded with Neighbours who keep vaſt Armies of regular Troops continually on Foot, I muſt think it abſolutely neceſſary for us to keep up ſome regular Troops of our own, for defending our Coaſts and maritime Cities from ſecret and ſudden Invaſions; and conſidering the Extenſiveneſs of our Sea Coaſt, and the preſent unſettled State of Affairs in *Europe*, I cannot think a leſs Number ſufficient than that we have now on Foot. But, Sir, whatever may be ſaid, whatever can be ſaid, in favour of a well diſciplined Militia, can be no Argument for a preſent Reduction of our regular Forces; becauſe

cauſe no Man can ſay our Militia is now under any tolerable Sort of Diſcipline, or that they are ſuch a military Force upon which our Government can depend, either for its own Support, or for the Protection of the People; and I muſt think it would be a Sort of Madneſs to give up that, or any neceſſary Part of that upon which only we can now depend for our Safety and Protection, till we have provided ſomething in its ſtead, upon which we may with ſome Reaſon depend for our Security, at leaſt againſt foreign Invaſions.

I am ſo far from being of Opinion, our regular Army tends to depreſs the natural Courage or the Spirit of the reſt of our Subjects, that I am convinced a regular Army of Natives, well cloathed, well paid, and kept under an exact Diſcipline, will in every Country tend to raiſe the Spirit of the People, and to make their Men in general affect to imitate that Courage, that Regularity of Manners, and that Diſcipline, by which they ſee ſo many of their Countrymen, perhaps their Relations, riſe to Honour and Preferment; for if an Army be kept under proper Diſcipline, and Preferments juſtly diſpoſed of, a regular and virtuous Behaviour in private Life, as well as an exact Performance of his Duty as a Soldier, will always be made neceſſary for intitling a Man to Preferment in the Army; and if the Youth and high-metall'd of every Country are apt to keep Company with, and imitate the Soldiers, an Army, under a right Government, will always be of greater uſe towards eſtabliſhing Virtue and Morality among the People in general, than any other Set of Men, not excepting even the Clergy, can be. Indeed, if your Government be in vicious Hands, if Favours and Preferments in the Army be diſtributed only to the Lewd, the Debauched, and the Profligate, your Army, like every other Set of Men who depend upon ſuch a Government, will contribute towards corrupting the Morals of the People, and under ſuch a Government the Militia would do the ſame: for Preferment in the Militia, as well as in the Army, muſt always depend upon the Government.

Liberty, Sir, does not depend, it never did depend upon the Government's having or not having a regular Army in their Pay. The Liberties of a People muſt always depend upon their Virtue. The Armies of a virtuous People will protect their Liberties; and a luxurious, vicious People will ſell them to the firſt Purchaſer, whether they have a ſtanding Army or no. The *Romans* had great ſtanding Armies long before they loſt their Liberties. While the People preſerved any Degree of Virtue, thoſe Armies preſerved their Liberties; but when the People began to ſell themſelves to the Leaders of their ſeveral Factions, without any Regard to Virtue or the good of the Publick, their Armies followed their Example, they ſold themſelves to their reſpective Generals, and ſeveral of thoſe Generals, in their Turn, and according to the Fate of War, became Maſters of the Republick; for the Diſpute between *Pompey* and *Julius Cæſar* was not about the Liberties of the People, but about the Dominion over the People. We have now ſeveral free States in *Europe* who keep up, who have long kept up numerous ſtanding Armies. In *Holland*, in *Venice*, in *Poland*, they keep up ſtanding Armies, without thinking their Liberties can from thence be in any Danger. In *Sweden* it was their Army that reſtored their Liberties; and in this Country it was our Army that reſtored our Liberties in the Reign of King *Charles* II. and it was our Army that preſerved them in the Reign of his Brother King *James*. In all Countries the Army will follow the general Bent of the People

People from whence they are drawn, and if the general Bent of the People be towards Slavery, they will do as they did ſometime ſince in *Denmark*, they will make a free Gift of their Liberties: Then, indeed, an Army may be ſo modelled, as to prevent the People's reſuming the Grant they have made; but ſuch an Army muſt not be an Army like ours, it muſt not be an Army whoſe very Exiſtence depends upon the annual Conſent of the People, and whoſe Pay depends upon the Grants annually made by a Parliament. In this Country I hope the general Bent of the People is no Way inclined towards Slavery, I am ſure ſome Gentlemen have loſt a great deal of Pains if it is; and if there be a Spirit of Virtue and Liberty among the People, the ſame Spirit muſt prevail in our Army, which is drawn from the People, and commanded by ſome of the beſt of the People; therefore it can never be ſuppoſed our Army will countenance or ſupport any Meaſures that may tend towards eſtabliſhing arbitrary Power.

Sir, the Soldiers of our Army are as free as any other of our Subjects. They are governed by the Laws of the Kingdom, as all other Subjects are. There is, 'tis true, one Law which relates particularly to them; but that Law is fixed and certain, and publickly known; a Soldier from thence knows his Duty, and if he behaves like a good Subject, and does his Duty as a Soldier, he can be ſubjected to no Puniſhment; he is not under the arbitrary Will and Pleaſure of any Man in the Kingdom, no not even of the King himſelf. Our Soldiers are not, nor can they ſuppoſe themſelves a Body of Men different from the reſt of the People, on account of their being ſubject to a Law which relates to them only. Every Corporation, every Society, almoſt every Sort of Tradeſmen in the Kingdom, have the ſame Reaſon to think themſelves a Body of Men different from the reſt of the People; for every one of them are ſubject to ſome Laws which relate only to the particular Corporation or Society of which they are Members, or to the particular Trade or Profeſſion they are of. Our Militia are in the ſame Circumſtances; they are already ſubject to a Law which relates to them only; and whatever new Laws you may make for regulating our Militia, I hope you would not take the Command or the Power over them out of the Hands of the Crown; for ſuch a Regulation I ſhould look on as a total Subverſion of our preſent happy Conſtitution. I can therefore ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould think our Liberties in greater Danger from a ſtanding regular Army than from a well diſciplined Militia: I am ſure it is as much the Intereſt both of the Officers and Soldiers of our Army to preſerve our Conſtitution, as it can be of any Set of Men in the Kingdom. The Behaviour of the Army under *Oliver Cromwel* can be no Argument againſt our preſent Army: Our Conſtitution was then overturned; a Set of Men who had got into this Houſe, had murdered their King, had annihilated the other Houſe, had excluded even from this Houſe every Man who would not join with them in all their Meaſures, and by theſe Means had aſſumed to themſelves an arbitrary Power: In ſuch Circumſtances the Officers of the Army thought they had as good a Title to take the Government of the Nation to themſelves, as to leave both the Nation and themſelves under the abſolute Power of any Set of private Men in the Kingdom; and what was the Conſequence? That very Army, as ſoon as they could find an Opportunity, reſtored our Conſtitution.

Arts and Sciences, Sir, are the certain Product of Liberty and Security, and Ignorance and Idleneſs are as certainly

certainly the Product of Slavery or a State of War. The Security of the People being once eſtabliſhed it may for ſome Time be preſerv'd without any regular Troops; but that Security makes them neglect to train themſelves up to the Art of War, and then a ſtanding Army becomes neceſſary for their Defence; eſpecially if their Neighbours are provided with great Numbers of regular Troops. This is the natural Courſe of Things; it is, I believe, impoſſible to alter it by any Regulation. The Security of the People of this Kingdom was eſtabliſhed, and Arts and Sciences began to flouriſh, before we had any ſtanding Army; but a total Neglect of military Diſcipline was not then ſo general as it is now, nor were our Neighbours provided with ſuch numerous Bodies of regular Forces; therefore it might then be poſſible to preſerve the Security of the People without a ſtanding Army, and yet now the Caſe may be, and I think is, quite otherwiſe. Our Neighbours are fully ſenſible of the great Neglect of Arms and military Diſcipline among the Generality of the People of this Kingdom: They know how much ſuperior their regular Troops are to your Militia; and if you had no ſtanding Army they would be ready to inſult you, to invade you, upon every Occaſion; therefore to protect the People againſt foreign Invaſions, a ſmall Number of regular Forces is abſolutely neceſſary, and I do not think it can be leſs than it is at preſent.

Then, Sir, with reſpect to Inſurrections and civil Commotions, we may know from Experience, and from late Experience too, how ready a factious Party are to fly to Arms, tho' they are certain of the Majority of the People's being againſt them; for the Battle is not always to the Strong, nor is Victory chained to the moſt numerous Army. In the late Rebellion, I hope it will not be ſaid the Majority of the People were on the Side of the Rebels, and much leſs can it be ſaid the Majority of the People had any Inclination or Occaſion to fly to Arms for their Relief or Preſervation; yet that Faction flew to Arms without any juſt Provocation, depending for Succeſs upon the ſmall Number of regular Troops we had then in our Pay; and if it had not been for that Number of regular Troops, ſmall as it was, thoſe factious Rebels might probably have overturned our Government, and with it, our Liberties. The Caſe will always be the ſame, Sir, when you reduce your Army too low, ſome Faction or another will fly to Arms, and in theſe ſeveral bloody Conteſts, our Conſtitution and Liberties will probably at laſt be made a Sacrifice; for tho' a State of perpetual Diſcord and Civil War may perhaps be better than a State of abject Slavery; yet we find in moſt Countries the People have at laſt choſe to ſubmit to arbitrary Power, rather than to continue under, or renew the Miſeries of a Civil War. Queen *Elizabeth*, 'tis true, had great Reaſon to dread Inſurrections and Convulſions at the Beginning of her Reign: She altered the Religion ſhe found by Law eſtabliſhed, and ſhe had a Pretender to her Crown of that very Religion; but the Religion which was then eſtabliſhed by Law, was far from being eſtabliſhed in the Hearts of the Majority of her People; and her Eſtabliſhing by a new Law, that Religion which was before eſtabliſhed in their Hearts, gained her not only the Hearts, the Hands, and the Purſes, of the Majority of her People, but proved her great and her chief Security againſt the Pretender to her Crown. This ſecured the Peace of the Nation at Home, and none of her Neighbours having then any great Number of regular Forces in their Pay, it was not neceſſary for her to keep up a ſtanding

ſtanding Army, for ſecuring her People againſt foreign Invaſions. His preſent Majeſty will I hope upon every Occaſion find he has the Hearts, the Hands, and the Purſes of the Majority of the People at his Command; I am ſure he has through his whole Reign highly deſerved it; but it cannot be ſaid that our Militia are now ſo good as they were in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, nor the Proteſtants now ſo much united amongſt themſelves, or ſo zealous in the Defence of their Religion; and as every one of our Neighbours now keep in continual Pay vaſt Armies of regular Troops, it may now be abſolutely neceſſary for us to keep up a ſtanding Army, tho' it did not appear to be ſo in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

I ſhall not ſay, Sir, that all the *Jacobites* are for arbitrary Power; but I am ſure the Conſequence of their ſucceeding in their Scheme would be the Eſtabliſhment of it; and as for the *Papiſts*, if they underſtand the Religion they profeſs, they muſt be for arbitrary Power; for their Religion can be ſupported by nothing but Ignorance or arbitrary Power: In former Ages it was ſupported by Ignorance, and now that Veil is pretty well removed, it can be ſupported by nothing but Inquiſitions and arbitrary Rule; therefore we may ſuppoſe, if the *Papiſts* amongſt us ſhould ever get the Government into their Hands, they would eſtabliſh a deſpotick Sway, in order to reſtore and ſupport the Religion they profeſs. As for Miniſters and their Creatures, I do not know but many of them may have an Itch for arbitrary Power; but they are not the only Perſons infected with that Diſeaſe: It is a Diſeaſe incident to other Men, I'm afraid to moſt Men, as well as to Miniſters; and we know by Experience, in this Country as well as in others, that Miniſters have been oppoſed, have been hanged or beheaded, under a Pretence of their endeavouring to uſurp arbitrary Power, by Men who have committed that very Crime as ſoon as they found an Opportunity.

I believe, Sir, it cannot be ſaid our Soldiers are the moſt abandoned Set of Men in the Kingdom. I could name ſome other Sets of Men that are more abandoned and do infinitely more Miſchief by their Example. Some of the Soldiers may be lewd, profligate Wretches, but where there is one ſo I hope there are at leaſt ten otherwiſe; and the Example of ten will always have a greater Effect than the Example of one. But if the Majority of the Army were ſuppoſed to be ſuch Wretches, it could be no Argument for diſbanding them; it would only be an Argument for taking ſome Method to put them under a better and ſtricter Government; for 'tis certain the military Law may be made much ſtricter and more ſevere than the common Law can be made; therefore the Army may be made to promote Virtue by its Example; and if any Set of Rogues ſhould venture to oppoſe the Civil Power with Force of Arms, ſurely a few regular Troops would be of great Uſe for ſuppreſſing ſuch a Gang. From what happens while we have an Army, we are not to judge of what may happen while we have none, or but a ſmall one; none but Smugglers have lately dared to oppoſe the Civil Power with Force of Arms; but if we had few or no regular Troops, I make no Queſtion but other Rogues, even Houſe-breakers and Highwaymen, would follow the Example of the Smugglers: While we have a ſufficient Number of regular Troops, no Set of Rogues dare venture upon any ſuch Thing; if they did, I hope no Gentleman of the Army would think it beneath him, to march againſt thoſe who appear in Arms againſt their Country.

I muſt ſay, Sir, I am ſorry to hear

hear any Gentleman of this Houſe make the moſt diſtant Inſinuation in Favour of Mobs and Tumults. If any Magiſtrate ſhould oppreſs or injure the People, they may have recourſe to, they will be relieved by the Laws of their Country. To ſeek for Redreſs in a mobbiſh tumultuous Way is certainly illegal, and is often attended with Miſchief to the Innocent as well as the Guilty. Rogues generally take the Opportunity of ſuch publick Calamities to plunder without diſtinction; and the Malicious take Occaſion to ſatisfy their own private Malice and Revenge: It ought therefore to be the chief Care of every Government to prevent Mobs, or ſuppreſs them as ſoon as poſſible; and no Method can be ſo effectual, as to have a few regular Troops ready to obey the Call of the Civil Magiſtrate upon ſuch Occaſions; but you cannot have a few regular Troops in every Part of the Kingdom ready to anſwer the Call of the Civil Magiſtrate, if you reduce any Part of the Number you have at preſent on Foot.

Sir, the Reſpect and Eſteem we have among Foreigners does not depend upon our regular Troops only, it depends likewiſe upon our Navy, and the great Number of regular Troops they know we could have, and could maintain, in caſe they ſhould provoke us to War; for this Reaſon we are juſtly more reſpected and more feared than ſome other States who keep in continual Pay as many Troops as we do; becauſe they keep up in Time of Peace as many as they could have or maintain in caſe of a War; and have no ſuch Navy either to protect their own Coaſts, or to infeſt thoſe of their Enemy. But, ſurely, we are more to be dreaded by our Neighbours, when they know we can immediately, upon a Rupture, ſend out a ſuperior Fleet, with an Army of 5 or 6000 regular Troops on board, to plunder and lay waſte their Country, perhaps for ſeveral Miles up from their Sea-Coaſt; than we would be, if they knew we could ſend nothing but a Fleet againſt them, which could only bombard ſome few of their Sea-Port Towns; and while we have ſuch an Army as we have at preſent, they cannot propoſe to do us ſo much Miſchief upon a Rupture, by landing ſmall Parties here and there in the Iſland, as they could propoſe to do, if we had no regular Troops, or a leſs Number of regular Troops, to oppoſe the Landing of ſuch Parties, or to intercept them in their Return to their Ships.

'Tis true, Sir, we cannot have a great Body of regular Troops in every Part of the Iſland where an Enemy might land; but the ſmall Body of Troops we have may be cantoned ſo as to have at leaſt a Regiment at or very near every Place where an Enemy could expect any Plunder worth their while; and one Regiment, with the Aſſiſtance they would upon ſuch an Occaſion get from the Country People, would be ſufficient to oppoſe the Landing of a very large Party, or at leaſt to ſtop their Progreſs; for one Regiment of regular Troops would add greatly to the Spirit even of our Militia, and would encourage them to take Arms for the Defence of their Property. But ſuppoſing the Army we have at preſent not ſufficient for guarding all our maritime Counties, it may be an Argument for putting our Militia on a better Footing, but till that is done, it is an Argument for increaſing rather than for diminiſhing the Number of Forces we have now on Foot. And while our Army conſiſts of natural-born Subjects of *Great Britain*, no Foreigner can, from our keeping a few regular Forces in Pay, ſuppoſe our Government does not enjoy the Affections and Eſteem of their own People: A mercenary Army of Foreigners

kept up in the Kingdom might give Occaſion for ſuch a Suppoſition; but an Army of Subjects will always be liable to the ſame Affections with the reſt of the People, and will therefore always be a very improper Inſtrument for ſupporting a hateful Government, or for keeping a diſaffected People in Obedience.

Every Convenience in this Life, Sir, muſt be attended with ſome Inconveniencies; the Inconveniencies attending our keeping up ſo ſmall a Number of regular Forces are ſo few and of ſo ſmall a Conſideration, it may be properly enough ſaid we have felt no Inconveniencies from our Army; the Meaning of which is, we have felt no ſuch Inconveniencies as ought to be regarded. If we had never ſince the Peace kept up above one Half of what we do at preſent, the Saving that way would have paid no conſiderable Part of our Debt, and therefore could not have freed us from any of our Taxes; and the Quartering of Soldiers is ſo far from being thought an Inconvenience or Expence to any County or City in general, that moſt Parts of the Kingdom are deſirous of having Soldiers among them; becauſe it conſumes a Part of their ſpare Proviſions, and can be no Burden or Inconvenience to any but thoſe who keep publick Houſes, moſt of whom get more by what the Soldiers ſpend in their Houſes, than the Expence of their Quarters can amount to. As for the Inſolence or rude Behaviour of the Soldiers, if any ſuch Thing happens, which I am convinced ſeldom does, the Landlord is ſure of getting Juſtice done him in the moſt ſummary Way, by a Complaint to the commanding Officer; and if he ſhould fail of it in that Way, he may get Redreſs by complaining to a Juſtice of the Peace; or for any Aſſault, Battery, or the like Miſdemeanour, he may have an Action or Indictment at Common Law againſt a Soldier, as well as againſt any other Man in the Kingdom. And as for our Liberties, I can ſee no Reaſon why our Soldiers ſhould not be as careful of them as any other Set of Men in the Kingdom; for very few of the Officers, and none of the Soldiers, can propoſe to better their Condition, but muſt neceſſarily make it a great deal worſe, by ſubjecting themſelves and their Country to arbitrary Sway.

Now, Sir, with reſpect to the preſent Situation of our Affairs both at Home and Abroad, and the Reaſons that may from thence be drawn for keeping the ſame Number of Forces in our Pay, at leaſt for this enſuing Year; whatever may have been the Effect of our late Meaſures, 'tis certain that, if the late Peace between the *Emperor* and *France* be not ſuch a one as it ought to be, it is ſo far from being an Argument for reducing our Army, that it is a ſtrong Argument for increaſing it; for if by that Peace the *Emperor* and *France* entered into any Concert for preſcribing Laws to the reſt of *Europe*, or for incroaching upon any of their Neighbours, now is the proper Time for breaking that Concert, either by Force or by Treaty, becauſe the *Emperor* is not now in a Condition to perform his Part of that Concert, or at leaſt not in ſuch a Condition as he will be after he has brought the *Turks* to ſubmit to what Terms he ſhall pleaſe to impoſe. If immediate Force ſhould be found neceſſary, we muſt greatly increaſe our Army; and if it ſhould be propoſed to be done by Treaty, by reducing any Part of our Forces, we ſhall derogate from the Weight we may have in any Treaty to be ſet on Foot for that Purpoſe. But if there is really no ſuch Concert between the *Emperor* and *France*, as I believe there is not, have we not ſome Reaſon to apprehend that *France* and her Allies will lay hold of the preſent Opportunity for gaining ſome

ſome new Advantage, or for making ſome new Conqueſt, from the *Emperor*, or from ſome of his Allies? And while we are under ſuch reaſonable Apprehenſions, can it be ſaid the preſent is a proper Time for us to reduce our Army?

We are not, 'tis true, Sir, to keep a Land Army for the Defence of our Allies, nor do any of them deſire we ſhould: They are all of them at vaſt Expence in keeping up numerous Land Armies, and fortifying and keeping in Repair their Frontier Towns, in order to provide for their own Defence; but we ſtand engaged by Treaty to furniſh ſome of them with a Body of regular Troops as ſoon as they ſhall be attacked, and this Engagement we could not perform, if we ſhould reduce our Army to a leſs Number than it conſiſts of at preſent. I ſhall likewiſe admit that we might in a Year or two appear with great Armies in the Field, tho' we had not near ſo many regular Troops in our Pay as we have at preſent; but in that Time ſome of our Allies might be reduced to the laſt Extremity, and perhaps obliged to ſubmit to a Peace on any Terms. We all know how eaſily and how ſoon *France* reduced the whole Kingdom of *Spain* after the Death of their laſt King; which could not have been done, if we had been ready to have ſent a great Number of regular Troops to the Aſſiſtance of the Party we had then in that Kingdom: By this Means the following War became much more heavy and expenſive than it would otherwiſe have been, ſo that we paid ſeverely for the little Frugality we made uſe of in reducing our Troops after the Treaty of *Ryſwick*; and if ever ſuch a War breaks out again, the Conſequence will be the ſame, if we ſhould render ourſelves unable to aſſiſt our Friends with a large Body of Troops, at the very Beginning of the War.

Thus, Sir, I think it muſt appear that from the preſent Situation of our Affairs Abroad, no Reaſon can be drawn for an immediate Reduction; and from the preſent Situation of our Affairs at Home, there is I am ſure as little Reaſon for a Reduction; for let the national Diſcontents at preſent proceed from what they will, when thoſe Diſcontents are come ſo great a Length as to break out in Mobs and Tumults in ſeveral Places of the Kingdom, it is not ſurely a proper Time to make a great Reduction of our Army. I am as ſorry as any Gentleman can be, to find ſo many of our People uneaſy and diſcontented, and I muſt be the more ſorry, becauſe I am certain they never had leſs Occaſion. It is not the Debt we owe, it is not the Taxes we pay, nor the Continuance of thoſe Taxes, that are the true Cauſes of our preſent Diſcontents. The Debt we owe was contracted for preſerving our Religion, our Liberties, our Properties, and every Thing that can be dear to a People. Our Taxes muſt be continued till that Debt is paid, and our immediate Preſervation muſt in the mean Time be taken care of. For this Purpoſe no Expences have been incurred, but what the Wiſdom of the Nation have thought abſolutely neceſſary, nor any Taxes impoſed or continued but ſuch as are the leaſt burdenſome to the People. We muſt therefore look ſome where elſe for the Cauſe of our preſent Uneaſineſs, and 'tis well known where we ought to look for it. There is a Party amongſt us who have been labouring for many Years to overturn our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; they can approve of no Debt that has been contracted, nor of any Taxes that have been or ſhall be impoſed for the Support of that Eſtabliſhment they are labouring to deſtroy: By Means of the Scribblers and other Tools they imploy, they have perſuaded Multitudes of People, that our Debt was

unneceſſarily incurred, and that a great Part of it might have been paid off, and the Taxes conſequently aboliſhed, if we had not every Year, for many Years paſt, run ourſelves to a vaſt publick Expence, for which there was not the leaſt Occaſion; like petty-fogging Lawyers who always find Fault with an honeſt Attorney's Bill, in order to perſuade the Client to leave him and employ them; and as few Men are themſelves good Judges of the Caſe, ſuch Petty-foggers too often ſucceed; but when they do, the Client always finds his Lawyer's Bills more extravagant, and his Affairs at laſt entirely ruined. The Caſe would be the ſame with this Nation, if ever that Party ſhould prevail. I hope they never will. However it muſt be conſeſſed, it is well known, that by Means of the daily, weekly, monthly, and occaſional Libels they publiſh, and by Means of the many Orators they have in every Place of publick Reſort, they have poiſoned the Minds of many of his Majeſty's Subjects; in which their late Succeſs is chiefly to be aſcribed to the Law lately paſſed againſt the Retail of Spirituous Liquors; for tho' every Man of Virtue or Senſe in the Kingdom muſt approve of that Law, yet it is certainly diſagreeable to the lower Claſs of People, of which our Mobs are generally compoſed. This Law I ſay, Sir, this moſt neceſſary Law has added greatly to the Succeſs of the diſaffected Party amongſt us: Nay it has made them ſo daring as to direct their Libels againſt the Parliament itſelf: They have of late even attempted to diminiſh that Veneration which our People have always moſt juſtly had for Parliaments; but this I am no way ſurpriſed at; for that Party have never ſhewed any great Liking to Parliaments; and if we ſhould disband any great Part of our Army, they would probably ſhew their Diſlike in a Manner more effectual, or at leaſt more dangerous, than that of Writing or Talking.

There may perhaps, Sir, be ſome Soldiers in our Army who would be glad to be diſcharged, but I am ſure there are not many, unleſs it ſhould be with a View of getting new levy Money in a little Time after; and if they ſhould be diſappointed in that View, they would liſt with the Diſcontented for nothing. But, Sir, if we ſhould in a Time of general Diſcontent, and when Inſurrections are juſtly to be apprehended, offer to diſband any of our Soldiers, there are many who would deſire to be diſcharged, not with a View to return to Labour and Induſtry, but with a View to join whoever ſhould appear in Arms againſt the Government; for among Rebels, a diſciplined Soldier may expect to be made a Serjeant or Corporal at leaſt; and every Serjeant would expect to be made an Officer. *Chelſea Hoſpital* could receive but very few of the Disbanded; it could not receive one half of thoſe who would expect to be put upon that Eſtabliſhment; and thoſe who found themſelves diſappointed, would certainly imitate their Betters, they would join with the Diſaffected; ſo that in every Light we can conſider it, a preſent Reduction would be a Diminiſhing the Power of the Government to preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom, and an Increaſing the Power of the Diſaffected to diſturb the Quiet of the People; and that at a Time when the Power of the latter has been, by a moſt neceſſary Law, greatly increaſed. In a little Time, perhaps in a few Months, theſe Diſcontents may ſubſide; the lower Claſs of our People will find they can live without the Uſe of Spirituous Liquors, and that they live more healthfully than with them; they will then join with the reſt of the Kingdom in their Approbation of that Law, and then a Reduction will not be ſo dangerous as it is at preſent.

Sir,

Sir, I have already ſhewn why any Army under a lawful and regular Government, can never be ſuppoſed to behave in the ſame manner the Army did under *Oliver Cromwel*; and if any Attempts ſhould be made to undermine our Conſtitution by means of thoſe Maxims we have been frightned with, the Parliament would interpoſe, the Army itſelf would mutiny againſt ſuch Maxims; but I cannot ſee why we have at preſent any Reaſon for being afraid of ſuch Maxims; for I am ſure no Man will pretend his Majeſty would, or could be prevailed on to caſhire any Officer for voting or behaving according to Honour and Conſcience. The Behaviour of an Officer may be influenced by Malice, Revenge, and Faction, under the Pretence of Honour and Conſcience; and if ever any Officer of the Army, becauſe his Majeſty refuſed to comply with ſome very unreaſonable Demand, ſhould reſolve to oppoſe in every Thing the Meaſures purſued by his Majeſty and his Miniſters, I ſhould think any Man a moſt pitiful Miniſter, if he ſhould be afraid of adviſing his Majeſty to caſhier ſuch an Officer. On the contrary, I ſhall leave it as a Legacy to all future Miniſters, that upon every ſuch Occaſion it is their Duty to adviſe their Maſter, that ſuch a very Man is unfit for having any Command in his Armies. Our King has by his Prerogative a Power of placing, preferring, and removing any Officer he pleaſes, either in our Army or our Militia: It is by that Prerogative chiefly, he is enabled to execute our Laws and preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom: If a wrong Uſe ſhould be made of that Prerogative, his Miniſters are accountable for it to Parliament; but it cannot be taken from him or diminiſhed without overturning our Conſtitution; for our preſent happy Conſtitution may be overturned by Republican as well as by Arbitrary Schemes. Therefore it muſt be left to his Majeſty to judge by what Motives an Officer acts, and if he thinks an Officer acts from bad Motives, in Duty to his People, in Duty to himſelf, he ought to remove him.

The only Queſtion, Sir, now before us is, Whether we ought to keep up the preſent Number of Forces for this enſuing Year. Next Year the ſame Queſtion muſt again come before us, and then every Gentleman may again vote as he pleaſes. There may be Reaſons peculiar to the preſent Time, I think I have ſhewn ſome very ſufficient and peculiar Reaſons for keeping up the ſame Number for this enſuing Year. In ſo doing I am ſure I have done my Duty; and if the Nation ſhould be inſulted and invaded by Foreigners; if a Civil War ſhould break out, and ſpread Deſolation and Murder over the whole Iſland; if the *Jacobites* ſhould prevail, and our Religion, our Liberties, and our Properties ſhould be thereby rendered precarious; I ſhall have ſome Conſolation in this Reflection, that I endeavoured as much as I could to prevent our expoſing ourſelves to ſuch Miſeries.

The Queſtion being at laſt put upon the Motion for keeping up the ſame Number of Troops, it was upon a Diviſion carried in the Affirmative by 246 to 178.

[*This Journal to be continued in our next.*]

N. B. *Our Readers are deſired to correct the following Errors of the Preſs in our* Magazine *for laſt Month, viz. Page* 405. *Column* 2. *Line* 2. *leave out* paſſing. *Page* 414. *Col.* 1. *Line* 18. *leave out* but. *Page* 420. *Col.* 2. *Line* 39. *for* 100,000*l. read* 110,000*l. As that Part of our Journal of the Debates in Parliament, which was publiſhed in the* LONDON MAGAZINE *for laſt Month, will, we ſuppoſe, be reprinted in the* Gentleman's Magazine *for this Month, and theſe Errors faithfully preſerved, we thought it the more neceſſary to correct them.*

Univerſal

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Universal Spectator, Aug. 27. N° 464.

SIR,

BY the Conſent and Approbation of her Father I made my Addreſſes to a Gentlewoman, whoſe *Perſon*, *Conduct* and *Behaviour* had long rais'd in me a particular *Eſteem*: Our Age was equal, and our Fortunes juſtly proportion'd; and if her *Fortune*, which her Father ſaid he wou'd give her, was added to mine, ſuch an Union, with that of our *Hearts*, wou'd have made us happy; but when I had gain'd her Affections, and ſhe reciprocally mine; when I preſs'd the old Gentleman that we might happily end our Amour in Marriage, which had been ſo happily carry'd on, and which *he himſelf* had ſo long *encourag'd* and *approv'd*, he put it off from Time to Time: At laſt finding by my *Anxiety*, my repeated *Requeſts*, and my *Tenderneſs* for his Daughter, that I was *deſperate* in *Love* with her, he even fairly told me, 'That his Girl had not made ſuch a *Choice* 'as he lik'd; that he was *diſoblig'd* at her, 'and that if I *wou'd take* her, I ſhou'd take 'her without a *Farthing* of his *Money*.' I was confounded at this Speech, and as ſoon as I cou'd recover myſelf, I urg'd to him his *prior Approbation*, his *Encouragements*, his *verbal Agreement*, the *ſtipulated Fortune*, the *Breach* of *Faith*, and the ſhocking *Injury* not to *me* only, but alſo to his *Daughter*: But it was all in vain.—I was not ſo much a Fool but I immediately ſaw thro' the whole Courſe of the old Man's Policy, which was firſt to fix me faſt in the Nooſe, and then to ſave his Daughter's *Portion* by the Effect of her *Beauty*; nor was I, indeed, ſo ridiculous and imprudent a Lover to be trick'd into a *Marriage*, which from this new Turn wou'd be attended with Inconveniencies that might make my whole Life miſerable. With the utmoſt Speed I had an Interview with the Lady, whom I lov'd, I think, as much as Man cou'd: I acquainted her with this new Caprice of her Father; I pity'd her abſolute Dependence on him; I renew'd the Sincerity of my *prior* Vows, and *then* ſet before her the fatal Conſequences that muſt enſue on an *imprudent Marriage*, when it was the Dependence on *her Fortune* that in great Meaſure was to have *conſtituted* our *Happineſs*; concluding, that if her Father remain'd obſtinate, as we muſt not think of living together, it wou'd be moſt proper not to ſee one another but as ſeldom as poſſible. With the moſt affecting *Innocence* and *Concern* mix'd with *Love* ſhe heard me, 'till I came to the Article of *Separation*; at that I ſaw another Paſſion glow in her Eyes, and with *Reſentment* ſhe cry'd —— *Muſt it not be* proper *to ſee one another?* — *Muſt it be as* ſeldom *as poſſible?* — *Indifferent*, *perjur'd*, *diſhonourable Man*; *it ſhall never be* — *Are theſe your Vows?* — *Is ſuch your* Fidelity? — *My Father may be a* Miſer, *but you are a*—*I know not what to name you* —— *You for ever have depriv'd me of* Reſt, Hope, Pleaſure *and* Felicity, *and may never* either *of* them *be your Lot* —— *Your* Conſtancy *after* Marriage *might have made my Father* relent, *and* Heaven *have bleſs'd that* Fidelity *you have not had* Honour *enough to ſhew* — *But*, *Sir*, *I am not* perſuading *but* reproaching *you*; *to evince it*, Farewell, Farewell *for* ever. She left me, with how much Concern upon my Heart, as it was beyond what I ever felt, it is beyond what I can ever expreſs: Tho' I was aſſur'd her Reproach was unjuſt, yet from the Principle of *Affection* that gave Occaſion to it, it affected *me*. I ſtruggled long between *romantic Love* and *prudent Conduct*: One Day I reſolv'd to fling myſelf at her Feet the next, and give a Proof of my *Love* by ruining myſelf in *Marriage*; but the next I thought it better to ſee her Father again, and ſtrive if any reaſonable Terms cou'd be made: I went, but the old Gentleman, now convinc'd within himſelf that I muſt comply at any Rate, with an ironical Smile, anſwer'd, 'I know you'll *run away* with my *Girl*; '*her* I can't guard, but my *Money*, I ſwear, 'you ſhall never touch a *Doit* of.' This I thought *Juſtification* enough to put an End entirely to my *Amour*; but the Gentlewoman, to whom my Addreſſes were paid, has flung herſelf into a frantic *Melancholy*, accuſes me as a *Villain*, and I am at leaſt thought a *diſhonourable Wretch* by all who knew our *Courtſhip*, but not theſe *later Circumſtances* of it.

Mr. *Spec*, as well to defend my Conduct or cenſure it, as for the Service it may be to your unmarry'd Readers, I deſire you wou'd give your Opinion how far a Man is guilty of *Breach* of *Honour* in not marrying after being *deceiv'd* about the *Portion*; whether the *Vows* in *Courtſhip* are binding (in ſuch a Caſe) in *Conſcience*, and whether 'tis an *Injuſtice* to a *Lady* not to *ruin* her as well as yourſelf by introducing her into thoſe *Inconveniencies* of Life, which are not *conſider'd* in *Love*, but *felt* in *Matrimony*. The granting this Requeſt wou'd oblige a conſtant Reader and humble Servant of yours, tho' under the fictitious Name of

EUGENIO.

Inſtead of Mr. Stonecaſtle's *Remarks upon this Letter*, *we ſhall give our Readers the following*, *from one of our own Correſpondents*.

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

AS I ſuppoſe you will inſert in your *Magazine* for this or next Month, *the Univerſal*

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Universal Spectator of *Saturday* last, I hope, for the Sake of Love and the Fair-Sex, you will give a Place likewise to the following Remarks on Mr. *Eugene*'s Letter; in order to prevent the bad Effects which a Justification of his Behaviour may have upon those who are, or may be under a Temptation to be guilty of the same Sort of Treachery.

I am as much affected with the melancholy Narration as Mr. *Stonecastle* can be, and am as ready to condemn the Villany of that unfortunate Lady's Father. Nay, if the young Lady should lose her Life, or even her Senses, her Father is, in my Opinion, guilty of her Murder, and ought to be hanged by the Laws of God, whatever may be his Fate by the Laws of Man. But to say, that there is either Honesty or good Sense in the Behaviour of Mr. *Eugene*, is a Judgment can be passed by no Man who has a true Sense of Honour, or who has ever felt the tender Endearments and mutual Extasies of an honourable and successful Love.——Can Love be fixed or removed at Pleasure, or does it depend upon any *Smithfield* Consideration? — Can Man or Woman ever be happy, if they are deprived of the Person upon whom they have sincerely fixed their Affections? — and can that Man be innocent, who, from a forbid Motive, robs a Woman of her Happiness for ever?——No, Sir, the Inhumanity,—— the Injustice of the Father, can no Way excuse the Treachery of the Lover.

But we are told by Mr. *Stonecastle*, in excuse for his Correspondent, *he can be guilty of no Breach of Honour or Conscience, nor of any Injustice, for not plunging himself into Poverty, and, what would be worse, making the Woman he loved share a cruel Fate she no way deserved.* If Happiness depended upon Riches, there would be some Weight in this Argument; but we know it does not. Happiness depends upon confining our Desires, and our Manner of Living, to our Circumstances: The poorest Day-labourer in *England* may make himself, may make his Family happy, by Industry and Frugality; and the Industry and Frugality of every married Couple, depends upon the Love and the Friendship that subsists between them.

However, I shall for this once suppose, that Happiness depends upon a Person's Circumstances being equal to his Education, and the Method in which he was brought up. Mr. *Eugene* should have considered this, before he made his Addresses to the Lady, and should have secured the Father from having it in his Power to be guilty of Inhumanity towards his Daughter, or Injustice towards him, before he attempted to gain her Affections; for after having once gained her Affections, and fixed her Love, he should then have considered, if he had been as much in Love as he professed, he would have considered, that no Misery can equal that of a Disappointment in Love, nor can any Prospect of Poverty excuse the Breach of a lawful and honourable Engagement: The Fraud, the Inhumanity of the Father, was certainly, in itself, a great Affliction to the Daughter: To break off the Match upon that Account, was adding Affliction to the Afflicted, and overwhelming that Heart with Sorrow he had before inspired with Love. — He was guilty of Imprudence, but the unfortunate Lady was guilty of no Fault, except that of placing too much Confidence in a Lover, who now seems to have a greater Regard for his own future Splendor, than he ever had for her. I say his future Splendor; for that is the only real Difference a Fortune can make in Life: A Man without a Fortune either of his own or with a Wife, may live, he may live happily; but he cannot live in such Splendor, as he that has either the one or the other.

I would gladly ask any Man, how he would expect his Addresses could be received by a young Lady, if he should tell her, *Madam, I shall be most prodigiously in Love with you if your Father will give you a Fortune of 1000 l. as he promises? Or, Madam, I am furiously in Love with you, but my Circumstances will not permit me to marry, unless your Father will give you 1000 l. to your Fortune.* — I must upon this Occasion ask Mr. *Eugene* himself, if he ever declared his Love in such Terms? — If he did not; if his Professions were all absolute, and without Condition, was he not a Deceiver? — Does he not now shew, that a Condition was implied in every Profession he made? — And can a Man be said to have either Honour, Sense, Conscience, or Generosity, who deceives an innocent and spotless Maid, in that Article on which the Happiness of her future Life chiefly depends? — How then can Mr. *Eugene* pretend to justify himself? He cannot expect to be justified by any Man of Honour or Generosity in the Kingdom; and much less can he expect to be justified by any Man or Woman who has ever felt the Pangs or the Pleasures of an honourable Love.

What then was Mr. *Eugene* to do, upon finding he was like to meet with a Disappointment from the Father? Surely, if he proposed to act like a Man of Honour or Sense, or like a faithful Lover, he was to acquaint the young Lady of the Injustice he expected to meet with from her Father: He was to lay his Circumstances fairly before her; but upon such a melancholy Occasion, it was his Duty to make stronger Protestations of Love, if possible, than ever he had made before; and to declare, that, notwithstanding the cruel Deceit of her Father, he remained her faithful Lover, and was willing to give her

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immediately the ſtrongeſt, the moſt honourable Token of his Love. This, I ſay, was his Duty, leſt the unfortunate young Lady ſhould have conceived the leaſt Suſpicion, that the Barbarity of her Father was like to be attended with the Infidelity of her Lover; and if he had been really and ſincerely in Love, theſe Proteſtations he would for his own Sake have made. A Declaration from the Lady, that ſhe was willing to ſhare any Fate with him, would have given him a Pleaſure beyond the Power of a ſelfiſh Mind to conceive, beyond the Power of the moſt enthuſiaſtick Pen to expreſs. Such a Declaration would have given him a convincing Proof the Flame was mutual, and equally fierce. Upon ſuch a Declaration it was his Duty to crown their mutual Happineſs, as ſoon as poſſible; and to truſt for their future Splendor, to Providence, and the Father's Remorſe.

After a private Solemnization of Marriage, the happy Couple might have concealed it from their Father. Mr. *Eugene*, with reſpect to her Father, might have ſimulated what he now in earneſt ſhews himſelf to be, a cold and indifferent Lover; and the young Lady might have ſimulated what, I'm afraid, is now too real, a frantick Melancholy; in order to try if the Cruelty of the Miſer could at laſt be overcome by the Compaſſion of the Father. This was the utmoſt that Prudence could direct, or a generous Heart ſubmit to; and this, I hope, is truly the Caſe; but I cannot forgive Mr. *Stonecaſtle* for endeavouring to juſtify the Caſe, if it be otherwiſe.

I ſhould not perhaps have taken any Notice of this Juſtification, but that I obſerve a ſelfiſh and ſordid Spirit ſpreading, I am ſorry to ſay it, almoſt univerſally over this Nation. No Man ſeems now to be looked on as a Man of Senſe, but he who is ready to ſacrifice his Country, his Friend, and, now at laſt, his Miſtreſs, if he can any way add to his Pelf or his Poſſeſſions by the making of ſuch a Sacrifice. But ſuch Gentlemen ought to conſider, that by ſo doing they give up the moſt valuable Poſſeſſion a Man can enjoy, the Poſſeſſion of a good Conſcience and an innocent Mind.—The Laws of Virtue, — the Laws of Friendſhip, — the Laws of Love, — are paramount to what are commonly called the Laws of Prudence.—Our Duty to our Country,—our Duty to our Friend,—our Duty to our Miſtreſs,— are preferable to any Duty we can owe to ourſelves.—A Man who would ſacrifice his Country, his Friend, or his Miſtreſs, even to the Preſervation of his own Life, can have no Honour nor Courage, and conſequently is incapable of Love; but he that will ſacrifice either of the Three, to his eating a more luxurious Dinner, appearing in a more gaudy Equipage, or cramming a little more uſeleſs Gold into his mouldy Coffers, muſt be a moſt conſummate Scoundrel.

As I ſhall always be proud of appearing an Advocate for Virtue, Friendſhip, and honourable Love, I could not tamely ſee it eſtabliſhed as a Doctrine, that the noble and generous Paſſion of Love ought to be ſacrificed to any ſelfiſh Views: I am ſure, if it be real, it cannot be directed by any ſordid Conſideration; and as Love ſeems to be the only generous Paſſion that has not entirely given Way to that ſelfiſh Spirit which now prevails, I thought the Publiſhing of ſuch a Doctrine afforded me a proper Opportunity for putting the Fair Sex in Mind, that, if they have any Senſe of Love, if they ever expect to be truly beloved, they muſt endeavour to root out that Spirit which is as great an Enemy to Love, as it is to Virtue and Friendſhip. Let the Fair but deſpiſe the Man who, for ſelfiſh Ends, ſacrifices his Country, his Friend, or his Love, and no Man will dare to make a Sacrifice of either; for even he who is, in his Nature, the greateſt of Scoundrels, could hardly bear to live under ſuch a Contempt. If they do this, they may reſtore the Virtue and the Honour of our Men in general: If they do otherwiſe, Ladies of Fortune may get Huſbands, but no Woman can expect ever to meet with a true and faithful Lover. I am,

S I R,
Your conſtant Reader,
JUBA.

Auguſt 29th, 1737.

Common Senſe, Sept. 3. N° 31.

Affectation, the Character of Coxcombs.

M. *de la Rochefoucault* very juſtly obſerves, that People are never ridiculous from their real, but from their affected Characters; they can't help being what they are, but they can help attempting to appear what they are not. A Hump-back is by no means ridiculous, unleſs it be under a fine Coat; nor a weak Underſtanding, unleſs it aſſumes the Luſtre of a bright one. Good Nature conceals and pities the inevitable Defects of Body or Mind, but is not oblig'd to treat acquir'd ones with the leaſt Indulgence. Thoſe who would paſs upon the World Talents they have not, are as guilty in the common Courſe of Society, as thoſe who in the Way of Trade would put off falſe Money, knowing it to be ſuch; and it is as much the Buſineſs of Ridicule to expoſe the former, as of the Law to puniſh the latter.

I cannot be of the general Opinion, that theſe Coxcombs have firſt impoſed upon themſelves, and really think themſelves what they would have others think 'em. On the contrary, I am perſuaded that every Man knows himſelf beſt, and is his own ſevereſt Cenſor; nay, I am convinc'd, that many a Man has liv'd and died with Faults and Weakneſſes, which

which no body but himself ever discover'd. It is true, they keep their own Secret inviolate, which makes People believe they have not found it out.

Fatuus, the most consummate Coxcomb, has Parts enough to have excell'd in almost any one Thing he would have applied himself to. But he must excel in all. He must be at once a Wit, a Lover, a Scholar, and a Statesman; yet, conscious of the Impracticability of the Undertaking, he parcels out his Accomplishments, and compounds to have the several Branches of his Merit admir'd in separate Districts. Hence, he talks Politicks to his Women, Wit to Ministers of State, displays his Learning to Beaux, and brags of his Success in Gallantry to his Country Neighbours. His Caution is a Proof of his Guilt, and shows that he does not deceive himself, but only hopes to impose upon others.

There are as many Species of Coxcombs, as there are desirable Qualifications and Accomplishments in Life; and it would be endless to give Instances of every particular Vanity and Affectation, by which Men either make themselves ridiculous, or, at least, depreciate the other Qualities they really possess. I will now endeavour to point out the Means of avoiding these Errors.

It is very certain, that no one Man is fit for every Thing; but it is almost as certain too, that there is scarce any one Man who is not fit for something; which something Nature plainly points out to him, by giving him a Tendency and Propensity to it. I look upon Common Sense to be to the Mind, what Conscience is to the Heart, the faithful and constant Monitor of what is right or wrong: And I am convinced that no Man commits either a Crime, or a Folly, but against the manifest and sensible Representations of the one or the other. Every Man finds in himself, either from Nature or Education (for they are hard to distinguish) a peculiar Bent and Disposition to some particular Character; and his struggling against it, is the fruitless and endless Labour of *Sisyphus*. Let him follow and cultivate that Vocation, he will succeed in it, and be considerable in one Way at least; whereas, if he departs from it, he will at best be inconsiderable, probably ridiculous. The Players, who get their Parts by Heart, have a Regard, in chusing those Parts, to the natural Bent of their Genius; *Penkethman* never acted *Cato*, nor *Booth Scrub*; their invincible Unfitness for those Characters would inevitably have broke out, in the short Time of their Representation. In my Mind, *Pinkey* got more Credit by acting *Scrub* well, than he would have got by acting *Cato* ill; and I would much rather be an excellent Shoemaker, than a ridiculous Minister of State.

I greatly admire our industrious Neighbours, the *Germans*; they indefatigably pursue the Way Nature has chalk'd out to 'em, and never deviate into any Irregularities of Character. Thus many of the first Rank, if happily turn'd to Mechanicks, have employ'd their whole Lives in the Incatenation of Fleas, or the curious Sculpture of Cherry-stones; while others, whose Thirst of Knowledge leads them to investigate the Secrets of Nature, spend Years in their Elaboratory, in pursuit of the Philosophers Stone: But none, that I ever heard of, ever deviated into an Attempt at Wit. Nay, even due Care is taken in the Education of their Princes, that they may be fit for something; for they are always instructed in some other Trade besides that of Government; so that if their Genius does not lead 'em to be able Princes, it is ten to one but they are excellent Turners.

I must observe, that the Word Coxcomb is of the Common Gender, both Masculine and Feminine; and that the Male Coxcombs are equall'd in Number by the Female ones, who shall be the Subject of my next.

Craftsman, Sept. 3. N° 582.

Of the Liberty of the Press, &c.

IT hath been allow'd, on all Sides, that the great Benefit of, what is commonly call'd, the *Liberty of the Press*, consists in the Freedom of discussing Matters of *Religion* and *Government*, in all disputable Points, with a proper Regard to *Decency* and *good Manners*; tho' even *they* ought to give Place, in Cases of Extremity, to the *publick Good*. This is the peculiar Privilege and Blessing, upon which we have long valued ourselves as *Englishmen*, above all Nations in the World; for even the most arbitrary Governments, where *Learning* and *Politeness* have got any Footing, make no Scruple of allowing Men of Wit to exercise their Talents upon general Topicks of *Instruction* and *Amusement*, or even upon Matters of *Government* and *Religion*, provided they keep clear of any Reflections upon the *Conduct of their Superiors*, and advance no Doctrines but what are perfectly orthodox, both in *Church* and *State*. But this is not the Privilege, which we distinguish by the Name of the *Liberty of the Press*, and which was always understood to imply a Right of enquiring into the Expediency of *publick Measures*, and the Truth of *prevailing Doctrines*, however authorized or established, with the Limitation before-mention'd.

As to Matters of *Religion*, I think every Man hath Latitude enough, in this Country; and does not seem to have any just Cause of Complaint; especially of late Years. But tho' the *other Branch of this Privilege*, which relates to *Government*, is acknowledged to be equally our Right, and the People have undoubtedly

doubtedly received many great Advantages from it; yet it is attended with so many *Difficulties* and *Discouragements*, that a Man must have a good deal of *Resolution*, and but little Regard to *his own private Interest*, who exerts it with any Vigour, or Hopes of Success: For, as Sir *Richard Steele* observes, in his Dedication to the *present Duke of* Newcastle, 'the painful Struggle under so great 'a Difficulty as explaining with a *Ministry*, 'in open Contradiction to their Proceedings, 'is what can be supported by nothing less 'than the Testimony of a *good Conscience*, 'and an Heart pure from a *vicious Ambi-* 'tion.'

It is impossible to shew the Weakness or Iniquity of any *publick Measures*, without reflecting in some Manner upon the *Authors* of them; and as no Men are so tender, in this Point, as *Princes* and *Ministers*, they will always exclaim against the *Abuse of the Press*, and make Use of their Authority to restrain it, under the Pretence of exercising it only against *false, scandalous and seditious Libels*.

I look upon those, who presume to write against a *Minister*, as a Sort of *Enfants perdues*, or the *forlorn Hope of an Army*, who run the utmost Hazard of being sacrificed for the Good of their Country. The Method of prosecuting *those Men*, by Information in the *King's-Bench*, and of late Years by a *special Jury*, is generally supposed to be built upon the Proceedings of the *Star-Chamber*, and took its Rise from the Abolition of *that Court*.

I am far from pleading for a *Licentiousness* of any Kind, properly so call'd; or for exempting it from Punishment, in a *legal Way*. My only Design is to shew what Difficulties and Hardships a *Writer* is sometimes obliged to encounter, who employs his Pen in Defence of *Liberty*; and that it is always construed into *Licentiousness* by those, who are conscious to themselves that even the *just Exercise of Liberty* must end in their Destruction.

But whatever Usage *Authors* and *Booksellers*, who are suppos'd to understand what they write and publish, may be thought to deserve, I must beg Leave to think it a little unreasonable that the *common Labourers of the Press*, who get an hard Livelihood by the Sweat of their Brows, without any other View, should be liable to the same strict Inquisition, Expences and Penalties. The *Compositors* themselves, whose Business it is to put the Letters together, which they pick out of different Cases, one by one, have often the Copy deliver'd to them by Piecemeal, and in disjointed Fragments, without any Coherence or Connection, one Part of it being given to one Compositor, and another to another, for the Sake of Expedition; especially in periodical Writings; so that they have seldom any Opportunity to read or judge of what they are composing. The *Press-Men* are still more in the Dark; for as soon as they receive the Forms ready-set from the *Compositors*, they have nothing to do but to work them off as fast as they can, at so much a Thousand; and the *Devil*, as he is call'd, is only the Servant of the rest, whom they hire to run upon Errands, and do all their Drudgery. Many of *these poor Creatures* cannot so much as read; or if they can, is it to be suppos'd that they are able to judge what is strictly speaking a *Libel*, or not a *Libel*, which is so far from being an easy Point to determine, that it often puzzles the *nicest Splitters of Cases*?

He then shews that the Gazetteer *of* Aug. 18. *has misrepresented his Case. Among other Things that Writer says:* 'If any Thing ille-'gal hath happen'd, the *Law is open* — will 'not the *Law* redress him? — Are the *Courts* '*of Justice* shut only to him?' —— No, Mr. *Mumble-Case*, who says they are? But are there no Difficulties, or Disadvantages, d'ye think, against a *private Man*, in such a Prosecution? If I thought myself injur'd, or aggrieved by a *Messenger*, or a *common Justice of Peace*, and could be sure of their being left to stand upon their *own Legs*, I might be tempted, perhaps, to seek my Remedy against them at *Law*; but a Man had much better sue a *Beggar*, than *those*, who are known to be supported by *long Purses*, as well as *long Hands*.

I agree with *this Writer*, that *Examination* is so far from being a necessary Preparative to being *bail'd*, that no *Man of Sense*, let him be guilty or not, will answer any Questions directly, which may do him hurt, and cannot possibly do him any Good; nor can any *Magistrate* insist upon it; for it is one of the most known and established Maxims of our Law, that *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*.

He allows that *extraordinary Bail* is an Hardship, and calls upon me to let the Publick know *what Bail* hath been demanded. To which I answer, that only Mr. *Haines* is yet bail'd, and 600*l.* was demanded of him; which is 200*l.* more than has usually been ask'd, in the same Case, and from Persons in much better Circumstances.

Grubstreet Journal, Sept. 8. N° 402.

Of MARRIAGE.

MARRIAGE is defined a Compact between a Man and a Woman for Procreation and Education of Children; which in every well ordered Society, ought to continue during Life.

For Children gradually arriving one after another, they have hardly done with the Care of their Education, till the Parents are unfit for

for second Marriages; and therefore it is convenient, that Marriages should continue during Life, that the mutual Care of the Parents might be employed in the Provision for their Children; and that the Love and Respect of their Children might be repay'd to both Parents without Distinction or Confusion; which could not be well done if the Marriage was to be disjoined, and their Interest was to sever, after the Concern of Education was over.

The Interest of Marriage could not be conveniently carried on, if there were a Prospect that the Marriage was any otherwise to be determined than by Death alone. For each Person would be injuriously drawing out of the common Stock, to the Injury of their joint Concern, and the Prejudice of the Education of the Off-spring.

That the Conjunction of Parents should continue 'till the Off-spring be sufficiently provided for, seems to be the Law of the whole Creation. For, tho' in those Animals who feed on Grass, the Conjunction between Male and Female lasts no longer than the very Act of Copulation, because the Teat of the Dam is sufficient to nourish the Young, until it is able to feed on Grass, and the Male can contribute nothing to its Sustenance; yet in Beasts of Prey, the Conjunction lasts longer, because the Dam not being able well to subsist herself, and nourish her Off spring by her own Prey alone, the Assistance of the Male is necessary to the Maintenance of their common Family, which can't subsist until they are able to prey for themselves, but by the joint Care of Male and Female.

So in other Animals, we find the Cock and Hen continue Mates 'till the Young are able to use the Wing, and provide for themselves: (only in domestick Fowls, the Plenty of Food from the House, often excuses the Male from feeding and taking Care of the Brood) and when the Young can subsist of themselves, the conjugal Bond dissolves of itself, till the anniversary Seasons summon them to new Marriages.

But it is still stronger with respect to Man, who being endowed with Reason to enjoy the Pleasures of Friendship, and with a Prospect of future Necessities, as well as present Necessaries, the Society of Man and Wife should be more lasting, than that of Male and Female among other Creatures; that so their Industry might be encouraged, and their Interests better united, to make Provision for their common Issue; which uncertain Mixture, or easy and frequent Solutions of conjugal Society, would mightily disturb.

Daily Gazetteer, Sept. 8. N° 680.

Proposal for a College of Politicians.

I WOULD propose, that a sufficient Fund be raised, by the voluntary Contribution of all the Politicians in *England*, for erecting a College, in some convenient Place near *London*, in which should be taught the *Art of Politicks* in all its Branches, by Professors and Masters of the greatest Ability. As St. *George's Fields* is a spacious, airy Place, I think it would not be improper for this Purpose, as well on Account of its Vicinity to St. *James's*, as for other Reasons which it may not be convenient to mention.

During the Sessions of Parliament the Professors should be resident at College, and read Lectures three Times a Week, at which every Member should be obliged to be present, in Order to be informed of the Nature and Duty of the Trust repos'd in them, and to receive proper Instructions, how to comport themselves in their Senatorial Capacity.

But besides such Publick Lectures there should be private Tuitions, where young Members should be fully instructed in the Subject Matter of every great Debate before it comes on, that they may not be totally ignorant of the Subject upon which they are to speak; as at present, for want of some such laudable Institution, often happens to be the Case. And because there are many Gentlemen, who tho' they cannot speak at all, yet very frequently find themselves under an absolute Necessity of making a Speech, such Gentlemen shall have Speeches ready made for them, suitable to their Capacity, and to the Opinion the World has of them. If the Speakers set up for Wits, their Speeches shall be larded with Jokes, and the End of every Sentence shall be pointed with a Stroke of Satyr and Raillery. If they affect the Character of Patriots, their Speeches shall be full of strong Things, against wicked Ministers, and arbitrary Governments. And if they would be thought to be in earnest in what they say, and that they are in no Terms whatever with the M——y, they shall proceed to downright ill-Language, and personal Abuse.

And in order that they may make no Hesitation, nor forget what they have to say next, but may be absolutely perfect in their Speeches, they shall repeat them in the College, in a full Assembly, before they speak them in the House; and every Person present shall be at full Liberty to laugh, or talk, or make what Noise he pleases; the better to prepare and fortify the Speaker for the Reception he is to meet with, when he first commences publick Orator: This is infinitely to be preferred to the present Way, which Gentlemen for want of a little Pains seem generally to fall into; that is, of reading out of their Hats a Parcel of impertinent Stuff of their own composing.

But the most important Advantage that would attend this Project, would be, that the Nation would be always furnished with a

ſufficient Number of Perſons, to fill the great Offices of the Kingdom, at an eaſy Expence; who, inſtead of bedecking themſelves in Velvet and Gold, and eating out of China or Plate, would be content with College Commons, a Suit of new Cloaths once a Year, and a clean Shirt twice a Week: By which means, we might ſoon hope to ſee Taxes leſſen, Trade revive, Dramatick Poetry flouriſh, and the Tragedy of *Common Senſe* acted again without a Licence from the Lord *Chamberlain*; for a Libel would be of little or no force againſt great Men, if they had neither Salaries nor Perquiſites belonging to their Offices.

Common Senſe, Sept. 10. N° 32.

FEMALE COXCOMBS.

THERE may be two Kinds of Women Coxcombs; thoſe who affect what does not fall within the Female Sphere of Action, and thoſe who go out of their own natural Characters, tho' they keep within the Female Province.

Each Sex has its diſtinguiſhing Characteriſtick, and if the fair Sex can with Juſtice (as certainly they may) brand a Man with the Name of a Cott Quean, if he invades a certain Female Detail, which is their Prerogative; may not we retort upon them, when, laying aſide their natural Characters, they aſſume thoſe which are appropriated to us? The Delicacy of their Texture, and the Strength of ours; the Beauty of their Form, and the Coarſeneſs of ours; ſufficiently indicate the reſpective Vocations. Was *Hercules* ridiculous and contemptible with his Diſtaff? *Omphale* would not have been leſs ſo at a Review, or a Council-Board. Women are not form'd for great Cares themſelves, but to ſooth and ſoften ours; their Tenderneſs is the proper Reward of our Toils for their Preſervation; and the Eaſe and Chearfulneſs of their Converſation, our deſirable Retreat from Study and Buſineſs. They are confined within the narrow Limits of Domeſtick Offices, and when they ſtray beyond them, they move excentrically, and conſequently without Grace.

Agrippina would appear learned, and has read juſt enough of all Things, without comprehending any one, to make her talk abſurdly upon every Thing. She looks upon the Art of Pleaſing as her Maſter-piece, but miſtakes the Means ſo much, that her Flattery is too groſs for Self-love to ſwallow, and her Lies too palpable to deceive for a Moment; ſo that ſhe ſhocks thoſe ſhe would gain.

Sydaria had Beauty enough to have excus'd (while young) her want of common Senſe. But ſhe ſcorn'd the precarious Triumphs of Beauty. She would only conquer by the Charms of her Mind. A Union of Hearts, a Delicacy of Sentiments, a mental Adoration, or a Sort of tender Quietiſm, were what ſhe long ſought for, and never found. Thus Nature ſtruggled with Sentiment till ſhe was 45, but then got the better of it to ſuch a Degree, that ſhe made very advantageous Propoſals to an *Iriſh* Enſign of 21: Equally ridiculous in her Age and in her Youth!

Canidia, wither'd by Age, and ſhatter'd by Infirmities, totters under the Load of her miſplac'd Ornaments; and her Dreſs varies according to the freſheſt Advices from *Paris*, inſtead of conforming itſelf (as it ought) to the Directions of her Undertaker. Her Mind, as weak as her Body, is as abſurdly adorn'd; ſhe talks Politicks and Metaphyſicks, mangles the Terms of each, and, if there be Senſe in either, moſt infallibly puzzles it.

I ſhall not enter into an Examination of the leſſer Affectations (moſt of 'em are pardonable, and many of 'em are pretty, if their Owners are ſo) but confine my Animadverſions to the Affectation of ill-ſuited Characters; for I would by no Means deprive my fair Countrywomen of their genteel little Terrors, Antipathies, and Affections. The alternate Panicks of Thieves, Spiders, Ghoſts, and Thunder, are allowable to Youth and Beauty, provided they don't ſurvive 'em. But what I mean is, to prevail with 'em to act their own natural Parts, and not other Peoples; and to convince 'em, that even their own Imperfections will become them better than the borrowed Perfections of others.

Should ſome Lady of Spirit aſk what Province I leave to their Sex? I anſwer, that I leave 'em whatever has not been peculiarly aſſign'd by Nature to ours. I leave 'em a mighty Empire, *Love*. There they reign abſolute, and by unqueſtion'd Right, while Beauty ſupports their Throne. They have all the Talents requiſite for that ſoft Empire, and the ableſt of our Sex cannot contend with 'em in the profound Knowledge and Conduct of thoſe *Arcana*.

I confeſs, one has read of Ladies, ſuch as *Semiramis*, *Thaleſtris*, &c. who have made very conſiderable Figures in the moſt heroick and manly Parts of Life; but conſidering the great Antiquity of thoſe Hiſtories and how much they are mix'd up with Fables, one is at Liberty to queſtion either the Facts, or the Sex. Beſides that, the moſt ingenious and erudite *Conrad Wolfgang Laberieſus Nugator*, of *Hell* in *Saxony*, has prov'd, in the 14th Volume, Page 2891, of his learned Treatiſe *De Hermaphroditis*, That all the reputed Female Heroes of Antiquity were of this Epicene Species, tho' out of Regard to the fair and modeſt Part of my Readers, I dare not quote the ſeveral Facts and Reaſonings with which he ſupports this Aſſertion; and as for the Heroines of modern Date, we have more than Suſpicions of their being at leaſt of the Epicene

picene Gender. The greateſt Monarch that ever fill'd the *Britiſh* Throne (*till very lately*) was Q. *Elizabeth*, of whoſe Sex we have abundant Reaſon to doubt, Hiſtory furniſhing us with many Inſtances of the Manhood of that Princeſs, without leaving us one ſingle Indication of the Woman; and thus much is certain, that ſhe thought it improper for her to marry a Man. The great *Chriſtina*, Queen of *Sweden*, was allow'd by every body to be *above her Sex*; and the Maſculine was ſo predominant in her Compoſition, that ſhe even conform'd, at laſt, to its Dreſs, and ended her Days in *Italy*. I therefore require that thoſe Women who inſiſt upon going beyond the Bounds allotted to their Sex, ſhould previouſly declare themſelves in Form *Hermaphrodites*, and be regiſter'd as ſuch in their ſeveral Pariſhes; till when I ſhall not ſuffer them to confound Politicks, perplex Metaphyſicks, and darken Myſteries.

How amiable may a Woman be, what a Comfort and Delight to her Acquaintance, her Friends, her Relations, her Lover, or her Huſband, in keeping ſtrictly within her Character! She adorns all Female Virtues with native Female Softneſs. Women, while untainted by Affectation, have a natural Chearfulneſs of Mind, Tenderneſs and Benignity of Heart, which juſtly endears them to us, either to animate our Joys, or ſooth our Sorrows; but how are they chang'd, and how ſhocking do they become, when the Rage of Ambition, or the Pride of Learning, agitates and ſwells thoſe Breaſts, where only Love, Friendſhip, and tender Care ſhould dwell?

Let *Flavia* be their Model, who, tho' ſhe could ſupport any Character, aſſumes none; never miſſed by Fancy or Vanity, but guided ſingly by Reaſon, whatever ſhe ſays or does, is the manifeſt Reſult of a happy Nature, and a good Underſtanding. Tho' ſhe thinks and ſpeaks as a Man would do, ſtill it is as a Woman ſhould do; ſhe effeminates (if I may uſe the Expreſſion) whatever ſhe ſays, and gives all the Graces of her own Sex to the Strength of ours; ſhe is well bred without the troubleſome Ceremonies, and frivolous Forms of thoſe who only affect to be ſo. Womens Beauty, like Mens Wit, is generally fatal to the Owners, unleſs directed by a Judgment which ſeldom accompanies a great Degree of either; her Beauty ſeems but the proper and decent Lodging for ſuch a Mind; ſhe knows the true Value of it, and far from thinking that it authorizes Impertinence and Coquetry, it redoubles her Care to avoid thoſe Errors that are its uſual Attendants.

The authentick Speech of Queen Elizabeth, *to her Army encamp'd at* Tilbury, *under the Command of the Earl of* Leiceſter *in the Year* 1588; *when theſe Kingdoms were threaten'd with an Invaſion from* Spain. *Reſer'd to by* Rapin *in his Hiſtory of* England, *Vol.* II. *Page* 135, *Folio Edition, Printed for* Knapton.

My loving People,

A WE have been perſuaded by ſome that are careful of our Safety, to take heed how we commit ourſelves to armed Multitudes, for fear of *Treachery*; but I aſſure you, I do not deſire to live to diſtruſt my *faithful* and *loving People*.

Let *Tyrants* fear, I have always ſo behaved myſelf, that, under *God*, I have plac'd my chieſeſt Strength and Safeguard in the *loyal Hearts* and *Good-will* of my *Subjects*; and B therefore I am come amongſt you, as you ſee, at this Time, not for my Recreation and Diſport, but being reſolv'd in the Midſt and Heat of the *Battle*, to *live* or *die* amongſt you all, to lay down for my God, and for my *Kingdoms*, and for my *People*, my Honour and my Blood, even in the Duſt.

I know I have the Body but of a *weak* and *feeble Woman*; but I have the *Heart* and C *Stomach* of a *King*, and of a *King of* England *too*; and think ſoul Scorn that *Parma* or *Spain*, or any *Prince* of *Europe*, ſhould dare to invade the Borders of my *Realm*; to which, rather than any Diſhonour ſhall grow by me, *I myſelf* will take up *Arms*, *I myſelf* will be your *General*, *Judge*, and *Rewarder* of every one of your *Virtues* in the D Field.

I know already, for your Forwardneſs you have deſerved Rewards and *Crowns*; and *we* do aſſure you in the *Word* of a *Prince*, they ſhall be duly paid you. In the mean Time my *Lieutenant General* ſhall be in my ſtead, than whom never *Prince* commanded a more noble or worthy Subject; not doubting but by your Obedience to my General, by your E Concord in the *Camp*, and your Valour in the *Field*, we ſhall ſhortly have a *famous Victory* over thoſe Enemies of my God, of my *Kingdoms*, and of my *People*.

Craftſman, Sept. 10 and 17.

F *Theſe Papers contain a Diſcourſe upon Libels, publiſh'd in* 1722; *from which we ſhall extract a Paſſage or two.*

MANY Methods have been tried to remedy the Evil of Libels. In *Turkey*, and the Eaſtern Monarchies, all *Printing* is forbidden; which does it with a Witneſs; and by the ſame Reaſon there ought to be no G *Talking*, leſt People ſhould *talk Treaſon*, *Blaſphemy* or *Nonſenſe*; but I deſire it may be remember'd, that there is neither *Liberty*, *Property*, *true Religion*, *Arts*, *Sciences*, *Learning* or *Knowledge* in theſe Countries.

But another Method hath been thought on, in

in these western Parts, much less effectual, yet more mischievous; namely, to put the Press under the Direction of the prevailing Party; to authorize Libels on one Side only, and to deny the other Side the Opportunity of defending themselves. This is comprehensive of all the Evils that any Nation can groan under, and must soon extinguish every Seed of Religion, Liberty, Virtue or Knowledge.

Libels seldom or never annoy an innocent Man. Wise and honest Men laugh at them and despise them, and such Arrows always fly over their Heads, or fall at their Feet. If K. *James* had acted according to his Coronation Oath, *Lilly Burlero* might have been tuned long enough before he had been sung out of his Kingdoms. And if there had been no *Southsea* Scheme, or if it had been justly executed, there had been no *Libels* upon that Head, or very harmless ones. Most of the World take Part with a virtuous Man, and punish Calumny by the Detestation of it. The best Way to *prevent Libels* is *not to deserve them*, and *to despise them*.

I do agree, when the natural and genuine Meaning and Purport of Words and Expressions in libellous Writings carry a criminal Intention, that the Writer ought not to escape Punishment by Subterfuge or Evasion. But when Words understood in their literal and natural Meaning, import nothing criminal; then to strain their genuine Signification to make them intend Sedition (which possibly the Author might intend too) is such a Stretch of discretionary Power, as must overturn every Species of Liberty. Without such a Power some Men may escape Censure who deserve Censure, but with it no Man can be safe; and few Men or States will be aggrieved by this Indulgence, but such as deserve much worse Usage.

But above all it should be consider'd, that all the Methods hitherto taken to prevent real Libels have proved ineffectual. There is no hindering Printers from having Presses, unless all Printing be forbidden, and scarce then; and dangerous and forbidden Libels are more effectually dispersed, enquired after, and do more Mischief, than Libels openly publish'd. There were more publish'd in K. *Charles* IId's and K. *James*'s Times, when they were severely punish'd, and the Press was restrain'd, than have ever been since.

Universal Spectator, Sept. 24. N° 468.

IN every Attempt to reclaim a perfidious Husband, I would recommend to the Ladies to exert all their *softest Talents*, and mix with their Accusation *Tenderness* and *Compassion*; for that Man who has been weak enough to have been led astray by the deceitful Flatteries and false Fondnesses of a Prostitute, will not be reclaim'd to a virtuous Love by dint of *Noise* and *Clamour*. In the Tragedy of *Philotas*, Mr. *Frowde*, the ingenious Author, has with great Judgment wrote a Scene between an *injur'd Wife* and *perfidious Husband*. After some gentle Reproaches, which *Philotas* cou'd not deny the Truth of, *Cleora*, his Wife, thus addresses him.

A *Come, come my lord, your silence but upbraids you;*
You woo'd, but cannot justify your crime:
Oh! cou'd you but as easily repent,
As the then blest Cleora *cou'd forgive,*
How wou'd she triumph with exulting joy!
'Tis sure, she comes not (be so just to think it)
With sharp invectives *to pursue your* fault;
Her only aim, *if possible, to* win *you*
B *Back to yourself, whom you have much forgot:*
With me forget—who dare not chide but mourn:
Be but again Philotas, *thou art* mine.

He still in doubt, and agitated with Remorse and Pity for his Wife, yet with Kindness for his Mistress; *Cleora* still gently argues,

Wherefore, Philotas, *do I view thee thus,*
C *Idly tormenting thy dear breast and mine?*
Oh! then at length redeem thyself from shame,
Throw off the chains of ignominious thraldom;
Break thro' the fore'rest' arms that long have held thee
A stranger to these ever faithful arms:
Nor arduous is the task, the boon I beg;
'Tis but to be resolv'd, *th' enchantment ceases.*
I see a kind of yielding in thy eyes:
D *Oh! therefore hear me; for thy* good *I court,*
Thy peace, *thy* liberty *and* fame *restor'd.*

Conquer'd by such Reasons, *Philotas*, with Extasy replies,

Then thus restor'd—*oh! take me to thy bosom,*
There mould me as thou wilt; my soften'd heart
(Strike deep th' impression) shall receive thy image;
E *Never, oh! never thence to be eras'd:*
Thy mighty goodness *has at last o'ercome,*
And sham'd *me to* myself, *my best* Cleora.
—Alas! Cleora, *whither have I wander'd,*
And stray'd a wanton from thy tender care?
How has my ear been deaf, nor known 'till now,
The gentle voice, that lures me home to Love?
To love, *to* constancy *and plighted* faith? [bliss,
'Tis there, *ye gods, y'have plac'd your* highest
F Seat of content, *and calm* retreat *from* care;
Sweet partner of past toils and present anguish:
There the kind partner of our fates attends,
Or grief to mitigate, or heighten joy,
And each Cleora *make her master happy.*

With such Arguments and Gentleness as *Cleora*'s it is most probable the Heart of Man will be affected; such Means will unavoidably lead him to Reflection, and consequently into Reason: To evince this, Mr. *Frowde* in another Scene between the *Wife* and the *Mistress*, has made *Cleora* upbraid the Woman who had been her Rival in her Husband's

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band's Love, with theſe fine and natural Sentiments.

——Howe'er the Libertine *may rove,*
And frontleſs tread the rounds of guilty love,
In the ſoft rage of joys, without controul,
Secret remorſe ſhall once reproach his ſoul:
When ſated in the lawleſs wanton's arms,
He weighs with cooler thoughts her Syren charms;
Wak'd from his dream, new wonders at the art,
The ſpecious ſhows ſeduc'd his eaſy heart:
Convinc'd at length be this great truth ſhall own;
Pleaſures ſincere chaſte Hymen *gives alone,*
While far away the proſtitute is thrown.

Craftſman, Sept. 24. N° 585.

On the Maxim, The King can do no Wrong; *with a ſummary Account of* Shakeſpear's Meaſure for Meaſure.

THERE is not a more evident Truth, than that *Princes ſee with other People's Eyes, and hear with other People's Ears.* This I take to be the Foundation of that favourable Maxim in our Law, *that the King can do no Wrong*; tho' it hath been conſtrued very wildly in a *moral* and *religious Senſe*; as if there was a Sort of Divinity in an *anointed Head*, which renders it incapable of *Error*, or *Wickedneſs*; whereas, on the contrary, it ſuppoſes a *King* to be ſo liable to *Deceit* and *Impoſition*, that *no Wrong* ought to be imputed to *him*, but to *thoſe*, whoſe Duty it is to adviſe him better, and therefore ought to be *accountable* for it. Nay, even this Expoſition of the *Maxim*, which is the only rational one, ought to be taken in a limited Senſe; for if the *Prince* ſhould diſcover a Deſign of ſubverting the *Conſtitution*, or obſtinately ſupports his *Miniſters* in it, they have a Right to the *common Law of Nature*, that is, to the *Law of God*, who hath implanted the Principle of *Self-Preſervation* in the Minds of all his Creatures; and conſequently they have a Warrant from Heaven to reſiſt *ſuch an oppreſſive Government*, whatever ſome *holy Paraſites* may aſſert, or *Madmen* believe. *Law, Reaſon, and Scripture* are all againſt them. It is therefore ridiculous, in ſuch a Caſe, to ſay *that a King can do no Wrong*; nor does our *Law* intend any ſuch Thing; unleſs we are to ſuppoſe that *all the Revolutions in this Kingdom* have been contrary to *Law*, tho' many of them have been authorized and confirm'd by *Law*; and unleſs we ſuppoſe that our *Anceſtors*, as well as *ourſelves*, have been guilty of ſo groſs an Abſurdity, as to bind up their *Sovereigns*, by Oath, to *good Behaviour*, tho' the very Nature of their Office renders them abſolutely incapable of any *bad Behaviour*. *This monſtrous Doctrine* all Parties have condemn'd by their *Practices*, whatever their *Principles* might be, eſpecially at the *laſt great Revolution*. This ſhews how cautious all *Princes* ought to be of extending, or explaining, what is call'd their *Prerogative*, beyond its due Bounds; and of protecting their *Miniſters*, in bad Meaſures, till the whole Weight of popular Reſentment falls upon *themſelves*.

Shakeſpear hath given us an admirable Moral, to this Purpoſe, in his *Meaſure for Meaſure*; where the Duke of *Vienna* pretends to go into *Poland*, on ſome important Buſineſs, and leaves one Lord *Angelo* his Deputy, with full Power of Life and Death, *&c.* but the *Duke*, inſtead of really going *abroad*, dreſs'd himſelf up in a *Fryar's* Habit, and under that Diſguiſe travell'd about his *own Country*, in order to make his Remarks both upon the Manners of his *People*, and the Conduct of his *new Subſtitute*. This *Angelo* had, by his Diſſimulation, obtain'd the Character of *extraordinary Sanctity*; and was ſo particularly famous for his Abſtinence from *Women*, that he is deſcribed in ſeveral Places to be a Man, *whoſe Blood was hardly ſuppoſed to flow*.

There was, it ſeems, at that Time, an odd Act againſt *Fornication*, which made it capital. *This Act* was grown almoſt obſolete; but the *Lord Deputy*, out of his great Deteſtation of ſuch a crying Sin, began his *Vicegerency* with reviving it by Proclamation, and put it in Force againſt one *Claudio*, who had got a *young Lady* with Child, to whom he was contracted in Marriage, but for prudential Reaſons was oblig'd to keep it ſecret, for ſome Time. Upon this Account, he was actually condemn'd. *Eſcalus*, an old Lord, who was join'd with *Angelo* in the Commiſſion, as a Sort of *Counſellor* or *Miniſter*, pleaded very earneſtly with him for Mercy, on Account of the *young Gentleman's* Age, the Merits of his *Father*, and the common Frailties of *human Nature*; but he ſtill continued inexorable, and order'd his Execution the next Morning. The *poor Gentleman* had now but one Reſource left. He had a *beautiful young Siſter*, juſt at that Time going into a Cloiſter; and being in Hopes that the moving Addreſſes of an *innocent Virgin*, in Favour of her *unfortunate* Brother, would make ſome Impreſſion upon the moſt flinty Heart, he begg'd her to intercede for him; which after ſome Difficulty ſhe undertook, and pleaded his Cauſe with ſo much natural and pathetick Eloquence, to which the Charms of her Perſon added no ſmall Force, that he began to relent; and, upon the ſecond Interview, was ſo overcome with her Beauty and Innocence, that he promiſed to pardon her *Brother*, if ſhe would give up herſelf to his *Luſt*; but in Caſe ſhe refuſed, he told her that *Claudio* ſhould not only die, but be put to the utmoſt Torture. The *young Lady* rejected this infamous

famous Offer, and carry'd the melancholy News to her *Brother*, with an Account of what had paſs'd between her and the *hypocritical Tyrant*, whoſe juſt Character ſhe paints in the following Lines.

——*This* outward-ſainted deputy,
Whoſe ſettled viſage and deliberate word
Nips youth i'th' head, and follies doth emmew, A
As faulcon doth the fowl, yet is a devil;
His filth within being caſt, he would appear
A pond as deep as hell.

Claudio at firſt applauds his *Siſter*'s Virtue, and reſolves to prepare himſelf for Death; but he is ſoon ſtagger'd by the Terrors of his approaching Fate, which operate ſo ſtrongly upon him as to make him even deſire his B *Siſter* to proſtitute herſelf, for the Sake of an ignominious Life; but ſhe refuſes this mean Propoſal with the ſame noble Diſdain, notwithſtanding her natural Affection and Tenderneſs for her *Brother*, and devotes him to Death, rather than buy his Life at ſuch a diſhonourable Price.

Amidſt all this Diſtreſs, the *good Duke* ſteps forth, ſtill diſguiſed as a *Fryar*; and C having overheard all that had paſs'd, propoſed a Method to *Iſabella* (for that was the *young Lady*'s Name) how ſhe might do an Act of Juſtice to *another injured Lady*, and ſave her *Brother*'s Life, without any Stain upon her own Honour.

Lord *Angelo* was betroth'd to a young Lady, named *Mariana*, and the Day of their D Nuptials had been appointed; but her *Brother* having been wreck'd at Sea, and her Fortune loſt with him, he left her in a moſt perfidious Manner; which however inflamed her Paſſion, inſtead of quenching it. The *royal Fryar* therefore propos'd that *Iſabella* ſhould promiſe to give *Angelo* a Meeting at a proper Place and Time, ſo as not to be diſcover'd, and that the wrong'd *Mariana* ſhould go in her Stead. E This Scheme which was agreed upon between them, took Effect; and the *deteſtable Monſter* having gratify'd his brutal Appetite, as he thought with *Iſabella*, gave private Orders for her *Brother*'s Head to be brought to him, by five a Clock the next Morning; but this inhuman Action was prevented by the Management of the *Duke*, who directed the F Head of a *common Malefactor*, who died in Priſon, and was not unlike that of *Claudio*, to be ſent in its Room.

The *Duke*, having now got to the Bottom of this whole Scene of Iniquity, ſends an unexpected Letter to *Angelo*, that he was very near Home; and that he deſign'd to make his publick Entry into *Vienna*; with Orders to proclaim it in the City an Hour before, G that if any Perſons had Reaſon to claim Redreſs of their Grievances, they might preſent their Petitions to him openly in the Street. This was done with a particular View to *Iſabella*; who accordingly throws herſelf at the *Duke*'s Feet, and demands Juſtice againſt Lord *Angelo* in ſuch preſſing Terms, according to her Inſtructions, that the *wile Deputy* could not any longer prevent the full Diſcovery of his Guilt. In ſhort, the whole Plot being unravel'd, the *Duke* gives ſeveral Inſtances of his Juſtice, and renders *Meaſure for Meaſure*. His *wicked Deputy* is firſt of all commanded to marry the *Lady*, whom he had wrong'd, and then ſentenced to the ſame Block, which was prepar'd for *Claudio*; but upon the moving Interceſſion of his *injur'd Bride*, as well as her Friend *Iſabella*, and it appearing afterwards that *Claudio* was ſtill alive, his Puniſhment is remitted, with a particular Injunction to be kind to his *Lady*. *Claudio* is not only pardon'd, but reſtored to the Arms of his beloved *Julietta*, upon whoſe Account he underwent ſuch extreme Dangers; and as for *Iſabella*, ſhe is rewarded in a ſtill higher Manner, for her unſhaken Virtue, by being advanced to the royal Bed of the *Duke* himſelf. Thus ends the Play; but I muſt not omit one Speech of the *Duke*, whilſt under Diſguiſe, in which he explains the miſerable Condition of his *People*, in theſe emphatical Words.

——*My buſineſs in this ſtate*
Made me a looker-on here in Vienna,
Where I have ſeen corruption *boil and bubble,*
Till it o'er-run the ſtew; laws for all faults,
But faults *ſo countenanc'd that the* ſtrong ſtatutes
Stand like the forfeits in a Barber's *ſhop,*
As much in mock as mark.

I now leave the Reader to judge whether here is not an excellent Moral pointed out to the Obſervation of *all Princes*, how their Authority may be abuſed, and how they might redreſs it; and ſhall conclude with recommending the following Paſſage of the ſame Play to the Conſideration of *all Men in Power*, whether *great* or *ſmall*.

——*Oh, 'tis excellent*
To have a giant's *ſtrength*; *but it is tyrannous*
To uſe it like a giant—*could* great men *thunder*
As Jove *himſelf does*, Jove *would ne'er be quiet*;
For every pelting, petty officer
Would uſe his heav'n for thunder;
Nothing but thunder——*merciful heav'n!*
Thou rather, with thy ſharp and ſulphurous bolt,
Split'ſt the unwedgeable *and* gnarled oak,
Than the ſoft myrtle——*O, but man, proud man,*
Dreſt in a little brief authority,
Moſt ignorant of what he's moſt aſſur'd,
His glaſſy eſſence, like an angry ape,
Plays ſuch fantaſtick tricks before high heav'n,
As makes the angels weep.

[*For ſome particular Reaſons, we cannot inſert the Piece from our* Mathematical Correſpondent.]

The

The PALACE *of* FANCY, *continued from* p. 448.

HENCE the ambitious worldling to advance
His fortune tries the giddy wheel of chance;
Profuse of riches, hoping to obtain,
He risques a certainty for doubtful gain:
Already in his thoughts h'as drawn the prize,
Sets up his equipage and liveries,
In a gilt chariot at his ease reclin'd,
And six spruce footmen sneering him behind:
Pride, pomp and grandeur occupy his breast,
And golden dreams prolong his balmy rest.
Hence the close statesman labours deep designs,
And on his various projects oft refines;
Pleas'd with the thoughts of prosperous success
Gay scenes of future state his slumbers bless:
Places and pensions he with pleasure spies,
And stars and garters captivate his eyes. [brain
Hence *Bedlam*'s monarch fills his frantick
With pompous titles and despotick reign;
His court's his kennel, where he proudly talks,
And in long robes of rags majestick stalks;
Ambitious thoughts with pride his bosom swell,
He reigns unrival'd in his empty cell. [fires,
Hence the chaste virgin burns with am'rous
Untasted joys suggest unknown desires;
Some happy lover charms the willing fair,
And breaths soft whispers in her ravish'd ear;
The scene of future bliss distracts her thought,
She's pleas'd with something, yet she knows not what:
With expectation melting soft away,
By night in broken dreams, in sighs by day.
Hence the pleas'd poet's ravish'd in his muse,
And wreaths of ever-blooming laurels views;
He wastes, oh! fatal love of empty praise!
In slothful ease the vigour of his days:
Nocturnal lucubrations break his rest,
And pinching want his tow'ring flights molest;
Yet ev'n in penury he knows no care,
But rears at will fine castles in the air;
Builds to himself a long immortal name,
And sees a vision of eternal fame.
But when the wayward goddess angry grows,
And on her sprites a sullen frown bestows;
The ready guards the well known signal take,
High pois'd in air, their flutt'ring pinions shake;
Down to the earth they bend their hasty flight,
And with imaginary terrors fright.
Strait every face shows discontented air,
Plong'd in the gulph of horrible despair.
Expected ills the feeble mind besot,
Which ne'er had other being than in thought:
The spawn of fear their ghastly forms display,
Grief, disappointments, horror and dismay.
Of dire *Chimæras* an unnumber'd train
Haunt the weak soul and threaten fancy'd pain.
Hence for meer want the griping miser pines,
And starves amidst the dross of *Indian* mines;
He prays, as * *Midas* fondly wish'd of old,
That all he touches may convert to gold:
No certain bounds determine his desires,
The more he gets the more he still requires;
And as his growing fortune multiplies,
His wants and wishes in proportion rise.
Behold! the wretch sit brooding o'er his store,
Sly as the serpent watch'd th' *Hesperian* ore:
He fears his own domesticks slyly plod
With impious hands to rob him of his god;
Starts in his sleep at every rustling wind,
And thinks he hears the ruffian's steps behind.
Hence the vile wretch whose hands have been imbru'd,
Inflam'd by passion, in his neighbour's blood,
Shuns the approach of light, and as he flies,
Fancies a thousand deaths before his eyes.
In vain to foreign climates he may run,
Conscious of guilt himself he cannot shun:
Nor night, a friend to crimes, conceals the sin,
His mind presents, and makes broad day within;
Racks, gibbets, gallowses his dreams infest,
And lashing furies haunt his guilty breast.
Hence the dark traitor who attacks the throne,
Doubts lest his impious treachery be known;
The fatal secret farther to disclose
He fears, and those intrusted thinks his foes:
His conscience stings him, and his heart's dismay'd,
Left by his complices he be betray'd:
Waits ev'ry moment the supreme arrest,
And dreads a messinger in each unknown guest.
Hence the enamour'd youth in absence sighs,
Each lazy ling'ring hour, for her he dies:
His eager passion vain distrust improves,
Left some more happy rival share his loves;
Fear and despair his anxious thoughts annoy,
And wracking tortures all his hopes destroy.
Hence the old doating fumbling lecher try'd
In marriage bonds to some young wanton bride. —
Suspects the fair one of incontinence,
And for no cause but his own impotence;
Distracting jealousies his mind affright,
And endless doubts awake each joyless night.
Hence self-tormenting hypocondriacs groan
Beneath a weight of griefs they make their own;
These ills in weak imagination feel,
Dire casualties which crew'd each weekly bill;
And all the crosses, disappointments mourn,
The most unfortunate have ever born;
Blend and confound the sexes, change the men
And form of bodies, by the pow'r of spleen;
The pregnant doctor roars with lab'ring pains,
And in a china jar the love sick maid complains.

* *Ille malè usurus donis, ait, Esse quicquid*
Corpore contigero, fulvum vertatur in aurum. Ovid. Metam. Lib. 11.

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Frail mortals feel ſuch maladies as theſe,
When the ſwift *daemons* ſend an eaſtern breeze;
Or in a vapour ſhift th'alternate ſcenes,
Acting on various minds by various means:
Until the vaſſal globe her empire own,
And look for ills or bleſſings from her throne.
Hail, ſovereign power, whoſe deſpotick ſway
Men, women, children, earth and ſea obey,
Sole arbitreſs of all things here below, [flow!
The ſource from whence our joys or ſorrows
Hear me all-gracious! lend a willing ear
In tender pity to thy votary's pray'r.
Let thy pleas'd looks a chearful glance impart
And clear the gloom that hovers round my heart:
Diſperſe the terrors that my eaſe deſtroy,
And fill my boſom with a flood of joy.
Then if unſteddy fortune ſternly frown,
And bear my ſoul with weight of troubles down,
Thy ſmiles ſome fancy'd pleaſures ſhall create
To ward againſt the real ills of fate:
Proſpects of future bliſs ſhall charm the brain,
And the ſoul loſt in raptures quite forget her pain.

The NUN. *By Mr.* Price. *(See p.* 390.*)*

JENNY having been defil'd,
And to her ſorrow got with child,
Yet liv'd as tho' ſhe ne'er had ſtray'd,
And ev'ry day in private pray'd;
While all the other ſifters ſtood,
And thro' the grate their mirth purſu'd:
At length the abbeſs thus begins
To warn 'em to forſake their ſins:
Pray mind our *Jane*'s religious deeds,
And imitate the life ſhe leads:
Renounce the world with juſt diſdain,
And from its vanities refrain. ——
They inſtantly reply'd, we too ſhall be
As ſober, when we've done as much, as ſhe.

The Prayer of Manaſſes. *In Imitation of Mr.* Prior's *Hymn of* Callimachus.

By the ſame Hand.

ALmighty God! by whoſe creating word
The ſpacious, wide, unbounded heav'ns were form'd,
And all their ſhining glories; at thy bidding
This univerſal round of earth, obedient,
Sprung out from *Chaos*. Thy omnific voice,
Eternal father! circumſcrib'd the deep,
And taught old ocean where to roll his waves.
The ſcatter'd nations of this ample globe,
Great ruler! potent lord! ſuperior king!
Conſcious of guilt, fall proſtrate at thy throne,
Imploring pardon for their ſinful actions:
And pardon thou doſt give to thoſe who ſeek it
Unfeigned, and with truth.
If to thy Godhead then I ſue for grace,
If I confeſs (but ah! my faultful ſoul
Bids me be ſilent when my tongue would ſpeak) [fended,
And rank myſelf with thoſe who have of-
Propitious thou wilt hear me, and thy mercy
Diſmiss'd from her bright manſion, ſhall unbar
The loathſome dungeon, and conduct me forth
Triumphant, tho' unworthy to behold
The glorious luminary thou haſt hang'd
Aloft to guide the wandring ſons of men.
Manaſſes therefore, like th' angelick hoſt,
Whoſe loud *Hoſanna's* and accepted ſongs
For ever ſound their great Creator's praiſe,
To liſtning mortals ſhall proclaim thy goodneſs,
And bleſs the ſtrength of thy defending arm.
Poole, Auguſt 20.

From a manuſcript Poem, entitled, The PROGRESS *of* LEARNING. *By Mr.* Lockman.

BE it, O *ſcience!* radiant maid,
To thy immortal honour told,
That whilſt thy heavenly dictates ſway'd,
Fair *virtue* triumph'd over gold.

But when thy ſmiles no more cou'd charm,
And *Romans* ſlighted thy embrace,
Vice blazon'd forth her painted form,
And weeping *virtue* left the place.

Then down ſinks thy devoted head,
And *Vandals*, to complete thy doom,
Wide o'er the world dire havock ſpread,
Thy fanes deſtroy, and all is gloom.

Paſt ſome few years, a ſhapeleſs ſprite,
Offspring of cloyſters, ſp'd thy mien;
Glanc'd aukward, thro' the ſullen night,
And faintly cheer'd the widow'd ſcene.

Sudden the ſcatter'd vapours fly
To realms where midnight darkneſs reigns;
For lo! the genial blaze is nigh,
That gilds once more *Auſonia's* plains.

'Tis come! for *Leo* * mounts the throne,
Neglected arts auſpicious friend;
The golden years his influence own,
And raptur'd joys his ſteps attend.

Had ev'ry pontiff ſmil'd like thee
On learnings ſon's, and ſooth'd their flame,
Rome ſtill o'er all wou'd miſtreſs be,
And juſtly boaſt the glorious name.

The BACHELLOR's *Litany.*

FROM the diſmal fatigues of a languiſhing lover,
From laying reſtraint on a generous rover,
And thoſe vile legal courtſhips which make ſuch a pother,
Libera nos, &c.

* *Leo* X.

From

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From the writings and rites which empty one's purſe,
From taking a woman for better, for worſe,
And thoſe prayers for children, which oft prove a curſe, *Libera nos*, &c.

From the perpetual clack of an ignorant wife,
Stubborn by nature, pleas'd always with ſtrife,
Proper only to make a man weary of life, *Libera nos*, &c.

From coffee, tea, brandy and all that fine cheer,
Which women will have, be it never ſo dear,
To make out a feaſt for a fifterhood near *Libera nos*, &c.

From the tooth-ach and qualms, which thoſe us'd to reading [a breeding;
Say the huſband muſt bear, while his honey's
And from all the expences of thoſe nine months feeding, *Libera nos*, &c.

From mid'wives and nurſes, and all that long train,
Who live by affliction, and of it make gain,
And remove from the wife, to the huſband, the pain, *Libera nos*, &c.

From thoſe muſical charms which by night a child pays,
From rocking and ſinging *by*, to it a days,
And from paſſive obedience to all a wife ſays, *Libera nos*, &c.

From that labour and toil which a father muſt take, [make,
That his wife and his children a figure may
And from denying one's ſelf for a family's ſake, *Libera nos*, &c.

From having the brow adorn'd with the horn,
(Which huſbands muſt bear, tho' 'tis hard to be born) [mention'd with ſcorn,
And from the name of a cuckold, always *Libera nos*, &c.

From a thouſand more plagues, which are always the fate
Of thoſe who are link'd in that terrible ſtate;
From marrying in haſte, to repent when too late, *Libera nos*, &c.

But laſtly and chiefly, from marrying thoſe witches, [dear riches;
Who've neither good nature, good ſenſe, nor
And from thoſe termagant jades who'd ſtill wear the breeches, *Libera nos*, &c.

On the Death of Mr. Wareing, *the late ingenious Muſician, much eſteem'd by the Gentlemen of* Oxford.

Quando ullum invenient parem?

WHAT ſoul could hear without an inſtant moan
The *Britiſh Orpheus* give his parting groan?
What he, ſaid I, for pleaſing notes renown'd
Sure 'tis not he that gives this troubling ſound!
On * *Iſis*, as he touch'd the viol ſtring,
Still I remember how I heard him ſing.
Neptune himſelf, the god of waves, was near,
(Such muſick might engage a *Neptune* there)
Huſhing the waters as they ſtream'd along
He ſtood attentive to the melting ſong.
My blood ſurpriz'd at his attractive ſtrains
Was ſooth'd to coolneſs in my joyful veins.
This ſcience welcom'd him to ev'ry place,
Great *Oxford* own'd him for her ſhining grace.
The ſacred muſes fondly ſtrove to ſave
Their worthy fav'rite from the ſilent grave.
But now alas! death deeply wounds his heart,
Averſe to hear the wiſeſt charmer's art.
Then reſt, ſweet ſhade! for ever ſhall thy name
Live freſh, reſounded by the voice of fame.
The ſtar that ſhone propitious at thy birth
Ordain'd thy numbers far too fine for earth.
The heavens rowling jubilant and bleſt
Smile at the coming of their tuneful gueſt.
Apollo riſes from his gemmy ſeat,
Eager his ſecond in the ſky to meet. [wrong,
Weep not, O world, nor think you ſuffer
Rather be thankful that he ſtaid ſo long.
Be *Wareing* mortal, yet it muſt be ſaid, [dead.
The moved ground cloſe follow'd him, e'en

To a Gentlewoman above 60 *Years old, married to a young Gentleman under Age.*

HARD is the fate of ev'ry childleſs wife,
The thoughts of wedlock tantalize her life.
'Troth, aged bride, by thee 'twas wiſely done,
To chooſe a child and huſband both in one.

To his Royal Highneſs the Prince of WALES. *An* ODE. *By Mr.* Thomſon.

WHILE *ſecret-leaguing* nations frown around,
Ready to pour the long-expected ſtorm;
While ſhe, who wont the reſtleſs *Gaul* to bound,
Britannia, drooping, grows an empty form;
While on our vitals *ſelfiſh-parties* prey,
And deep *corruption* eats our ſoul away:
Yet in the *goddeſs of the main* appears
A gleam of joy, gay-flufhing every grace,
As ſhe the cordial voice of millions hears,
Rejoycing, zealous, o'er *thy riſing race*;
Strait her rekindling eyes reſume their fire,
The *virtues* ſmile, the *muſes* tune the lyre.
But more enchanting than the muſes ſong,
United Britons thy dear *offspring* hail:
The city triumphs thro' her glowing throng;
The ſhepherd tells his tranſport to the dale:
The ſons of rougheſt toil forget their pain,
And the glad ſailor chears the midnight main.

* *A River running by* Oxford.

Can ought from fair *Auguſta*'s gentle blood,
And thine, *thou friend of liberty!* be born;
Can ought, ſave what is lovely, gen'rous, good;
What will, at once, defend us, and adorn?
From thence prophetic joy new *Edwards* eyes,
New *Henrys*, *Annas*, and *Elizas* riſe.

May fate my fond devoted days extend,
To ſing the promis'd glories of *thy reign!*
What tho', by years depreſs'd, my *muſe* might bend,
My heart will teach her ſtill a nobler ſtrain:
How, with *recover'd Britain*, will ſhe ſoar,
When *Fr—e inſults*, and *Sp—n* ſhall *rob*, no more!

On the Report of a Wooden Bridge *to be built at* Weſtminſter.

BY *Rufus* hall, where *Thames* polluted flows
Provok'd, the *genius* of the river roſe,
And thus exclaim'd—have I, you *Britiſh ſwains*,
Have I, for ages, ſav'd your fertile plains?
Given herds, and flocks, and villages encreaſe,
And led a richer than the *golden fleece?* [tide,
Have I, ye merchants, with each ſwelling
Pour'd *Africk*'s treaſure in, and *India*'s pride?
Lent you the fruit of ev'ry nation's toil?
Made every climate yours, and every ſoil?
Yet *pilfer'd* from the *poor*, by *gaming baſe*,
Yet muſt a *wooden Bridge* my waves diſgrace?
Tell not to foreign ſtreams the ſhameful tale,
And be it publiſh'd in no *Gallick* vale.
He ſaid;—and plunging to his chriſtal dome,
White o'er his head the circling waters foam.

STREPHON's DESPAIR *on the Death of* Delia. *A SONG.*

To the Tune of, Waſt me ſome ſoft and cooling Breeze.

WHAT muſick can my numbers boaſt,
Now my fair *Delia*'s from me flown?
What muſe invoke? my muſe is loſt,
And I diſconſolate muſt moan.
Farewel, each ſhady green retreat,
Where zephyrs in ſoft whiſpers blow,
Where echoing hills my ſongs repeat,
And ſilver ſtreams in murmurs flow.

Where cuckows tell their painful love,
Where oxen feed, and linnets ſing,
Where turtles coo, in ev'ry grove,
With warbling ſounds the vallies ring.
I'll leave thoſe beds of ſpringing flowers,
And bid adieu to all the quire,
To cooling ſprings, and ſhady bowers,
Where once I us'd to tune the lyre.

Wildly I range thro' ev'ry grove,
And beat my breaſt, and tear my hair;
To ev'ry oak I talk of love,
And ſing the praiſes of my fair.
For her ce I'll find ſome dreary cell,
In which, I'll mourn for evermore;
Or 'mongſt the rav'nous beaſts I'll dwell;
Or plunge me where yon billows roar.

F. DEVOTO.

On a beautiful but very proud young Girl at CAMBRIDGE.

ON *Dolly*'s cheek the blooming roſe,
Fluſht with its freſheſt crimſon glows.
The lily's luſtre ne'er expreſt
The ſnowy beauties of her breaſt.
Form her ſoul gentle as her eyes,
Each youth with tender ſondneſs dies.
But now, tho' charming as the dawn,
Juſt bluſhing o'er the dewy lawn,
Who ſees her 's vext, and loaths her ſmiles,
Such odious ſcorn each air beguiles;
—With juſt contempt all turn aſide,
And curſe ſuch poverty and pride.

On the DEAN's *preſent charitable Scheme, by* J. L. T. C. D.

O GENIUS of *Hibernia*'s ſtate!
Sublimely good, ſeverely great,
Of wit redundant, fraught with ſenſe,
Prince of poetick eloquence!
How does this lateſt act excel
All you have done or wrote ſo well!
Satyre may be the child of ſpite,
And fame might bid the *Draper* write;
But to relieve, and to endow
Creatures that know not whence or how,
Argues a ſoul both good and wiſe,
Reſembling *Him* who rules the ſkies.
He to the thoughtful mind diſplays
Immortal ſkill, ten thouſand rays;
And to compleat his glorious taſk,
Gives what we have not ſenſe to aſk.

Addreſs'd to a LADY.

Adorable Madam,

MUST I for ever ſigh, for ever mourn?
For ever languiſh and for ever burn?
And never tell the pining flame that glows
Hot in my ſoul, and, murders my repoſe?
Ah no! thou heav'nly charmer, long I've ſtrove
To curb my paſſion and conceal my love;
But all in vain, I muſt the flame reveal,
That's too too fierce, too boundleſs to conceal.
And ſure you will forgive that furious fire,
That none but your dear beauty could inſpire;
'Twas that, alas! and who can that reſiſt?
That fill'd with flaming love my glowing breaſt.
O think what wonder, admiration, love,
That heav'nly face (all heav'nly charms) muſt move.
Who can behold the dear inſpiring eyes,
Nor fall to love a willing ſacrifice?
Wounded by them, I burn in fierceſt fires,
Diſſolve in love and melt in warm deſires:

The

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Tumultuous paſſions in my boſom roll,
And all the pow'rs of love diſtract my ſoul.
O that I could my real flame rehearſe,
And pour my ſoul in ſome prodigious verſe;
Enchanting maid, you would with wonder view
A love ſo fierce, ſo boundleſs and ſo true.
But words, alas! too weak and ſcanty prove,
To ſpeak thy beauty, or to tell my love.
Ye gods, that ſee my paſſion, waft my care
To the ſoft boſom of the heav'nly fair;
Tell ev'ry tear, and whiſper ev'ry ſigh,
Tell how I love and mourn, deſpair and die;
Tell her I pine in an inceſſant fire, [expire.
That burns within my breaſt and never can
O gods, the pain, the anxious pain remove;
Or thou, dear goddeſs, deign to crown my love.
Where have I gone — my furious paſſion flies
A pitch that I muſt never hope to riſe. [this?
Heav'ns! what a wild, diſtracting thought is
Condemn'd to love, and know I mayn't poſſeſs.
Ah wretched me! I ſtill muſt hopeleſs burn,
But may not, muſt not aſk a kind return.
So ceaſe my muſe, ſo fruitleſs to complain,
And O that I could ceaſe to love in vain.
Far from my breaſt muſt chearing hope remove,
And nothing leave but ſad deſpair and love.
I'll nouriſh ſtill, *unknown*, a hopeleſs flame,
And loſe together with my hope my name.

Madam,
Your firm Adorer,
And eternal Lover,
Fidelio Anonymus.

To the ſame LADY, *on her returning the foregoing.*

AH! why ſo cruel, heav'nly maid,
And why, oh charmer, why
Do you, when lovers ardours breathe,
Reject the tear and ſigh?
As you poſſeſs a heav'nly form,
You ſhould like heav'n be kind,
And let a warm adorer's ſighs
To pity melt your mind.
But oh! you'll call theſe tender ſtrains
A wild poetick flight,
An empty guſt, a ſudden flaſh;
And, madam, faith, you're right.

To Mr. POPE.

By a YOUTH *of* Sixteen.

WHEN ſounds of harmony the fancy warm, [charm,
Fill with their force, or with their ſoftneſs
Some child attentive, ('midſt the liſt'ning throng,) [the ſong;
Hears the ſweet ſtrains, and much admires
He knows not 'tis an impulſe ſent from heaven,
But thinks to him, the pleaſing power is given;
Bids riſing notes to ſwell at his command,
Wake into ſound, and ſtartle from his hand;
With unkward thrumming, plies the vocal ſtrings, [ſings.
Harſh jarring grates the ear, and diſcord
Such is the verſe my unſkill'd muſe inſpires, — [tires;
Breaths forth a trembling note, and then re-
Learns from her weakneſs, to revere the more
Thy ſtrains unequall'd, thy tranſcending power;
Where ev'ry ſcience beams its aiding rays,
And ſhines diffuſive, thro' the poliſh'd layer
So ſmooth yet nervous, ſo correct yet ſweet,
Polite tho' learn'd, and daring tho' diſcreet.
Accept, oh *Pope!* theſe praiſes from a youth, [truth;
That lives 'midſt falſehood, yet 's a friend to
Boaſting no merit, claims the praiſe of none,
Honours the great, but ſcorns the ſervile fawn,
Whom would the ſacred muſes deign t' inſpire,
No venal lay ſhould proſtitute the lyre.

JANUS, *an* ODE. *Occaſioned by the Birth of the young Princeſs* AUGUSTA.

WITH ſprightly notes awake the lyre!
'Till gently-thrilling accents flow;
Let *harmony* your ſtrains inſpire,
Bid joy in every boſom glow.
Long have I ſought to bleſs mankind,
To grant 'em univerſal peace;
Peace, the fair goddeſs, ever kind,
The nurſe of arts, and wealth's increaſe.
By her the antient *Grecian* ſtate
Sublime in ev'ry virtue grew;
'Till yielding to the *Roman* fate,
Peace to her conqu'ring eagles flew.
Britannia next, her darling iſle,
The heavens her lateſt preſence give;
There ſocial graces round her ſmile,
And bleſt *Saturnian* times revive.
Your circling joys ſhall have no end,
Virtue each *Britiſh* breaſt ſhall warm;
See her once more to earth deſcend!
Deck'd in *Auguſta*'s milder form.
Dear pledge of bliſs! in whom unite
All the perfections of thy race;
Beam like *Auguſta* to our ſight!
O ſmile with *Fred'rick*'s genial grace!
Riſe like the vernal roſe, ſecure,
Untouch'd by fate's impartial hand;
'Till warmer gales thy ſweets mature,
Then fragrant, bleſs thy native land.

The COMET. A new SONG.

WHEN a Comet preſumes
To ſweep heaven's rooms,
With a tail as long as a beeſom;
Aſtrologers ſhow,
And mortals all know,
Some ſtrange thing will vex, or elſe pleaſe 'em.
But fear not, my friends,
What this comet portends;

For

For if any wonders befal,
They will be for the beſt,
It muſt be confeſt,
Or no wonder can happen at all.

An EPIGRAM.

Occaſioned by the Death of the late Lord Chancellor: *Written before the Promotion of the preſent.*

YOUR *Talbot* is gone,
When comes ſuch a one?
To *time*, *death* inſultingly cry'd:
Ne'er crack of your gains,
While my *Philip* remains,
Old *Saturn* as briſkly reply'd.

VERSES *addreſs'd to* ALEXANDER WILSON, *Eſq; late Lord Provoſt of* Edinburgh, *on his Arrival from* London.

HAIL! to thy land! hail, to thy friends return'd! [mourn'd.
Belov'd when preſent, and when abſent
But as when breaking thro' the veil of night,
The morn to mortals gives the chearful light;
When you return, thus ev'ry boſom glows,
And from each heart a warm reſentment flows;
See crowds on crowds with kind affections meet,
To hail thee thro' thy own *Edina*'s ſtreet.
But WILSON! be thoſe modeſt virtues thine,
That ſcorn ambition, and applauſe decline.
Thine be all virtue, ever calm and pure,
And bravely bear thoſe ills you cannot cure.

SCOTICUS.

PROVERBS, *Chap.* vii. *Ver.* 6, *&c.*

WHEN ſol in ocean ſunk, and ſable night
Hung o'er the ſtreets, a giddy youth I ſaw
Scouting each coaſt, in twilight covert wrapt,
Steal to the harlot's door:—when *lo*, ſhe comes!
Looſe her attire, with glaring ornament
Emblazon'd round, of wanton lewd intent
Expreſſive; loud and turbulent her talk,
With wand'ring ſtep unſettled, here and there;
Gloating on all, ſhe darts contagious fire.
The youth ſhe ſeiz'd enamour'd, and with ſmiles,
Endearing ſmiles, the harlots certain bait;
Thus ſpake: — with me peace-offerings are; this day [ſought,
I've paid my vows, and therefore thee have
Prying each place, but haply find thee here.
My bed with tap'ſtry ſplendid beauties deckt,
And linen fine, of *Ægypt*'s artiſt work
Embroider'd gay, and carvings elegant;
Perfum'd with odours, caſſia ſweet, and balm,
And cinnamon, *Arabia*'s product rich,
Awaits my love: Far off my huſband's gone
With gold rich laden, nor will yet return,
But ſtay his lotted time. Since thus, my dear,
Lets ſolace then ourſelves, and toy away
In am'rous play the laughing hours, around
With darkneſs compaſs'd, free from human ſight.
She ſpake embracing, and familiar grown,
Her tongue dropp'd manna, and with accents ſweet,
Accents of love perſuaſive, lur'd to yield
Th' unguarded youth, who gayly ruſh'd along
T' eternal woe, of black impending fate
And wrath divine unmindful. — As a bird
With wings expanded through the liquid air
Gladly purſues his flight, then ſudden ſinks
Into the fowler's ſnare ——
Thus falls the unhappy youth; for ever loſt.
But thou, my ſon, with willing ear attend
To wiſdom's call; let reaſon be your guide;
Virtue thy law, and innocence thy love;
Left thou by wantons ſoft enticing arts
Deluded fall, where greater far have fell,
Swallow'd in death; in endleſs miſ'ry plung'd.

T. D.

On a SPIDER.

ARTIST, who underneath my table
Thy curious texture haſt diſplay'd;
Who, if we may believe the fable,
Wer't once a curious, blooming maid;
Inſidious, reſtleſs, watchful ſpider,
Fear no officious damſel's broom;
Extend thy artful fabrick wider,
And ſpread thy banner round my room.
Swept from the rich man's coſtly ceiling,
Thou'rt welcome to my homely roof;
Here may'ſt thou find a peaceful dwelling,
And undiſturb'd attend thy woof:
Whilſt I thy wondrous fabrick ſtare at,
And think on hapleſs poet's fate,
Like thee confin'd to lonely garret,
And rudely baniſh'd rooms of ſtate.
And as from out thy tortur'd body,
Thou draw'ſt thy ſlender ſtring with pain;
So does he labour, like a noddy,
To ſpin materials from his brain.
He for ſome fluttering, tawdry creature,
That ſpreads her charms before his eye;
And that's a conqueſt little better
Than thine o'er gaudy butterfly.
Thus far 'tis plain we both agree:
Perhaps our deaths may plainly ſhew it;
'Tis ten to one but penury
Ends both the ſpider and the poet.

The Debates in Parliament *being very large for this Month, we were oblig'd to contract our* Poetical *Article, &c. which we doubt not but our Readers and Correſpondents will excuſe.*

The unfavoury Pudding, *and ſeveral other Pieces we have receiv'd, ſhall be inſerted in our next.*

THE

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THE
Monthly Chronologer.

HIS Majesty's most gracious Answer to the Address of the University of *Oxford*, was as follows:

I thank you for your Congratulation upon the Birth of a Princess. The Assurances you give me of instilling into the Youth committed to your Charge, Principles of Piety towards God, of Duty and Affection to me and my Government, and of Zeal for the Protestant Succession in my Family, cannot but be very agreeable to me, and will always entitle you to my Favour and Protection.

To that of the University of *Cambridge*.

I take very kindly this dutiful and loyal Address, and thank you for the Congratulation upon the Birth of a Princess. Your constant Zeal and Affection for me and my Government, you may be assur'd, will continue to you, in the fullest Extent, my Favour, Protection, and Encouragement.

His Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*'s Answer to the Congratulation from the University of *Oxford*.

Gentlemen,

It is a great Addition to my Joy to see the Share you take in the augmenting and strengthning of the King's Family.

I return you my Thanks for the good Opinion you have of me, and shall try in all Times to deserve it by my hearty Zeal for the Good of the Publick, and by my Wishes for the Welfare of your learned Body.

FRIDAY, *September* 2.

About 2 a-Clock this Morning, a Fire broke out at Mr. *Tranter*'s, the *Swan* Alehouse at *Holborn-bridge*, which consum'd the said House, and burnt some Chambers at the *Swan* Inn. Mrs. *Tranter* and the Servant-Maid perish'd in the Flames; and Mr. *Tranter*, his two Daughters, and the rest of the Family escap'd with the utmost Difficulty.

WEDNESDAY, 7.

His Grace the Duke of *Devonshire*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, arriv'd in that Kingdom.

This Day a most shocking Affair happen'd in the *Temple*. Mr. *Levinge*, a Barrister at Law, aged about 70, liv'd up 3 Pair of Stairs, and with him a Maid Servant; and in an adjoining Chamber was Mr. *Levinge* aged about 33, a distant Relation of the old Gentleman (who had for some Time been disorder'd in his Senses.) A little before one at Noon, he went into the old Gentleman's Chamber, siez'd upon the Maid Servant, and cut her Throat in a horrid butcherly Manner, with a Razor, so that her Head was almost cut off, and she died immediately. The old Gentleman taking his Servant's Part, was cut quite across the Face and Nose, under his Throat, and across the Tendons of his Hand; but struggling, he got away into another Chamber, and so escaped down Stairs, and cryed Murder, which brought several People to his Assistance; but before they came, young Mr. *Levinge* had cut his own Throat in a terrible Manner, but not his Windpipe, and had got to the Window next to *Hare-Court*, and flung out 3 Notes, one of 400*l.* and the other two of 25*l.* each; and then shewing his cut Throat, cry'd out that they were murdering him for his Money; two Porters entering the Room, and siezing him, he forced one of his Hands loose from them, and tore out his Windpipe, and then drop'd down dead. The Coroner's Inquest brought in their Verdict on *Ursula Moore* (the Servant) *wilful Murder*, done by Mr. *Levinge*; and on Mr. *Levinge*, *Non compos mentis*. Among the Papers he flung out, was one, sign'd *Ursula*, purporting that he was not marry'd to her (*viz.* the deceas'd.) He was very much out of Order that Morning, the Laundress hearing him walk about the Room, and crying out, *he was uneasy and could not bear it; that the Bailiffs and Jesuits were coming for him*, &c.

FRIDAY, 9.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Baily*, when seven Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. John Totterdale* for the Murder of his Wife, *Richard Franklyn* and *Dorrel Smalt* for Burglary, *John Cotton* for a Robbery on the Highway, *William Clerk* for robbing a Person of a Silver Watch, *John Hickman* for forging a Note of Hand, and *William Jones* for stealing a Silver Watch. Col. *Fuller* was tried for the Murder of Corporal *Chiff*, and acquitted.

Two Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death at *Bristol*, one of whom was a Boy for the Murder of a Child about 20 Months old, by throwing it into the Tide.

WEDNESDAY, 21.

About 3 in the Morning, a Fire broke out at the 3 Tuns Tavern, the Corner of *Sherrard-Street* near *Golden-Square*, which entirely consum'd the said House; and Mr. *Kirby* the Master of the House was burnt to Death. *In-*

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Inſcription on the Pedeſtal of the Statue of Sir Hans Sloane, *in the Phyſick Garden at* Chelſea.

Sir *Hans Sloane*, Bart.
Phyſician to his Majeſty,
Preſident
Of the Royal College of Phyſicians,
And Royal Society;
Who, that the Knowledge of Plants
Might be preſerved and improved,
Gave this Ground
In the Year of our Lord 1721,
To the Company of Apothecaries, *London*,
To be a Phyſick Garden for ever.
They
Being ſenſible how neceſſary
That Branch of Science is,
To the faithful diſcharging the Duty
Of their Profeſſion,
With grateful Hearts,
And general Conſent,
Ordered this Statue to be erected
In the Year of our Lord 1733.
That their Succeſſors and Poſterity
May never forget
Their common Benefactor.

THURSDAY, 22.

Was held a general Court of the Bank of *England*, when a Dividend was agreed to of 2 3-4ths *per Cent.* for Intereſt and Profits for the half Year ending at *Michaelmas* next.

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen waited upon their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales* at *Carlton* Houſe near *Pallmall*; when Mr. Baron *Thomſon*, the Recorder, made their Compliments to the Prince, as follows.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

THE Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London*, having early paid their Duty to their Royal Sovereign, and to her Majeſty, upon the Birth of the Princeſs; if it had been convenient, they would then have humbly begg'd Leave to congratulate your Royal Highneſs upon ſo happy an Occaſion. (See p. 454, 455.)

They now, by your Royal Highneſs's Permiſſion, preſume to expreſs their joyful Sentiments on ſo fortunate an Event: Fortunate! not only as it has given your Royal Highneſs this your firſt-born Princeſs, but as it yields moſt probable Hopes of many more Deſcendants from ſuch illuſtrious Parents, and a moſt agreeable Proſpect to all his Majeſty's Subjects, of the Continuance of thoſe many Bleſſings, which they have ſo long enjoyed under the Influence and Protection of your Royal Houſe.

Your Royal Highneſs having done the higheſt Honour to the City of *London*, by moſt graciouſly condeſcending to become a Member of that Body, and having on many Occaſions given evident Marks of your Royal Highneſs's good Will towards them;

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen beg Leave to take this Opportunity of renewing their moſt grateful Acknowledgments; aſſuring your Royal Highneſs of their hearty Wiſhes for your Royal Highneſs's Welfare and Proſperity, and that they are devoted to your Royal Highneſs's true Intereſt and Service, being ſincerely attached to the Proteſtant Succeſſion in your Royal Highneſs and your Royal Family.

Then to her Royal Highneſs, as follows,

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

THE Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen humbly beg Leave to addreſs themſelves to your Royal Highneſs with their moſt hearty Congratulations upon your ſafe Delivery, on the Birth of the Princeſs, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of your Health. Your Royal Iſſue, Madam, will ever be dear to theſe his Majeſty's moſt faithful Subjects. They now entertain the pleaſing Hopes, that many amiable Qualities, Graces, and Virtues, derived to the Princeſs from your Royal Highneſs, will make her in due Time an Ornament to a Throne, and a Bleſſing to the World. They preſume to add their moſt ardent Wiſhes, that your Royal Highneſs may prove the glorious Inſtrument of Providence, by yielding a numerous Progeny, to be the Supporters of the Proteſtant Religion and *Britiſh* Liberty:

And that your Royal Highneſs may always find in Life, true Joy, laſting Comfort, and ſolid Happineſs.

To which his Royal Highneſs made the following Anſwer.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

I return you my Thanks, and thoſe of the Princeſs, for the Share you take in this Increaſe of the King's Family; and aſſure you, that whatever Children God may bleſs me with, I will infuſe into them Sentiments agreeable to the Laws and Liberties of that Country they have the Happineſs to be born in.

The City has always ſhewn ſuch Zeal for the King and his Family, that I think it highly incumbent upon me to aſſure you, that I will be in all Times an hearty Well-wiſher for your Trade and Proſperity.

They all had the Honour to kiſs their Royal Highneſſes Hands.

WEDNESDAY, 28.

Sir *George Champion*, Alderman, and *Thomas Ruſſel*, Eſq; were ſworn at *Guildhall* into the Office of Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* for the Year enſuing; and on the 30th they were ſworn in at *Weſtminſter*.

THURSDAY, 29.

Sir *John Barnard*, Knight, the Alderman next the Chair, was elected Lord Mayor of *London* for the Year enſuing.

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The Commiſſioners of the Exciſe have appointed *Tueſdays* and *Thurſdays*, for trying all Offences againſt the Spirituous Liquor Act.

There have been this Year convicted before their Honours, 739 Perſons, and fin'd 200*l.* each, for offending againſt that Act.

There now remain for Tryal 184 Perſons, againſt whom Informations are lodg'd.

There have been convicted before the Juſtices within the Bills of Mortality 515 Perſons, of whom 432 have been ſent to the ſeveral *Bridewells*; and 83 have paid 10*l.* each to be excus'd from going to *Bridewell*.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

HON. *Charles Fielding*, Eſq; Brother to the Earl of *Denbigh*, to the Lady *Bridges*, Relict of Sir *Brooke Bridges*, Bart.

Francis Anneſley, of the Inner Temple Eſq; to the Lady *Fowler*, Widow of Sir *Richard Fowler*, Bart.

Captain *Paul*, to the Lady *Anne Bentinck*, Siſter to the Duke of *Portland*.

Rowland Courtenay, Eſq; Member for *Truro*, *Cornwal*, to the Hon. Miſs *Montagu*, Siſter to the Earl of *Sandwich*.

Jacob Sbane, of *Chenys*, in *Bucks*, Eſq; to Miſs *Collens*, of *Acton*.

Samuel Jones, of *Stepney*, Eſq; to Miſs *Lake*, Daughter of Sir *Bibye Lake*, Bart.

William Harris, Eſq; to Miſs *Allen*.

Mr. *Wiſbaw*, of *Symond's-Inn*, to Miſs *Peters*, of *Stanmore*.

Sir *William Lemon*, of *North-Hall*, Bart. to Miſs *Briet*, of *Bond-Street*.

William Newport, Eſq; to Miſs *Lane*.

James Watſon, Eſq; to the Hon. Miſs *Hope*. Daughter to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Hopetoun*.

Counteſs of *Gainſborough* ſafely deliver'd of a Daughter; as was likewiſe the Counteſs of *Cromarty*.

DEATHS.

IN *Scotland*, Rt. Hon. *James* Earl of *Hyndford*, Brig. Gen. of the Forces, and a Commiſſioner of Police.

Capt. *Cholmondeley*, of the 2d Reg. of Foot Guards.

In *Devonſhire*, Sir *John Davis*, Bart.

Rev. Mr. *Whitburn*, Prebendary of *Exeter*.

—— *Lyddall*, Eſq; only Son of Sir *Harry Lyddell*, Bart.

Mrs. *Spencer*, Neceſſary Woman to his Majeſty, who enjoy'd that Place 50 Years.

Mr. *Benjamin Tomlinſon*, Clerk of Old *Spaniſh-Hall* in *Blackwell Hall*, and many Years Deputy of *Caſtle-Baynard* Ward.

Counſellor *Butler*, at his Chambers in the *Temple*.

John Wbetham, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of Exciſe.

Rev. Dr. *Wm. Bridge*, Senior Fellow of St. *John Baptiſt* College in *Oxford*.

Lady *Hill*, Relict of Sir *Roger Hill*, Bart. aged 92.

Joſeph Soans, Eſq; Lieutenant Governor of *Greenwich* Hoſpital.

In *Bloomſbury-Square*, the Lady *Talbot*.—Mr. *Jeremiah Bathey*, Bookſeller in *Paternoſter-Row*.—Mr. *James Greenwood*, Sur-Maſter of St. *Paul's* School.—*Edw. Warren*, Eſq; at his Seat of *Poynton*, *Cheſhire*.—Col. *John Biſhop*, formerly Governor of *Gillingham* Caſtle.—Col. *James Allen*, at *Richmond*.—Col. *Henry Hatton*.—Mr. *Benjamin Sprint*, one of the Governors of St. *Thomas's* Hoſpital, formerly a Bookſeller in *Little-Britain*.—Rev. Mr. *John Honeywood*, Vicar of *Petham*, near *Canterbury*.—At *Kirby*, *Yorkſhire*, Col. *Wilman* in the 97th Year of his Age.—*William Chaplin Owen*, Eſq;—Mr. *Theophilus Rideut*, an eminent Surgeon.—In the *Minories*, Mr. *Towers*, reputed worth 10,000*l.*—Of an Aſthma, at *Boloign* in *France* (whither he had lately retired for his Health) Mr. *Nathaniel Miſt*, Printer, very well known for the Weekly Paper publiſhed under his Name, afterwards called *Fog's Journal*.—*William Farrier*, Eſq; who ſerved his Country in Parliament during the 3 laſt Reigns, and was well known from his being Chairman many Years of the Committee for *Ways and Means*.—At *Penburſt*, in *Kent*, the Rt. Hon. *John* Earl of *Leiceſter*, Conſtable of the *Tower*, Knight of the *Bath*, and Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum for the County of *Kent*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *John Butler* to the Vicarage of *Storbery*, *Kent*.—Mr. *John Appeſley* to the Living of *Egerton* in the ſame County.—Mr. *Hugh Pugh* to the Vicarage of *Cardigan*, *Wales*.—Hon. and Rev. Mr. *Robert Hay*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Kinnoul*, appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty.—Mr. *Clarke* preſented to the Vicarage of *Henor*, *Derbyſhire*.—Mr. *Stokes* to the Rectory of *Weymonds*, *Leiceſterſhire*.—Mr. *Acton* to the Rectory of *Sbalden*, *Hants*.—Mr. *John Gardner*, Fellow of *King's Col. Camb.* appointed one of the Chaplains to the Royal Chapel at *Whitehall*.—Dr. *Lancaſter* preſented to the Living of *Stamford-Rivers*, *Eſſex*.—Dr. *Chandler* made Chaplain to *Chelſea College*, in the room of the late Dr. *Day*.—Dr. *Joſeph Billingſley* made one of the Prebendaries of *Chriſt-Church*, *Oxon*.—Mr. *George Oliver* preſented to the Rectory of St. *Peter*, in *Sandwich*.—Mr. *Thomas Robottom* to the Rectory of *Bycham All-Saints*, *Norfolk*.—Mr. *Rich. Davies* made Archdeacon of St. *David's* in the room of Mr. *Williams*, deceaſed; and, Mr. *Holcomb*, Rector of *Tenby*, in *Pembrokeſhire*, made a Prebendary of St. *David's*.—Mr. *Welchman* made a Prebendary of *Exeter*, in the room of Mr. *Whitburn*, deceaſed.—Hon. and Rev. Mr. *Edward Villiers*, Son to the late Earl of *Jerſey*, made one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary.—Dr. *Cartwright* appointed Archdeacon of *Colcheſter*, in the room of the late Dr. *King*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military.*

BRigadier General *Scott* made Col. of the Reg. of Foot, lately commanded by Lieut. Gen. *Sutton*, deceas'd.—Major *Legg*, Lieut. Col. of the 3d Reg. of Foot Guards, in his room.—Col. *Creamer*, firſt Major; and Col. *Shelton*, ſecond Major of the ſaid Regiment.—Lieut. *John Dillon* made Capt. of a Comp. in the Royal *Scotch Fuſiliers*.—Lord *Delawar* made Col. and Capt. of the firſt Troop of Life Guards.—Duke of *Montagu* appointed Capt. of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners.—Earl of *Bute* ſucceeds the late Earl of *Hynford*, as Commiſſioner of Police for *Scotland*.—Capt. *Tudor Trevor* ſucceeds the late *Joſeph Sloane*, Eſq; as Lieut. Governor of *Greenwich Hoſpital*.—Capt. *Smith* made firſt Captain in Mr. *Trevor*'s room; and, Capt. *Mann* ſecond Capt. in the room of Capt. *Smith*.—Capt. *George Wilſon* appointed Capt. in the Royal Reg. of Horſe-Guards, Bloet.—Col. *John Carter*, Capt. of an independent Company in *South Carolina*.—Lieut. *George Stinſby*, Capt. in General *Ewan*'s Reg. of Horſe.—*Alured Popple*, Eſq; made Governor of *Bermudas*.—*Tho. Pelham*, jun. Eſq; Secretary to the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations in his room.—*William Walmſley*, Eſq; made Pay-Maſter of the Lotteries, in the room of the late *Thomas Spence*, Eſq;—Mr. *Delany*, Clerk of the Green Cloth, in the room of *Herbert Price*, Eſq; deceas'd.—*Robert Sutton*, Eſq; made Deputy-Ranger of *Sherwood* Foreſt, in the room of his late Father, Lieut. Gen. *Sutton*.—Brig. Gen. *Neville* promoted to the Command of the Reg. of Dragoons, lately commanded by Sir *Adolphus Oughton*, Bart.—*George Neale*, Eſq; made Captain in the Reg. of Foot commanded by Lieut. Gen. *Sutton*, deceas'd.—*John Thomas*, Eſq; made Captain of a Company in Brig. Gen. *Columbine*'s Reg. of Foot.—Major Gen. *Tyrrel*, made Governor of *New York*, in the room of Lord *Delawar*, who reſign'd.—Reverend Mr. *Clarke* choſe Sur-Maſter of St. *Paul*'s School, in the room of Mr. *Greenwood*, deceas'd.—Hon. *Charles Fane*, Eſq; Member of Parl. for *Taviſtock*, and his Majeſty's Miniſter to the Court of *Florence*, appointed Ambaſſador to the Court of *Turin*, in the room of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Eſſex*.—Rt. Hon. *William-Anne* Earl of *Albemarle*, made Governor of *Virginia*, in the room of *George* Earl of *Orkney*, deceas'd.—Rt. Hon. *Algernoon* Earl of *Hertford*, made Governor of *Minorca*, in the room of Brigadier General *Kane*, deceas'd.—The Marqueſs *de Montandre*, made Governor of *Guernſey*, in the room of Lieut. General *Sutton*, deceas'd.

Perſons declared BANKRUPTS.

THO. *Newman*, of *Emſworth*, *Hants*, Shopkeeper and Chapman.—*Poynter Copping*, of *Norwich*, Worſted Weaver.—*Rob. Tinker*, of *Durham*, Merchant.—*Wm. Hannay*, of *Derby*, Chapman.—*Wm. Palmer*, of *Norwich*, Worſted Weaver and Chapman.—*Abdias Halls*, of *Cheſterton*, *Cambridgeſhire*, Maltſter.—*Wm. Newland* and *William Clack*, of *Deptford*, *Kent*, Diſtillers.—*Henry Udall*, of *Fleet-ſtreet*, Victualler.—*Richard Gibbons*, of St. *George*, *Bloomſbury*, Carpenter and Chapman.—*Mary Stones*, of *Colcheſter*, *Eſſex*, Innholder and Vintner.—*Joſeph Bayly*, of *Hoxton*, Merchant.—*Rich. Mitchell*, of *Covent-Garden*, Vintner.—*John Aſhley*, Eſq; of *London*, Merchant.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	nothing	*Afric.*	14
—*Bonds*	4 15	*Royal Aſſ.*	109 ½
—*Annu.*	nothing	*Lon. ditto*	14 ⅞ a 15
Bank	145 ¼	3 *per C. An.*	106 ½
—*Circ.*	105.	*Eng. Copper*	
Mil. Bank	123 ½	*Salt Tallies*	1 a 5
India	176 ½	*Emp. Loan*	113 ⅞ a 14
—*Bonds*	6 16 a 15s.	*Equiv.*	112

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt.	35 2½ a 34 11	*Bilboa*	40
D. Sight	34 9 a 8 ½	*Leghorn*	49 ½ a ⅝
Rotter.	35 a 1	*Genoa*	52 ½ a ⅝
Hamb.	33 11 a 2½	*Venice*	50 ⅛
P. Sight	32 ⅛	*Liſb.*	5s 5d ½ a ⅛
Bourdx.	32 ⅓ a ¼	*Oport.*	5s 5d ¼
Cadiz	39 ½	*Antw.*	35
Madrid	40 ¼	*Dublin*	9 a 8⅞

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	28 34	*Oates*	10 13 6
Rye	13 18	*Tares*	22 24
Barley	16 19 6	*Peaſe*	27 31
H. Beans	20 25 6	*H. Peaſe*	16 17
P. Malt	22 27	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Aug.* 23. to *Sept.* 27.

Chriſtned	Males 852 / Females 803		1655
Buried	Males 1885 / Females 1914		3799
Died under 2 Years old			1406
Between	2 and 5		359
	5	10	143
	10	20	128
	20	30	316
	30	40	349
	40	50	338
	50	60	291
	60	70	235
	70	80	132
	80	90	86
	90 and upwards		16
			3799

Hay 54 to 60s. a Load.

AS

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AS we have with great Pains and Induſtry preſerved the Peace and Tranquillity of *Europe* for many Years paſt, our Neighbours have all taken Advantage of the Favour we have done them, to improve their Trade, and to rival us in every one of our Manufactures. Among the reſt, the King of *Denmark* has lately ſet up a Manufacture of Silks, *Woollen Cloth*, and of Silk and Worſted Stockings, for the Incouragement of which, he has lately made a Regulation which even we ourſelves ought to imitate: He has by an Edict publiſhed the 15th of *Auguſt* laſt directed, that all ſuch as receive any Salaries or Penſions from the Court, either Civil or Military, ſhall be obliged to contribute 10 *per Cent. per Annum*, out of their Pay or Salary, for the better Support of the Manufactures: Provided, nevertheleſs, that in a *Year and a Half* thoſe Manufactures ſhall reſtore to each Perſon the Value of the Money paid in to the ſame, either in *Woollen Cloth*, *Woollen Stuffs*, Silks, Stockings, or other Things manufactured in that Country, according to every one's Fancy or Choice. And even all his Majeſty's other Subjects, who are veſted with any Dignity or Character, tho' they have no Salary or Penſion, are to be obliged in like Manner to advance ſomething for the Support and Incouragement of theſe Manufactures, in Proportion to each Perſon's Subſtance, and on the Conditions before-mentioned. Now as this Nation ſtands obliged at preſent to pay a Subſidy of near 60,000 *l. per Annum* to his *Daniſh* Majeſty, we may from thence reckon, that, according to this new Regulation, we contribute near 6000 *l.* a Year to the Support and Incouragement of the *Daniſh* Silk and *Woollen* Manufactures.

Since our laſt we have received the following particular Account of the taking of *Oczakow* by the *Ruſſians*. That on the 13th of *July*, the Day on which the Place was taken by Aſſault, the *Muſcovites* having perceived that the *Spahis* of the Gariſon had put their Horſes in a Place between the City and the *Black Sea*, a ſtrong Detachment of *Huſſars* and *Coſſacks* were ordered to attack that Part of the *Turkiſh* Intrenchments, in order to ſeize the Horſes: Upon this the *Turks* ſallied out of the Town in great Numbers, but were ſo warmly received by the *Huſſars* and *Coſſacks*, that they ſoon began to retire in Confuſion; and Lieutenant General *Keith*, who then commandad 8000 Men in that Part of the *Muſcovite* Trenches, obſerving the Confuſion among the *Turks*, detached 2000 of his Men to aſſiſt the *Coſſacks* in purſuing their Advantage, which increaſed the Confuſion among the *Turks*; whereupon General *Keith* rightly judged that the Conſternation the Gariſon was then in was an Opportunity not to be loſt; therefore he advanced with his whole Detachment, and attacked the City itſelf, with ſuch Vigour, that the *regular Troops*, *Huſſars*, and *Coſſacks*, not only entered the City, Sword in Hand, but cut off the Communication between the City and the *Turkiſh* Gallies which were then in the Road, to the Number of 18, ſo that the *Turkiſh Seraſkier*, *Baſhaw*, and other chief Officers who commanded in the Place, were taken Priſoners as they were endeavouring to make their Eſcape on board the Gallies. *Lieutenant General Keith* received ſeveral Wounds in this Attack, but is ſince, we hear, pretty well recovered. He is Brother to the late *Earl Marſhal* of *Scotland*, attainted for being in the Rebellion in 1715, who is now a General in *Spain*. Since the taking of this Place the *Muſcovite* Army under Count *Munich* has undertaken nothing of any great Conſequence, and are now encamped on the North Side of the River *Bog*, between *Oczakow* and *Bender*, on a large Moor called *Borbeuſe*.

The *Muſcovite* Army under Count *Lacey* has retired from the *Crim*, and repaſſed the Sea by their Bridge of Boats, after having plundered and reduced to Aſhes above 1000 Cities, Towns and Villages, without being able to bring the *Tartars* to a Battle, who continued in their ſtrong Lines near *Precop*, notwithſtanding the *Cham's* having there 70,000 *Tartars*, and 20,000 *Turkiſh* Troops under his Command.

Nothing very remarkable has happened ſince our laſt in any of the *German* Armies; Count *Seckendorff* being now upon his March with the grand Army towards *Boſnia*.

On the 27th of *July* the *Imperial*, *Muſcovite* and *Turkiſh* Plenipotentiaries at *Nimirow* in *Poland*, opened the Congreſs for a Treaty of Peace: The *Turks* inſiſt upon a Suſpenſion of Arms before they begin to treat; the *Germans* and *Muſcovites* inſiſt that an *Uti Poſſidetis* ſhall be the Baſis of the Treaty, and the *Muſcovites* in particular inſiſt that the *Turks* ſhall agree to the Surrender of *Azoff* previous to their entering into any Treaty; ſo that the Conferences are at preſent at a Stand, till the Plenipotentiaries receive new Powers from their ſeveral Conſtituents with regard to their reſpective Demands.

The Magiſtrates of *Geneva* having lately forfeited the Affections of the People, by keeping up a larger ſtanding Army, or Gariſon, as they call it, than that little Republick had any occaſion for, and ſeveral other Meaſures which were generally thought oppreſſive, the People at laſt made an Inſurrection, and have turned out all their Magiſtrates and taken the Government of the City into their own Hands; upon which the old Magiſtrates, and many of their Friends and Relations have retired from the City with their beſt Effects.

The

ARTS *and* GRAMMAR.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

OCTOBER, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT, *continued from Page* 497.

THE Speakers in the Debate relating to the Army, which we gave in our laſt, were chiefly as follows, *viz.* Sir *R——t W——le*, Sir *W——m Y——ge*, the Right Hon. *H——y P——m*, Eſq; *&c.* for the Motion; and *W——m P——y*, Eſq; Sir *J——n B——d*, *S——l S——ys*, *T——s L——n*, Eſqrs; *&c.* againſt the Motion.

The next remarkable Affair that happened in the Committee of Supply was, when the Motion was made in the ſaid Committee for reſolving to grant 28,707*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* for *Chelſea* Hoſpital, (ſee p. 468.) Several Gentlemen upon that Occaſion took Notice of the great Charge that Hoſpital was like to bring upon the Publick. They ſaid they would not oppoſe the Motion then made; but they could not neglect that Opportunity of taking Notice, that notwithſtanding its being a Time of Peace, the Charge of that Hoſpital ſeemed to be every Year increaſing; for that laſt Year the Sum provided by Parliament for that Article was but 24,518*l.* 10*s.* and the preceding Year it was but 18,850*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* ſo that the Sum then demanded was very near 10,000*l.* more than was found neceſſary for the ſame Service but *two* Years before. They would not, they ſaid, pretend to ſuggeſt what were the particular Reaſons for that great Increaſe; but there was one general Reaſon which would always hold, while we kept up ſuch a large Number of regular Forces, and obſerved the ſame Rules with reſpect to admitting Perſons into that Hoſpital. In Time of War there had been two Rules eſtabliſhed for intitling Soldiers to the Benefit of that Hoſpital; one of which was, a Soldier's being wounded or maimed in the Service, and diſcharged by his Colonel, as unfit for further Service; and the other was, a Soldier's having been *twenty* Years in the Service, and reduced, or diſcharged by his Colonel, as an old and decrepid Soldier. While the War continued, no Man could claim a Title to the Hoſpital by either of theſe Rules, unleſs he was by his Age, or his Wounds, become actually unfit for Service; becauſe, as Recruits were then hard to be got, no Colonel would diſ-

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charge a Soldier, as long as he was any Way fit for Service; and there were but very few who could ever claim the Benefit of the laſt Rule; becauſe moſt of them were either killed or wounded before they could be diſcharged as a Soldier grown decrepid with Age: Whereas, now in Time of Peace, we had not, it was true, many Soldiers who could claim any Title from the firſt Rule; but the Numbers of thoſe who might claim a Title from the Second would be increaſing every Day; for as Recruits were now eaſily procured, the Officers were very apt to diſcharge an old Soldier, as often as they could find a clever, well-look'd young Fellow ready to liſt in his Stead, tho' the old Soldier might then be as fit for real Service, but not perhaps ſo proper for a Review, as the Man newly liſted; and as none of our Soldiers were in Time of Peace in any great Danger of being killed, almoſt every Soldier in our Army would at laſt come to have a Title, by his having been *twenty* Years in the Service, to claim the Benefit of being admitted into *Chelſea* Hoſpital; and that at an Age perhaps when he might not only be fit for Service, but fit for gaining his Livelihood by any induſtrious Employment; for if a young Fellow liſted when but *eighteen* Years of Age, at his Age of *eight and thirty*, if he could obtain a Diſcharge from his Officer, he would have a Title to claim being admitted into *Chelſea* Hoſpital; and by Means of a long Beard, a ragged Coat, and good Intereſt at the Board, he might even at that Age be admitted to a Share of that Charity, which was deſigned only for the Diſabled and Decrepid. From hence they could not but ſuppoſe, that a peaceable Army would always furniſh *Chelſea* with more Penſioners than a fighting Army of the ſame Number could be ſuppoſed to do; and the Penſioners drawn from the former would live longer to enjoy their Penſion, and to be a Burden upon their Country, than the Penſioners drawn from the latter.

Theſe Things, they ſaid, they took Notice of, not with any Deſign to oppoſe the Motion, but only to ſhew the many Diſadvantages that attended the keeping up of a numerous Standing Army in Time of Peace; and at the ſame Time they hoped it would contribute towards making thoſe concerned as careful as poſſible, not to admit any to the Benefit of that Hoſpital, but ſuch as were truly Objects of Charity, and deſerved to be ſupported at the Expence of their Country.

To this it was anſwered, That tho' the Nation, by Means of the wiſe Meaſures purſued by his *Majeſty* and his Royal Predeceſſor, had been ſo fortunate as to remain for many Years in a State of Peace and Tranquillity, tho' that happy State ſhould continue for many Years to come, yet it had always been, and, they believed, would always be deemed neceſſary to keep up ſome regular Troops; and while they kept up any ſuch Troops, it would be neceſſary to grant a Subſiſtence or Relief to thoſe Soldiers who ſhould grow old and decrepid in the Service; for a poor Man had no other Way to provide for the Infirmities of old Age, but by the Induſtry and Frugality of his Youth; and if a poor Man ſhould in his Youth forſake every Sort of Buſineſs by which he might provide for the Infirmities of old Age, in order to make himſelf fit for ſerving his Country as a Soldier, and in order to be ready upon all Emergencies to venture his Life in the Cauſe of his Country, ſuch a Man, tho' he partook of the Happineſs of his Country, and paſſed thro' Life without Danger, yet he deſerved as much to be provided for by his Country in his old Age, as

as if he had been during his whole Life involved with his Country in Bloodſhed and Danger; and in the former Caſe he would more probably ſtand in Need of it than in the latter; becauſe in Time of Peace, a Soldier had nothing but his bare Pay, out of which it could not be ſuppoſed he could ſave any Thing as a Proviſion for old Age; whereas in Time of War, Soldiers were often allowed to plunder, and ſometimes enriched themſelves by the Spoils of their Enemies.

For this Reaſon, if the Penſioners in *Chelſea* College ſhould become a little more numerous in Time of Peace than in Time of War, it was a Diſadvantage which could not be prevented, but it was a Diſadvantage that was ſufficiently compenſated by the many Advantages the Nation reaped from a State of Peace and Tranquillity; and the maintaining a ſufficient Number of regular Troops had contributed, and would always contribute towards ſecuring and prolonging the Enjoyment of thoſe Advantages. However, they ſaid, they could not admit that any Officer would be very apt to diſcharge a Soldier, as long as he was every Way fit, and properly qualified for the Service; becauſe the Breeding of a young Fellow up to Diſcipline, and making him thorough Maſter of his Exerciſes, was always a great Trouble to the Officer; and if the Officer ſhould diſcharge ſuch a Man, the Board were not obliged to admit him to the Benefit of *Chelſea* Hoſpital, even though he had been *twenty* Years in the Service, unleſs he was ſome Way diſabled, or grown very old and decrepid; at leaſt if any ſuch Man was admitted, he was immediately ſent to the Regiment, or to ſome of the Companies, of Invalids, and by that Means was made to ſerve for that Subſiſtence which he received from his Country, as long as any Service could be expected from him; ſo that they believed, there were few or no Soldiers upon the Eſtabliſhment of *Chelſea* Hoſpital, but ſuch as were real Objects of Charity; and they were very ſure the Commiſſioners of that Board had been of late as careful as poſſible not to admit any Man upon that Eſtabliſhment who was not every way intitled to the Benefit, as would fully appear if any Enquiry ſhould be made into that Affair; and then the particular Reaſons for the late Increaſe of the Charge of that Hoſpital would not only be made to appear, but would, they were convinced, be approved of by every Gentleman in that Houſe.

This was the Subſtance of what was ſaid of each Side upon this Occaſion; after which the Queſtion was put upon the Motion, and agreed to without a Diviſion.

The next Affair upon which there was any conſiderable Debate in the Committee of Supply, was on *Wedneſday* the 9th, and *Friday* the 11th of *March*, when the Motion was made for granting *a Million* to his Majeſty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increaſed Capital of the *South Sea* Company, commonly called *Old South Sea* Annuities, (ſee p. 468) But as this was a Sort of Reſolution which had never before been moved for, or agreed to, in any Committee of Supply, we ſhall give our Readers an Account, how the Method of Proceeding came to be altered *laſt Seſſion*, with reſpect to the paying off the National Debt, and the Application of the Sinking Fund for that Purpoſe.

As ſoon as the Houſe had upon the ſaid *March* 9th, reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe to conſider of the Supply granted to his Majeſty, Mr. C——r of the E——r ſtood up, and ſpoke to the following Effect, *viz.*

Sir, I have a Propoſition to make

to the Houſe, which I think will tend to the Advantage of the Publick, and againſt which there cannot, in my Opinion, be any Objection made, therefore I hope it will be agreed to without Oppoſition; but in order to make Gentlemen thoroughly comprehend the Advantage of what I am to propoſe, I muſt beg Leave to explain a little the preſent Circumſtances of the Sinking Fund, and the Method hitherto obſerved with reſpect to the diſpoſing of the Produce of that Fund.

We all know, Sir, that the whole Produce of the Sinking Fund muſt be regularly, as it ariſes, depoſited in his Majeſty's *Exchequer*, and there wait the future Diſpoſition of Parliament, ſo that no Part of it can be applied to any Uſe but that to which it has been appropriated by ſome preceding Seſſion; and the Method this Houſe has generally taken for diſpoſing of that Fund, has been, To reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the Application of the growing Produce of the Sinking Fund. This has always been the Method we have hitherto taken for applying that Fund towards paying off any Part of the National Debt; and as we ſeldom or never pay off under *a Million* at a Time, there is generally 5 or 600,000 *l.* Part of the Produce of that Fund, which lies for ſeveral Months quite dead and uſeleſs in his Majeſty's *Exchequer*; which we muſt look on as a great Diſadvantage to the Publick, eſpecially when we conſider that the Government is during that Time obliged to borrow Money at Intereſt for anſwering the current Service of the Year.

This, Sir, has been the Caſe for ſeveral Years paſt, and muſt always be the Caſe for every Year to come, if the Propoſition I am to make, or ſomething like it, be not agreed to; for it is well known the Funds provided by Parliament for the current Service of the Year do not immediately produce ſuch Sums as are neceſſary for anſwering the Charges of the Government, and therefore his Majeſty is every Year impowered to borrow Money for that Purpoſe upon the Credit of ſome of the Funds granted by Parliament for the current Service of that Year; for which he is obliged to pay an Intereſt of at leaſt 3 *per Cent.* which is an annual Charge of 10, 15, or perhaps above 20,000*l.* a Year to the Publick, and a Charge which might, I think, be prevented, by enabling his Majeſty to make uſe of the Produce of the Sinking Fund then lying dead in the *Exchequer*; and whatever Sums might be found neceſſary to be taken from the Sinking Fund for anſwering the immediate Service, might be replaced by the Produce of the annual Funds, before *Michaelmas*, the Time when the Produce of the Sinking Fund is generally to be iſſued by Direction of Parliament for paying off a Part of the National Debt; or if the Whole ſhould not be replaced before that Time, a ſmall Sum might then, and not till then, be borrow'd for making good the Deficiency; ſo that the Government would never be obliged to borrow ſo large a Sum, or for ſo long a Time, as they generally are, according to the preſent Method.

For Example, Sir, the Produce of the Sinking Fund is generally computed from *Michaelmas* to *Lady-Day*, and from *Lady-Day* to *Michaelmas*; and it is to be ſuppoſed this Houſe will, in the preſent Seſſion, order the Sum of *one Million*, being the growing Produce of that Fund from *Michaelmas* laſt till *Michaelmas* next, to be applied to the Paying off ſo much of the National Debt: This Payment cannot be made before *Michaelmas* next, and as the Produce of that Fund will bring into his Majeſty's *Exchequer* by *Lady-Day* next, or ſoon after, 5 or 600,000 *l.* that whole

whole Sum muſt, according to our former Method of ordering the Application of that Fund, lie dead in the *Exchequer*, without its being in the Power of the Publick, or the Government, to reap any Benefit from it; and in the mean time, as the Produce of the annual Funds cannot anſwer the immediate Occaſions of the Government, his Majeſty may probably be obliged at *Lady-Day* next, or ſoon after, to borrow 5 or 600,000 *l.* at an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Credit, I ſhall ſuppoſe, of the *Malt* Tax, in order to anſwer thoſe Demands which may occur before the Produce of that Tax can come in to ſatisfy them: Now if his Majeſty were impowered to make uſe of the Produce of the Sinking Fund in the mean time, it would prevent his being under a Neceſſity of borrowing any Money at *Lady-Day* next, and whatever ſhould be found neceſſary to be taken in the mean time from the Sinking Fund, might be replaced by the Produce of the *Malt* Tax, or ſome of the other Funds provided for the current Service of this next enſuing Year, before *Michaelmas* next, which is the ſooneſt any Payment can be directed to be made out of the Produce of that Fund; or if the Whole ſhould not then happen to be replaced, a ſmall Sum might be then borrowed for a ſhort Term, in order to make good the Deficiency, and to make that Payment to the publick Creditors, which, I ſuppoſe, will by this Seſſion be directed to be made at *Michaelmas* next.

I hope, Sir, I have explained myſelf ſo as to be underſtood by every Gentleman that hears me, and if the Houſe thinks fit to agree to what I propoſe, the proper Method of doing it will, in my Opinion, be, To come to a Reſolution in this Committee, to grant his Majeſty *a Million* towards redeeming the like Sum of ſome of the publick Debts; and then when we take this Affair into our Conſideration in the Committee of Ways and Means, we may reſolve, That towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the Sum of *one Million* out of ſuch Monies as have ariſen, or ſhall or may ariſe of the Surpluſſes, Exceſſes, or overplus Monies, commonly called the Sinking Fund. This, Sir, I take to be the proper Method of carrying what I have propoſed into Execution, and, if I find the Houſe approves of it, I ſhall take the Liberty to riſe up again, and make you ſuch a Motion as, I think, ought to be agreed to in the Committee we are now in.

As this new Method of ordering the Application of the Sinking Fund was generally approved of, the ſame Gentleman ſtood up on the 11th, when the Houſe had again reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Committee, and after a ſhort Speech, moved, to reſolve, That the Sum of *one Million* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increaſed Capital of the *South-Sea* Company, as was then commonly called *Old South-Sea* Annuities.

But as many Gentlemen were of Opinion the ſaid *Million* ought not to be applied towards redeeming any Part of the *South-Sea* Capital, but towards redeeming a Part of the *Bank* Capital, there enſued a long Debate, in which the Arguments for the Motion were to the Effect as followeth, *viz.*

Sir, As the Sinking Fund is one of the moſt uſeful Funds that ever was eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, as it is the only Fund from which we can expect a Diminution of our Taxes, and an Eaſe to ourſelves or our Poſterity, and as the Diſpoſition of that Fund is left intirely to the Wiſdom of Parliament, we ought to be extremely careful of applying it yearly to that Purpoſe from which the greateſt

eſt Benefit may redound to our native Country; and when we happen to be in Circumſtances ſo lucky as to be able to apply the whole Produce towards diſcharging ſo much of the National Debt, the only two Queſtions that can fall under our Conſideration, are, What Part of the publick Debts are moſt grievous to the Nation in general? and, What Part may be paid off with the greateſt Eaſe to thoſe who are the Creditors of the Publick? The firſt Queſtion deſerves, and will certainly meet with our greateſt Regard; but if it ſhould appear, that the Intereſt of the Publick is no Way concerned, which Part of the National Debt ſhall be firſt paid off, the ſecond Queſtion will then deſerve our Attention; becauſe the greater Regard we ſhew to the Creditors of the Publick, the more we ſhall eſtabliſh the publick Credit; and the more the Credit of the Nation is eſtabliſhed, the more eaſy will it be for us to reduce the Intereſt now payable upon our publick Funds.

If there were any of our publick Debts that bore an Intereſt higher than the reſt, that Debt would certainly be the moſt grievous to the Nation, and, conſequently, ought to be the firſt to be paid off; but as the whole Debt of the Nation is now reduced to 4 *per Cent.* or under, except about 1,600,000*l.* due to the *Bank*, which bears an Intereſt of 6 *per Cent.* and which cannot be redeemed till their Term be expired, therefore, the Rate of Intereſt can be of no Weight in the preſent Queſtion. With Regard to the Intereſt of the Publick, I can think of but three other Motives that can induce us to pay off any one of the publick Debts, or a Part of any one of the publick Debts, rather than a Part of any other: The firſt I ſhall take Notice of is, the Amount of the Sum due; for where ſeveral Debts are due to ſeveral different Perſons, natural or political, that Debt which is the largeſt is certainly the moſt grievous, and ought firſt to be paid off, or at leaſt diminiſhed ſo as to bring it upon a Par with others. The next Motive may be drawn from the Taxes which are mortgaged for paying the Intereſt; for thoſe Creditors to whom the moſt burdenſome Taxes are mortgaged, ought to be firſt paid off, in order that we may have it the ſooner in our Power to free the Nation from thoſe Taxes: And the third Motive depends upon the Nature of thoſe Companies or Corporations, to whom our preſent Debts are owing; for a Company that is engaged in Trade, and is enabled to extend their Trade further than they could otherways do, by Means of that Intereſt which is payable to them from the Government, deſerve better to have that Intereſt continued to them, than a Company, or Set of Men, who carry on no Trade, or whoſe Trade can receive no Increaſe, by means of the Debt due to them by the Publick; and, therefore, no Part of the Debt due to the former ought to be paid off, as long as there is any Thing due from the Publick to the latter.

Now, Sir, with reſpect to every one of theſe Motives, I think, they militate ſtrongly in favour of the Motion now made to you. The Debt due to the *South Sea* Company is vaſtly larger than the Debt due to any other Company in the Kingdom, and, therefore, not only according to the Rules of Proportion, but according to that Rule which will always, I hope, be the chief Director of our Reſolutions, I mean the Intereſt of the Nation in general, whatever Payments we are able to make ought to be generally applied towards diminiſhing the Debt due to that Company: Then as to the Taxes mortgaged for the Payment of our publick Debts, thoſe which are mortgaged to the *South-Sea* Company are the moſt burdenſome, as will appear to any Gentleman who examines into that Affair;

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fair; and of the three great Companies who are the chief Creditors of the Publick, it muſt be granted, the *South Sea* Company carries on the leaſt Trade, and is the leaſt capable of extending their Trade, by means of that Intereſt or Annuity which is due to them from the Publick. Thus in every Light we can put it, if we have a proper Regard for the Intereſt of the Nation in general, we muſt conclude, that we ought to apply the Produce of the Sinking Fund towards paying off a Part of the Debt due to the *South-Sea* Company, rather than any other; and as the Debt due to them is now divided into three different Parts, I think, the next Payment ought to be applied to that Part now called *Old South-Sea* Annuities; becauſe the Annuities ought to be all paid off, before we pay off any Part of their Trading Stock; and as the laſt Payment was made to the *New South Sea* Annuities, the next ought to be made to the *Old*.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, that the Intereſt of the Nation in general is no Way concerned, which Part of the publick Debt ſhall be firſt paid off; in that Caſe we ought to ſhew a Regard to the Eaſe and Advantage of the ſeveral publick Creditors, by making the next Payment to thoſe who will ſuffer the leaſt by ſuch Payment's being made to them. It is now the good Fortune of this Nation to have its Credit ſo well eſtabliſhed, that all our publick Funds ſell at an advanced Price; ſo that it is a Diſadvantage and Loſs to every one of the publick Creditors to have any Part of the Debt due to him paid off; therefore, if the Intereſt of the Nation be quite unconcerned, we ought to direct the Payments to be made to thoſe who will ſuffer the leaſt by having a Part of their Capital paid off; and of all the publick Creditors, the Proprietors of the *South-Sea* Annuities are certainly thoſe that will ſuffer the leaſt; becauſe as there is a much larger Sum due to them than to any other Set of publick Creditors, the Loſs cannot fall ſo heavy upon each particular Perſon; and as the Fund they are in Poſſeſſion of does not ſell at a Price near ſo high as either the *Bank* or the *Eaſt-India* Stock, conſequently the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Annuities cannot be ſuch Loſers as the Proprietors of *Bank* or *Eaſt-India* would be, in caſe the next Payment were directed to be made to either of them; for a Proprietor of *South-Sea* Annuities can loſe but 12 or 13 *l.* by having 100 *l.* of his Capital paid off; whereas a Proprietor of *Bank* Stock would loſe above 50 *l.* and a Proprietor of *Eaſt-India* Stock would loſe near 80 *l.* by having 100 *l.* of his Capital paid off. From hence, Sir, it muſt appear, that if we have any Regard to the Creditors of the Publick, we muſt order the growing Produce of the Sinking Fund for this current Year to be applied to the paying off ſo much of the *South Sea* Debt; and, therefore, I muſt conclude, that in Juſtice to the publick Creditors, as well as in Juſtice to the Nation, the Motion now made ought to be agreed to.

The Anſwer to this, and the Arguments made uſe of for ſhewing the Reaſonableneſs of making the next Payment to the *Bank*, were in Subſtance thus, *viz.*

Sir, As to the Uſefulneſs of the Sinking Fund, and the Advantages the Nation may reap from it, I entirely agree with the Hon. Gentleman who made you the Motion: I think it is one of the moſt uſeful Funds that was ever eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, I know it is the only Fund by which we or our Poſterity can expect to get free from any of thoſe Taxes which now lie ſo heavy upon our Trade in general, and upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers in particular; but I cannot agree with that Hon. Gentleman in Opinion, That the Diſpoſition of the

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the Sinking Fund is left entirely to the Wisdom of Parliament. The contrary is, in my Opinion, evident from the very Words of those Acts of Parliament by which that Fund was established; for by them it is expressly appropriated to the paying off such of the publick Debts and Incumbrances as were incurred before the 25th of *December*, 1716, so that the only Disposition left entirely to the Wisdom of Parliament is, with respect to the Manner and Method of paying off those Debts: The Parliament may direct what Sum shall be paid off at any one Time, and at what Time such Payment shall be made; or it may direct which of those Debts any future Payment shall be applied to; but by the original Institution of that Fund, it was certainly designed not to leave it in the Power of Parliament to apply that sacred Fund to any other Purpose than that of paying off the National Debt contracted before the 25th of *December*, 1716; at least so far as any one Parliament can limit or restrain the Power of all future Parliaments. How far, or in what Case, any future Parliament may or ought to break thro' that Restraint, is a Question which, I hope, we shall have no Occasion to discuss in this Session: I am glad to find we have no such Intention at present; for the only Question now before us is, Which of the publick Debts contracted before the 25th of *December*, 1716, the next Payment ought to be applied to? And in considering that Question, I hope I shall be able to make it appear, that, if we regard the publick Good, and that impartial Justice which is due to all the publick Creditors, the next Payment ought not to be applied to the *South-Sea* Stock, or Annuities.

With respect to the publick Good, or the Interest of the Nation in general, it has been granted, Sir, that if any of our Debts bore a higher Rate of Interest than the rest, that Debt would certainly be the most grievous to the Nation, and consequently ought to be the first paid off; and at the same Time it has been granted, that there is a Debt of 1,600,000*l.* due to the *Bank*, which bears an Interest of 6 *per Cent.* Is it not then evident that this Debt of 1,600,000*l.* ought to be the first to be paid off? But we are told, this Debt cannot be redeemed till the Expiration of their Term. I know it cannot; and I likewise know, we cannot come at the Redemption of this Mortgage, till after we have paid off the whole of the other Debts due to the *Bank*. Is not this a strong Reason, Sir, for our paying off as fast as possible all the other Debts due to the *Bank*, in order to come at the Redemption of this Mortgage of 1,600,000*l.* which is now the heaviest Mortgage this Nation groans under? And what still adds to the Weight of this Argument is, that by the Time we have paid off the other Debts due to the *Bank*, and for which they have only an Interest of 4 *per Cent.* their Term will be expired, so that we can then redeem this heavy Mortgage without further Delay; whereas, if we do not now begin to pay off the other Debts due to the *Bank*, we cannot, even when their Term is expired, have it in our Power to redeem this Mortgage, because, by Agreement, we cannot redeem it till we have paid off all the other Sums due by the Publick to that Company. Therefore, if we have any Regard to the publick Good, we ought to apply every future Payment to the *Bank* till they are entirely paid off, or at least till they agree to take 4 *per Cent.* for this 1,600,000*l.* as well as for the rest of their Fund, which would be a Saving of 32,000*l. per Annum* to the Publick, and a Saving that would greatly contribute towards enabling us to reduce all our publick Debts to 3 *per Cent.* Interest.

Now,

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Now, Sir, with respect to the other Motives mentioned by the honourable Gentleman, for inducing us to pay off a Part of one Debt rather than a Part of any other, I shall readily admit, that it is more grievous to owe a large Debt than to owe a small Sum; but I cannot admit that, therefore, of two or more Debts the largest ought to be first paid off, or at least diminished, so as to bring it upon a Par with others; for in private Life it is always reckoned better for a Man to owe a large Sum to one Person, than to owe a Sum of equal Value to a great Number of different Persons; and for this Reason we often find Gentlemen of Estates borrowing a large Sum of Money from one Person, in order to pay off a great Number of small Creditors, tho' they seldom or never have or can obtain that Advantage which the Publick at present enjoys, of making partial Payments to that large Creditor. If a private Man owed 1000*l.* to one Man, and 4 or 5000*l.* to Ten or a Dozen different Persons, tho' he had a Privilege of making partial Payments to his large Creditor; yet, if he could save 500 or 1000*l.* a Year out of his Estate, he would certainly apply that Saving towards discharging his small Debts, rather than towards discharging yearly a Part of the large Debt. In like Manner with Regard to the Publick, it was formerly reckoned better to owe a large Sum to the *South Sea* Company, than to owe the same Sum to a great Number of private Persons; which was one Reason, among others, for inducing the Legislature to grant them a Power to take in by Purchase or Subscription, or pay off all the irredeemable and redeemable Debts then due by the Publick to a great Multitude of private Persons. This, I say, was then deemed to be a Benefit to the Publick, and will certainly appear to be such, as often as the Publick has any Proposition to make to its Creditors; so that the Largeness of the *South-Sea* Debt, in Comparison with the Debt due to any other Company, should rather be an Argument for making no partial Payments to them till all the other smaller Debts be first paid off.

But, Sir, there is another Advantage which will accrue to the Publick from paying off the Whole, or a great Part of the Debt, due to the other Companies, which will appear evident to every Gentleman, who considers, that a Trading Company possessed of an exclusive Privilege must always come to be a great Disadvantage to the Trade of every Country, where such a Company is established, and continued; for tho' in the Infancy of any particular Sort of Trade, it may be necessary to erect a Company for setting it up; yet, when the Trade comes to be sufficiently established, when great Numbers of our own People are well acquainted with it, and willing to carry it on in a private Way, the continuing of the Company, or at least the continuing of their exclusive Privilege, must be a Disadvantage to the Trade of our Country; because a Company can never carry on a Trade at so cheap a Rate as private Persons can do, and are therefore not so capable of preventing Foreigners from interfering with us in the Trade; for as they are always at a great Expence, they must have great Profits, and great Profits not only tempt, but enable Foreigners to interfere with us in any Trade. It is not now necessary to shew that the exclusive Privilege enjoyed by the *Bank* and *East-India* Company is a Disadvantage to the Trade of the Nation in general: It is sufficient at present to observe, that this exclusive Privilege cannot be taken from either of them, till every Shilling due to them by the Publick be paid off; so that the Expiration of the Term for which that Privilege has

been granted ſignifies nothing, as long as there is any Money due to them; and ſurely it would be an Advantage to the Publick, to have it in our Power to put an End to that Privilege as ſoon as the Term expires, in caſe it ſhould then appear to be a Diſadvantage to the Trade of the Nation; which Power we cannot acquire but by paying off, in the mean Time, a great Part of the Capital of each. This is an Advantage we cannot acquire by any Payment made to the *South-Sea* Company; becauſe the excluſive Privilege granted to and enjoyed by that Company, is a Privilege granted to them for ever; and therefore the publick Good of the Nation is not ſo much concerned, nor can ever be ſo much concerned, in the paying off the whole Capital due to them, as it may be in paying off the whole Capital due to either of the other two.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, in relation to Trading Companies with an excluſive Privilege, it muſt appear, that when the Trade is once generally known, and thoroughly eſtabliſhed, if you can redeem and aboliſh their excluſive Privilege by the Redemption of the Annuity or Intereſt payable to them, you ought as ſoon as poſſible to redeem both the one and the other; becauſe, by laying the Trade open you will increaſe rather than diminiſh the Trade of your Country. Indeed, if the Company has an excluſive Privilege which you cannot take from them, even after you have paid off the whole Debt due to them, the paying off ſuch a Debt may be a Diſadvantage to your Trade, becauſe you may, by ſo doing, prevent the Company's being able to puſh their Trade ſo far as they might otherwiſe have done; and at the Time all private Adventurers are precluded from engaging in it by the Continuance of the Company's excluſive Privilege; therefore, it is inconſiſtent with the publick Good to pay off any ſuch Debt, or any Part of ſuch a Debt, as long as there are any other publick Debts to be paid off; and does not every one ſee, that this is a good Argument againſt making any future Payments to the *South-Sea* Company? for the Intereſt payable upon their Annuities may contribute as much as the Intereſt payable upon their Stock, towards enabling them to extend their Trade; becauſe, the only Way by which either can contribute towards enabling them to extend their Trade, is, by the Money's lying for ſome Time in their Hands, before they be obliged to iſſue it to the Proprietors; and the Intereſt Money of their Annuities lies as long in the Company's Hands before they be obliged to iſſue it for paying the half-yearly Annuities grown due to the Annuitants, as the Intereſt Money of their Stock can do, before they be obliged to iſſue it for paying the half-yearly Dividends grown due to the Proprietors of their Trading Stock.

As for the Taxes mortgaged to the *South-Sea* Company, or to any other Company, they can be of no Weight in the preſent Debate; for whenever we have a Mind to aboliſh any of our preſent heavy Taxes, we know, Sir, there is no Company, nor publick Creditor in *England*, but will be glad to conſent to the aboliſhing of any ſuch Tax, and to accept of an Annuity payable out of the Sinking Fund, in Lieu of the Annuity payable to them out of the Produce of that Tax. This we know by a late Experiment in the Caſe of the *Salt-Duty*, which was once by this Houſe reſolved to be the moſt grievous Tax in *England*, and was therefore aboliſhed. In that Caſe we know, Sir, how readily the *South-Sea* and other Companies agreed to take Annuities payable out of the Sinking Fund, in Lieu of the Annuities payable to them out of the Produce of that Tax; but ſo variable are the Sentiments of ſome Gentlemen, that in *two* Years Time, that very Tax was deemed

deemed not near ſo grievous as a *Shilling in the Pound* upon Land, and therefore it was re-eſtabliſhed for *three* Years, and granted for ſupplying the current Service of the Year, in order to prevent our being obliged to lay an additional *Shilling in the Pound* but for *one* Year upon Land; and I think it has ſince been continued for *ſeven* Years longer, for the very ſame Reaſon and Purpoſe: Nay I'm afraid we are loaded with it for ever; for as it is a Tax that creates a great deal of Power, tho' it produces but little Money, I believe it will always be preferred by a certain Sort of Men to any Tax that may produce a much greater Revenue without propagating any Sort of Power. As for my own Part, I ſtill continue to think it one of the moſt burdenſom and dangerous Taxes we are ſubject to; and notwithſtanding the low Intereſt paid for the Money due upon it, I ſhould think, one of the beſt Uſes we could convert the Sinking Fund to, would be, to apply it towards redeeming and aboliſhing of this Tax; becauſe if we conſider the Expences of collecting it, and add that Expence to the Intereſt paid for the Money borrowed upon it, we muſt conclude, the Nation pays a heavy Intereſt for that Money, beſides the Danger our Liberties may be expoſed to by continuing a Tax which creates ſo much Power and produces ſo ſmall a Revenue, and beſides the Danger our Trade may be expoſed to by a Tax which enhances the Price of Labour in every Branch both of our Manufacture, Agriculture, and Navigation. Nor would the applying the Sinking Fund to ſuch an Uſe be a new Perverting of it; for as this Tax was formerly one of the Taxes appropriated to the Payment of our Debts contracted before *December* 25th, 1716, the applying the Sinking Fund towards aboliſhing it, and then reviving it for ſupplying the current Service of the Year, was the ſame Thing as if we had then taken ſuch a Sum from the Sinking Fund, as would have been ſufficient not only for ſupplying the current Service of the Year, but for redeeming the Tax we had then a Mind to aboliſh, for the Eaſe of our poor Labourers and Manufacturers. But as I have at preſent no Intention to make any Propoſition for applying the Sinking Fund to ſuch a Purpoſe, I ſhall inſiſt no longer upon this Subject.

The proper Queſtion now before us I take to be, Sir, Whether the next Payment from the Sinking Fund ought to be made to the *South-Sea* Company or the *Bank?* and as I ſet out with ſaying, that if we ſhew any Regard to the publick Good, or to that impartial Juſtice which is due to all the publick Creditors, we ought not to apply the next Payment to the *South Sea* Company, I think I have ſhewn that, with reſpect to the publick Good, none of the Motives mentioned can induce us to apply the next Payment to that Company, but that on the contrary, every one of thoſe Motives are ſtrong Arguments for not making any future Payment to them, till all or moſt of our other Debts be entirely paid off. Now, Sir, with regard to that impartial Juſtice which we ought to ſhew to all our Creditors, I ſhall grant the Credit of the Nation is now ſo well eſtabliſhed, that all our publick Funds ſell at an advanced Price, and that therefore it is a Diſadvantage to the publick Creditors to be paid a Part of what is due to them; but the only Way of preſerving the Credit we now have, is to pay off our Debts as faſt as poſſible without contracting any new Debt, and in making ſuch Payments, to ſhew no Partiality or Favour to one Set of publick Creditors more than another. No Man can find Fault with us, or complain of Parti-

ality, on Account of our having a Regard to the publick Good, and paying off those Creditors first whose Debts, by reason of any Interest, Privilege, or Circumstance attending them, are most burdensom or inconvenient to the Nation in general; but so far as our Creditors are upon an equal Footing with respect to the publick Good, as it is a Disadvantage to every one of them to receive Payment of the Whole, or any Part of the Debt due to him, we ought to regulate our Payments in such a Manner as that the Disadvantage may fall upon all, exactly in Proportion to the Share each Man, or every Set of Men, have in those Debts.

According to this Proportion, Sir, we have already done Injustice to the *South-Sea* Company; for to take the Capitals of the *South-Sea*, *Bank*, and *East-India*, as they stood in the Year 1727, when the great Reduction of publick Interest took Place, and to which national Advantage the *South-Sea* Company contributed a great deal more than its Share, we must reckon that every *fourth* Payment at least ought to have been made to the *Bank*, and every *eleventh* or *twelfth* to the *East-India* Company; whereas we have already made five several Payments of *a Million* each to the *South Sea* Company, and one of 500,000*l.* without paying so much as one Shilling of the Capital either of the *Bank* or *East-India* Company; for tho' *one Million* has been paid to the *Bank*, yet Care was taken their Capital should not be thereby diminished, because the very next following Year, a new Sum of 1,250,000*l.* was borrowed from them, which must be redeemed, as well as every other Shilling due to them, before the Nation can get free of their exclusive Privilege. Can this, Sir, be called impartial Justice, or can it be said we have shewn this partial Favour to the *Bank* and *East-India*, for the Sake of publick Good, and because it is for the Interest of the Nation to support these two Companies, and continue them in Possession of that exclusive Privilege they now enjoy, and by which they have for many Years made so great an Advantage? No, Sir, I have shewn that if the publick Good be engaged on either Side of the Question, it is on the Side of the *South-Sea* Company, both because the greatest Debt is due to them, and because we cannot redeem their exclusive Privilege by the Redemption of their Capital, which we may do with respect to the other two.

But, Sir, we are told we ought to shew a Regard to the private Interest of the publick Creditors, by directing all future Payments to be made to those who will suffer the least by having a Part of their Capital paid off. With all my Heart, Sir, let us shew as much Regard to the private Interest of our Creditors as the publick Interest will admit; but do not let us shew a partial Regard to any one of them, or to any Set of them. We have already shewn a partial Regard to the *Bank* and *East-India* Company, we have already done Injustice to the *South-Sea* Company. This is the chief Reason for their Annuities selling at so low a Price; and from this which is the Effect of our former Partiality and Injustice, an Argument is now drawn for continuing that Injustice in all Time to come. I say in all Time to come, at least till our Debts be all paid off, which must be a very long Time, if we are to form a Judgment of it from our Management for these *twenty* Years past; for if this Argument be now of any Force, it will every Year acquire new Vigour, because the Partiality we shew to our other Funds, will make them increase in their current Value from Year to Year. From hence we may see the Weakness of this Argument, and surely if we are

to ſhew a Favour to any of our Creditors, or a partial Regard to the private Intereſt of any Set of them, it ought to be to thoſe who have made the leaſt Advantage by lending their Money to the Government; conſequently the *Bank* and *Eaſt-India* ought to be the firſt paid off, becauſe the Proprietors of both theſe Companies have been for many Years receiving large additional Dividends from the Profits of their Trade; whereas the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Stock or Annuities have never received ſo large additional Dividends from the Profits of their Trade, nor have they received any ſuch Dividend for ſo long a Time.

For this Reaſon, Sir, it muſt be granted, that tho' the Proprietors of *Bank* and *Eaſt-India* ſhould really loſe a little more than the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Annuities, the former will be much better able to bear that Loſs than we can ſuppoſe the latter to be; becauſe the more they have got by additional Dividends, the better able will they be to bear the Loſs they may ſuſtain by being paid off. But, Sir, I muſt upon this Occaſion take Notice, that the *South-Sea* Annuities are not at ſo low a Price in Proportion to our other Funds as ſome Gentlemen may imagine, nor will the Difference between the Loſs they may ſuſtain by having this next Payment applied to them, and the Loſs the *Bank* or *Eaſt-India* Proprietors might ſuſtain by its being applied to them, be near ſo great as the honourable Gentleman has been pleaſed to repreſent. For *South Sea* Annuities, in Proportion to their Dividend, are really at a higher Price than *Bank* Stock is at preſent; becauſe, if 4 *per Cent. per Annum*, the Dividend upon theſe Annuities, gives 113 *l.* their preſent Price, $5\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent. per Annum*, the Dividend upon *Bank* Stock, ought to give above 155 *l.* which is more than the preſent Price of *Bank* Stock; and with reſpect to *Eaſt-India* Stock, the preſent Price of it is not, in Proportion to its Dividend, much above the preſent Price of *South-Sea* Annuities; for if 4 *per Cent. per Annum* give 113 *l.* 6 *per Cent. per Annum*, the preſent *Eaſt-India* Dividend, ought to give near 170 *l.* ſo that at 180 *l.* the preſent high Price, it is but 10 *per Cent.* above the Proportion, and this Advance, we may believe, is in a great Meaſure owing to the Certainty the Proprietors have of not being obliged to receive any partial Payments for many Years to come.

Now, Sir, with reſpect to the Loſs either of theſe Sets of publick Creditors may ſuſtain by having the next Payment applied to them, it is certain the *South-Sea* Annuitants will loſe the whole Advance Price, that is, every one of them will loſe at the Rate of 13 *l. per Cent.* upon whatever Money he receives as his Share of that partial Payment; but we are not to ſuppoſe, that the Proprietors of *Eaſt-India* Stock will loſe at the Rate of 80 *l. per Cent.* or that the Proprietors of *Bank* Stock will loſe at the Rate of 50 *l. per Cent.* upon whatever Money any one of them ſhall receive as his Share of this next Payment, if it were to be made to either of them; becauſe, tho' a proportional Part of the Annuity due from the Government will ceaſe in every one of the three Caſes, yet, in the Caſe of the *Bank* and *Eaſt India* Company, the Proprietors have another Sort of Annuity, an additional Dividend, which ariſes from their Trade; and as the Trade of neither of them cannot either ceaſe or be diminiſhed by this next partial Payment's being made to them, by the Reduction of their Capital, this additional Dividend muſt of courſe increaſe upon the whole remaining Capital, and, conſequently, the current Price of the whole remaining Capital muſt riſe a great deal above the preſent Market-Price.

To

To illuſtrate what I have ſaid, Sir, by Figures, as far as the preſent Opportunity will permit, I ſhall ſuppoſe the Capital of the *South-Sea* Old Annuities not to exceed 10,000,000 *l.* the Capital of the *Bank* not to exceed the like Sum, and the Capital of the *Eaſt-India* Company not to exceed 3,000,000*l.* I know every one of theſe Capitals exceed the Sums I have mentioned, but in the preſent Caſe the Calculations will be the ſame, let their Capitals amount to what they will; and, I ſuppoſe theſe round Sums that my Calculations may be the more eaſily underſtood. Now, ſuppoſe the next Payment is to be made to *South-Sea* Old Annuities, as the Hon. Gentleman has propoſed; in that Caſe a Proprietor of 1000*l.* Capital will receive 100*l.* of his Capital, and, conſequently, will for the future, without a new Purchaſe, ſtand poſſeſſed of 900*l.* Capital only; ſo that he will loſe the advanced Price, being 13*l.* upon the 100*l.* paid off, no Part of which Loſs can be replaced to him by any Advantage his remaining Capital will receive, by means of the Payment then made by the Publick. Let me next ſuppoſe the Payment now under our Conſideration to be made to the *Bank*: In that Caſe a Proprietor of 1000*l.* Capital *Bank* Stock will receive 100*l.* conſequently he muſt have 100*l.* of his Capital annihilated, and will, therefore, for the future, without a new Purchaſe, ſtand poſſeſſed of 900*l.* Capital only; ſo that he will loſe the advanced Price, being 50*l.* but I ſhall now ſhew that a great Part of this 50*l.* will be replaced to him by an Advantage his remaining Capital muſt neceſſarily receive, by means of the Payment made by the Publick; for as the *Bank* make at preſent an additional Dividend of 1 ½ *per Cent. per Annum*, out of the Profits by their Trade, upon their whole Capital of 10,000,000 *l.* as that Capital will then be reduced to *nine Millions*, and as no Part of the Profits by their Trade will ceaſe or be diminiſhed, becauſe of the Payment thus made to them by the Publick, their whole Profits which were formerly divided upon *ten Millions* Capital, will for the future come to be divided upon *nine Millions* Capital only, which muſt neceſſarily increaſe their future Dividends, and conſequently enhance the Price of every Man's remaining Stock: As the *Bank* divides at preſent 1 ½ *per Cent.* from the Profits of their Trade upon the ſuppoſed Capital of 10,000,000 *l.* we muſt reckon the net Profits of their Trade to amount to 150,000 *l. per Annum*, and as this 150,000 *l. per Annum* will afterwards come to be divided upon *nine Millions* Capital only, the additional Dividend from the Profits of their Trade will then amount to 1 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d per Cent.* inſtead of 1 *l.* 10 *s.* therefore the future Dividends of the *Bank*, if this Payment be made to them, muſt neceſſarily be 5 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* and if a Dividend of 5 *l.* 10 *s.* makes their Capital ſell at 150 *l. per Cent.* a Dividend of 5 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* will make their remaining Capital, after *a Million* paid off, ſell at 154 *l.* 10 *s.* and upwards; ſo that every Proprietor of 1000*l.* Capital, will gain by the advanced Price of his remaining 900*l.* Capital, very near 41*l.* and, conſequently, we muſt reckon, that no Proprietor of *Bank* Stock will loſe more than at the Rate of about 9*l. per Cent.* by this next publick Payment's being made to the *Bank*; whereas every Proprietor of *South-Sea* Old Annuities will loſe at the Rate of 13*l. per Cent.* by its being made to them.

By the ſame Method of Calculation, Sir, we may find, that if *a Million* were to be paid at *Michaelmas* next to the *Eaſt-India* Company, and their Stock ſuppoſed not to exceed 3,000,000 *l.* the Proprietors would not loſe above 20*l. per Cent.* upon

upon the Stock annihilated by such Payment; because, as the whole Profits of their Trade would then come to be divided upon *two Millions* Capital, instead of *three*, every Man's remaining Stock would rise in Proportion to the Increase of the Dividend, which Advantage upon his remaining Stock would atone for the far greatest Part of the Loss upon his annihilated Stock. But, as I do not intend at present to make any Proposition for applying the growing Produce of the Sinking Fund to the *East-India* Company, I shall not trouble you with the Particulars of the Calculation. I know it may be said, that as every Payment made by the Publick sends a great Number of Purchasers to Market, the Price of *South-Sea* Old Annuities will certainly rise by such Payments being made to them; but this I have taken no Notice of, because it is an Advantage will accrue equally to the three Companies, or to which ever of them the Payment shall be made to; and, therefore, can make little or no Difference with respect to the Loss the Proprietors of either of them may sustain by having a Part of their Capital paid off.

Thus, Sir, it must appear that, if we have a Mind to shew a proper and impartial Regard to the publick Creditors, we cannot order the present growing Produce of the Sinking Fund to be applied towards paying off any Part of the *South-Sea* Company's Capital; and if we have a Mind to direct this next Payment to be made to those who will suffer the least by having a Part of their Capital paid off, I have shewn that the Proprietors of the *Bank* will suffer the least, and therefore the next Payment ought to be made to them. But if we have a Mind to shew a partial Favour to any one Set of publick Creditors, certainly the *South-Sea* Old and New Annuitants deserve it more than any other; for upon Examination it will be found, there are among them more Creditors in Proportion for small Sums, than there are in any of our other publick Funds; and as a rich Man is better able to bear a Loss than a poor Man, that Fund which has the greatest Number of poor Men in it deserves surely most of our Compassion, and consequently most of our Favour. To this I shall add another Motive for shewing more Favour to the *South-Sea* Annuitants, than to any other Set of publick Creditors, which is this: It will, I believe, upon Examination appear that, among the *South-Sea* Annuitants, there is a much smaller Number of Foreigners in Proportion, than there is among the Proprietors of any other of our Funds; and I must think, that Fund deserves most Favour from a *British* Parliament, which is most generally possessed by *British* Subjects, or at least it deserves equal Favour, which is all I have Occasion for at present, for shewing that the next Payment ought not to be made to the *South-Sea* Company.

And now, Sir, I shall conclude with taking Notice of a Circumstance relating to the *Bank*, which ought I think to be a prevailing Argument for our resolving that the next Payment shall be made to that Company. I mean the Expiration of their Term which now draws pretty near; for upon the *first* of *August* 1743, we may upon giving proper Notice pay off all that shall then remain due to that Company, and so put an End to their subsisting as a Corporation, unless they obtain from Parliament a Renewal of their Term, which certainly will not be granted without a very valuable Consideration. While the Debt due to them continues as large as it is at present, they need be under no Uneasiness, were their Term to expire To-morrow; because they know the Parliament cannot pay them off in *two* or *three* Years; and while they

are under no Uneasiness it is certain they will not be so fond of renewing, nor will they offer so large a Consideration. For this Reason I think it is absolutely necessary to begin now to pay them off; in order that we may have it in our Power, at the End of their Term, or soon after, to pay off the Whole, in Case we should then find it necessary to put an End to the Corporation, or in Case they should refuse to give such a Consideration for a Renewal as may be then thought just and reasonable.

I hope, Sir, I have now shewn that it is absolutely inconsistent with the publick Good, and with that impartial Justice which is due to all the Creditors of the Publick, to apply the present growing Produce of the Sinking Fund towards paying off any Part of the *South-Sea* Company's Capital; and that by applying it towards paying off the Annuitants of that Company, we do an Injustice to those who are best intitled to our Compassion and Favour. On the other Hand I think I have shewn, that if we have any Regard for the publick Good, if we have a Mind to distribute Justice impartially to all our Creditors, if we have a Mind to shew a Regard to the private Interest of our Creditors, by applying the next Payment to those who will suffer the least by its being made to them, we ought to resolve, *That the Sum of one Million shall be granted to his Majesty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the Governor and Company of the* Bank *of* England. Therefore I hope the Hon. Gentleman will amend his Motion by leaving out the Words, *of the* South-Sea *Company, as is now commonly called* Old South-Sea *Annuities*, and inserting in their stead, these Words, *of the Governor and Company of the* Bank *of* England.

To this it was replied in Substance as follows, *viz.*

Sir, As to the Power of Parliament over the Sinking Fund, I must still think it absolute and unlimited, notwithstanding all that has been now or formerly said to the contrary; and I have this Advantage, that I have several joint Resolutions of all the Branches of our Legislature in Favour of my Opinion. I cannot easily imagine the Parliament which established the Sinking Fund had any Intention to limit or restrain the Power of all future Parliaments, with respect to the Disposition of the Produce of that Fund: They knew it was an Intention they could not make effectual, and I cannot think the Wisdom of the Nation would propose or form to themselves an Intention which they knew they had no Power to make effectual; but this is not the Question now before us, and therefore I shall not take up your Time with expatiating upon the Subject.

If we could immediately redeem the original Fund of the *Bank*, which now bears an Interest of 6 *per Cent.* I must acknowledge, Sir, it would be a very good Argument for our applying this next Payment to that Company: Nay, it would be a good Argument for our borrowing Money at 4 *per Cent.* sufficient to pay off their whole Capital, in order to come at the Redemption of that Part of it which bears so high an Interest, in case they refused to comply with our Terms; but we know we cannot redeem or pay off that original Fund, till the Expiration of their Term, which has *six* Years to run from the *first of August* next; therefore, the high Interest upon that Part of their Capital can be no Reason for applying the present growing Produce of the Sinking Fund towards redeeming any other Part of their Fund, which bears the same Interest now payable upon almost all the publick Funds. We have at least *five* Years to think of Means for reducing the Interest payable

payable upon their original Fund, and, if at the End of that Term, it ſhould be thought neceſſary to aboliſh that Company, or put an End to their excluſive Privilege, it will be then eaſy, more eaſy than at preſent, to find Money at 4 *per Cent.* for paying off their whole Capital, tho' not a Shilling of it ſhould be paid off before that Time; for as the Number of Lenders upon publick Securities will be every Year increaſing by the Payments made out of the Sinking Fund, let them be made to whom they will, it will of courſe become every Year more eaſy for the Publick to borrow Money at 4 *per Cent.* nay, perhaps, even at 3 *per Cent.* than it can be now, or in any preceding Year. On the other hand, if upon the Expiration of that Term, it ſhould be thought proper to continue the *Bank*, and to continue them in the Poſſeſſion of their preſent excluſive Privilege, the more Capital they are then poſſeſſed of, the more able will they be to pay a large Conſideration to the Publick, for a new Term; and if they ſhould refuſe to comply with any reaſonable Terms that may then be propoſed by the Publick, I am convinced the larger their Capital then is, the more eaſy will it be to find a new Company of Adventurers ready to accept of the Terms offered by the Publick, and willing to advance Money ſufficient for paying off and aboliſhing the old Company; for every one knows, it muſt always be a great Advantage to a *Banking* Company to have a large Capital, and conſiderable Sums of ready Money coming in to them weekly from his Majeſty's *Exchequer*.

I confeſs, Sir, I am a little ſurprized to hear it inſinuated, that it would be more advantageous or convenient for the Publick, to owe a large Debt to any one Company, than to owe a Debt of equal Value to three or four different Companies. If the whole Debt we now owe were in the Hands of any one Company, it would be in the Power of that Company to diſtreſs the Publick whenever they had a Mind; whereas, while that Debt is in the Hands of ſeveral Companies, if one ſhould reſolve to diſtreſs, the others would probably reſolve to ſupport, and by that Means the Publick can never be in Danger of being diſtreſſed by either. Likewiſe, while the Debt continues to be in the Hands of ſeveral Companies, and while it continues to be a Diſadvantage to each of them to be paid off, as long as the Sinking Fund produces any Thing, it will be in the Power of the Publick to keep every one of them in Awe, and in ſome Manner to preſcribe to each, by threatning to apply the Sinking Fund ſolely to that Company which ſhall refuſe to comply with any reaſonable Propoſition that may be offered. In private Life, as well as publick, it is not ſo convenient to owe a large Debt to one Perſon, as to owe a Debt of equal Value, and at the ſame Intereſt, to ſeveral, provided the Debtor can be aſſured, that none of his Creditors will demand Payment till he is ready to offer it; for the Reaſon why Gentlemen of Eſtates generally borrow a large Sum from one Perſon, is becauſe a Man of Eſtate can borrow a large Sum at a lower Rate of Intereſt than he can borrow ſmall Sums; or becauſe ſome one or other of his ſmall Creditors is every Day teazing him for Payment, which keeps him in a conſtant State of Uneaſineſs and Trouble; but if a private Man owed 10,000*l.* to ten different Perſons, neither of whom, he was ſure, would ever ask Payment till he was ready to offer it, he would not ſurely, in common Prudence, offer to borrow 10,000*l.* at the ſame Intereſt from any one Perſon, in order to pay off theſe ten different Creditors; and if a Man had ſeveral Mortgages upon his Eſtate, and could

make partial Payments, without irritating his Creditor, I believe, common Prudence would direct him to apply all his partial Payments towards diminishing the largest Mortgage; because a Creditor for a large Sum has it always more in his Power to distress his Debtor, than a Creditor for a small Sum can have, unless the Debtor be a Man who has neither Fortune nor Credit. I shall grant it is better for the Publick to owe a large Debt to a Company, than to a great and disunited Multitude of private Persons; because to such a Multitude the Publick can offer no new Terms, nor can it enter into any Treaty or Transaction with them; whereas a Multitude united in a Company is always governed by the Majority, and is in Effect but one Person, so that Means may always be found for getting them all to agree to any new and reasonable Terms that may be offered. This was a good Reason for the Legislature's enabling the *South-Sea* Company to purchase in, or pay off all our redeemable and irredeemable Debts; but this can be no Reason for saying, that it would be better to have the whole publick Debts placed in the Hands of one great Company, than to have it placed in the Hands of three or four different Corporations; because the Publick may treat with each, and will always be able to treat more upon the Par with each, than if it had only one powerful and numerous Body to deal with.

As for the Disadvantage which an exclusive Privilege may be of to the Trade of the Nation in general, it cannot be of any Weight in the present Debate; because, if at the End of the Term granted to the *Bank* or *East-India* Company, it should be found necessary to abolish the *Bank*, or not to renew the exclusive Privilege of either of the two, it will, I am certain, be in the Power of the Publick to borrow as much Money, at a moderate Interest, as will be sufficient for redeeming either the one or the other, tho' not a Shilling should be paid to either of them before the Expiration of their Term; and, if it should be thought fit to continue them, and to renew their exclusive Privilege, it would be a Disadvantage to both, but especially the *Bank*, even with respect to their Trade, to have a great Part of their Capital paid off; in which Case the making of such Payments would certainly be an Injury done to the Trade of the Nation. But, tho' in most Sorts of Trade, an exclusive Privilege may be of bad Consequence, I am nevertheless of Opinion, that, with respect to the *Banking* Trade, and the Trade to the *East-Indies*, neither the one nor the other can be carried on with such Success, or in such an extensive Manner, by private Adventurers, as by a publick Company with such an exclusive Privilege as our present Companies have; and in this Opinion I am supported by the Example of our Neighbours the *Dutch*, who, I believe, understand Trade as well as most of their Neighbours, and, I may say, I hope, without giving any Offence, that they generally shew as disinterested a Regard for the Good of their Country, as any Nation now in *Europe*. The Circulating of *Bank* Bills, or Cash Notes, must certainly increase the current Cash of any Country, and must therefore be of great Use in Trade; consequently the more extensive and the more general such a Circulation is, the better will it be for the Inland Trade of that Country. 'Tis true, a private Man, or a Set of private Men, may, by a long Series of good Management, gain a very extensive Credit, but that Credit can never come to be so extensive, or near so general, as the Credit of a rich publick Company, that has supported itself with Honour for perhaps some Ages; because the Credit of a private Man always depends upon himself, so that when he dies, his

his Credit, as to any future Circulation, generally dies with him; for it muſt require ſome Time before thoſe who ſucceed can revive or regain it; whereas a publick Company never dies, nor can their Credit meet with any ſuch Interruption; and as their Managers are always choſen annually by the Company, there is a greater Security for its being under good Management, than a private *Bank*, whoſe chief Managers are always appointed by the Chance of natural or legal Succeſſion; therefore I ſhall always think it better for a Trading Country to have a publick *Bank*, than to truſt entirely to private *Bankers*. Then as to the *Eaſt-India* Trade, 'tis certain that Trade could not be carried on by private Adventurers, unleſs the Nation ſhould be at the Expence of ſupporting the Settlements, Forts, and Factories now ſupported by the Company; and even in that Caſe, the Ships proper for the Trade are ſo large and expenſive, and the Cargoes ſo rich, that I queſtion much if it could be carried on by private Men trading ſeparately. In ſhort, Sir, we know how our *Banking* and *Eaſt-India* Trade have proſpered under their preſent Regulation, but we cannot certainly judge how they would proſper in the Hands of private and ſeparate Adventurers; therefore, I muſt think, it would be a dangerous Experiment to diſſolve the Companies, and I am of Opinion neither of them can ſubſiſt without ſuch an excluſive Privilege as they now enjoy. However, we have now no Occaſion for determining this Queſtion; for, as I have ſaid, whatever Way it may be determined, when the Opportunity offers, it can be of no Weight in the preſent Debate; at leaſt if it is of any Weight, it muſt be in Favour of the Motion; becauſe if we ſhould once pay off any Part of the Capital of *Bank* or *Eaſt-India*, we cannot replace it, but by contracting a new Debt, (which, I hope we never ſhall) even tho' we ſhould afterwards reſolve to grant the Company a new Term.

With reſpect to the Trade carried on by our three great Companies, it muſt be granted, Sir, that the *South-Sea* Company has hitherto been far from carrying on ſuch a Trade as either of the other two; and altho' I am convinced, a Diminution of the Capital of the *Bank* or *Eaſt-India* would be a Diſadvantage to their Trade, yet I am far from being of Opinion, that the Diminution of the *South-Sea* Capital would be a Diſadvantage to any Sort of Trade they can be ſuppoſed to carry on in any Time to come; for their Capital is ſo large, that tho' the greateſt Part of it were paid off, they would, I think, have ſufficient remaining for enabling them to puſh their Trade as far as the Nature of it will admit of. But ſuppoſing, that by ſome extraordinary and unforeſeen Accident it ſhould happen otherwiſe, ſuppoſing the *South-Sea* Company ſhould become one of the moſt flouriſhing Trading Companies in the World, (which I ſhould be extremely glad to ſee) where any preſent Meaſure is to be taken, I ſhall always think it much ſafer to form a Judgment upon the Experience of what's paſt, than upon any Conjecture of what may happen in Time to come; and if we are now to be directed by the Experience of what's paſt, I am ſure it will be very eaſy to determine which of the three Capitals we may diminiſh, without running any Risk of injuring the Trade of the Company by ſuch Diminution.

Then, Sir, with reſpect to the Taxes mortgaged to the ſeveral Companies, it ſeems to be admitted that the Taxes mortgaged to the *South-Sea* Company are the moſt grievous; and if ſo, it would certainly be much better for the Parliament to have an abſolute Power of

abolishing all those Taxes, than to have only a conditional Power subject to the Controul of any Company in *England*; for tho' it may be probable that their Consent will always be readily obtained, by offering them a Security upon the Sinking Fund, for an Annuity equal to the yearly Produce of the Tax so to be abolished, yet the obtaining of such a Consent is what we cannot pretend to be infallibly sure of; and therefore I must think it most prudent for us to proceed as fast as possible in the Redemption of those Taxes which are allowed to be the most burdensom to the Nation in general. As for what has been said with regard to the *Salt-Duty*, it can have no Relation to the present Question, therefore I shall not take much Notice of it; but I must declare I am far from thinking it near so burdensom or inconvenient as the Hon. Gentleman was pleased to represent, nor did I ever think it so grievous as the *Land-Tax*. There is not a Man in the Kingdom that feels or complains of what he pays to the *Salt-Tax*, but most of the Land-holders in *England* severely feel every Shilling that is laid upon their Land, and most of them would complain if they were not convinced that the Parliament takes every Opportunity to relieve them. We must remember, that when the *Salt-Duty* was abolished, there was then no Competition in Parliament between it and the *Land-Tax*; if there had, I make no Doubt but that both Houses of Parliament would have been of the same Opinion they afterwards were, and would then, as well as afterwards, have determined that the *Land-Tax* was by far the most grievous of the two. But however grievous or dangerous the *Salt-Duty* may be, there can be no Occasion for applying the Produce of the Sinking Fund towards its Redemption; because in *seven* or *eight* Years it will of course expire; and if any Attempt should hereafter be made for continuing or reviving it, the Hon. Gentleman may then give his Reasons against it, when I am perswaded they will have great Weight, as they always have with every Man that hears him.

I hope, Sir, I have now shewn that all the Arguments which can be drawn from the publick Good of the Nation in general, plead strongly for your applying the next Payment towards redeeming so much of the *South-Sea* Capital, and that there is no Weight in any Thing that has been said to the contrary. I shall next consider that impartial Justice which is due to all our Creditors, and the Regard we ought to have for the private Interest of every one. As for that Rule of Proportion which has been laid down, and according to which it has been said we ought to make all our future Payments, I cannot think it would be either just or impartial, or that it would shew a proper Regard for our Creditors in general; for as every Payment we make must be attended with a Loss to those to whom it is made, we ought to make our Payments in such a Manner as that the Loss may always fall upon the greatest Number of Persons: A Loss that falls upon 3 or 400 Persons may be almost insensible to every one, whereas if the same Loss be made to fall upon 100 Persons only, it will be severely felt by every one, and may in all Probability prove ruinous to a great many. For this Reason we ought to make all or most of our Payments to that Capital which is the largest, till such Time as it be reduced upon a Par, or near upon Par, with some one of the other Capitals; consequently the next Payment, and perhaps several future Payments, ought to be applied to the *South-Sea* Company, because their Capital is by much the largest, and their Proprietors by far the most numerous, and therefore the Loss

Loſs cannot fall ſo heavy upon thoſe to whom the Payment is made.

'Tis true, Sir, there are, I believe, among the *South-Sea* Annuitants a great many Proprietors for ſmall Sums, perhaps more in Proportion than in any of our other publick Funds; but ſuch Proprietors have all ſomething elſe to depend on, and therefore are not ſo much Objects of Compaſſion as the Hon. Gentlemen would repreſent. They are generally Perſons concerned in ſome Sort of Trade or Buſineſs, and the ſmall Sum of Money that will fall to each Perſon's Share, out of any Payment to be made by the Publick, will, or at leaſt may be uſefully employed by them in the Buſineſs they are engaged in. The greateſt Objects of Compaſſion are the Proprietors for middling Sums, ſuch as have 1000*l. two*, or *three*, in ſome one of the publick Funds, and have no Trade or Buſineſs, nor any Thing to depend on for a Subſiſtence, but the Annuity or Dividends they receive from the Company. By ſuch Proprietors the Loſs will be ſeverely felt, becauſe they can make no Uſe of the Money they receive, but by laying it out again upon the Purchaſe of Stock or Annuities at a very great Diſadvantage, and many of them may perhaps be tempted to waſte it in ſome Sort of Extravagance; but of ſuch Proprietors there are, I believe, in Proportion, as many in our other Funds as in the *South-Sea* Annuities, and therefore the latter deſerve no particular Favour upon that Account. As for Foreigners, I ſhall not take upon me to ſay which of our publick Funds are moſt generally poſſeſſed by them; but I am ſurpriz'd to hear it ſo much as inſinuated, that we ought to ſhew any greater Favour to our own Subjects than to thoſe Foreigners who have put ſuch a Confidence in the Honour of this Nation, as to truſt us with the whole or the greateſt Part of their Fortunes: I hope I ſhall never ſee any ſuch Doctrine eſtabliſhed, becauſe I am of Opinion it would tend both to the Diſhonour and Diſcredit of the Nation, and might be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, if ever this Nation ſhould again be plunged in a War as expenſive as the laſt. I wiſh it had not been mentioned; but ſince it has, I think it one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments can be made uſe of for inducing us to agree to the Motion, in order to convince the whole World, that this Houſe will never give the leaſt Countenance to ſuch a Doctrine. I muſt now, Sir, beg Leave to conſider the Calculations that have been made for ſhewing that the *South-Sea* Annuitants will ſuſtain a greater Loſs by the next Payment's being made to them, than the Proprietors of *Bank* Stock would ſuſtain, if the next Payment ſhould be applied to them. The Calculations I muſt confeſs are ingenious enough, but they are all founded upon two Suppoſitions, neither of which, I am afraid, will hold. They are all founded upon theſe two Suppoſitions, that neither the Trade of the *Bank* or *Eaſt-India* Company will be in the leaſt diminiſhed by our paying off a Part of their Capital, and that the remaining Stock will riſe in its Value according to the Increaſe of the future Dividends. As to the firſt of theſe Suppoſitions, I am convinced it will not hold, eſpecially with reſpect to the *Bank*; for by paying *a Million* to them, we ſhall make them loſe near 800 *l.* a Week, which is now coming in to them weekly from the *Exchequer*, as a Supply for the ready Specie they find it neceſſary to keep always by them, in order to circulate the Caſh Notes or *Bank* Bills they have out; therefore, upon the ceaſing of that weekly Supply, they muſt either diminiſh the Number of Notes they now have in Circulation, or they muſt keep a greater Stock of ready Specie by them; by either

either of which they must necessarily diminish the Profits of their Trade, and consequently this Supposition must appear not to be well founded. Then as to the other Supposition, I do not think there is the least Foundation for it, because we know, the Price of any Sort of Stock depends as much upon the particular Whim or Humour that may happen to prevail, as the Price of any Commodity whatever. It neither depends upon the Dividend to be made, nor upon the Certainty or Probability that the Dividend will be increased or continued. Of this the present Market Prices of our Stocks is a convincing Proof; for if one were to judge from common Sense, or the Reason of Things, it is certain the Price of *Bank* Stock ought to be higher in Proportion to its Dividend than the Price of any other publick Fund in *England*, and yet we find it is lower than either *East-India* Stock or *South-Sea* Annuities; therefore to suppose that any Stock will rise in Proportion to the Increase of its Dividend, must be a very uncertain and deceitful Foundation for any Calculation. On the contrary, our directing the next Payment to be made to the *Bank* would, I believe, possess the Generality of Mankind with an Opinion, that we were resolved to abolish the Company at the End of their Term, which would of course run the Price of their Stock down to very near Par, and consequently I think it most reasonable to believe, that the Proprietors of *Bank* Stock would not only lose at the Rate of 50 *l. per Cent.* upon their Stock annihilated, but very near 50 *l. per Cent.* upon all their remaining Stock, in Case we now resolve that the next Payment shall be made to them.

For these Reasons, Sir, and a great many others, which I shall wave troubling you with at present, I am still of Opinion, notwithstanding what has been said by the Hon. Gentlemen on the other Side of the Question, that if we have a Mind to shew a proper Regard to the publick Good, and to the private Interest of our publick Creditors in general, we ought to apply the present growing Produce of the Sinking Fund towards redeeming the like Sum of the *South-Sea* Company's Capital; and that, considering the great Amount of that Company's Capital, considering how far it exceeds the Capital of any other Company, neither our having applied so many successive Payments towards the reducing of that Capital, nor our applying this next Payment to the same Purpose, can be charged with any Injustice or Partiality; therefore, I am for agreeing to the Motion as it now stands, and, I hope, the House will join with me in Opinion.

After this Debate, the Question was put upon the Motion, and carried in the Affirmative without a Division.

The Speakers for the Motion were, Sir *R—t W——le*, *T——y W——n*, Esq; *J——n B——ce*, Esq; *S——l H——n*, Esq; Sir *W——m Y——ge*, Mr. *A——n H——te*, and the L——d *S——n*; and the Speakers against the Motion were, Sir *J——n B——rd*, *W——m P——y*, Esq; Sir *W——m W——m*, Sir *J——n H——d C——n*, Sir *J——n R——t*, Sir *T——y S——n*, the L——d *B——rt*, *S——l S——ys*, Esq; and the M——r of the R——lls.

On Monday the 14th this Resolution was reported to the House, and agreed to without any formed Debate; but upon that Occasion, Sir *J——n B——rd*, and some others, spoke to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

Sir, I shall not now oppose our agreeing to the Resolution of the Committee; but the only Argument made use of in the Committee in favour of the Motion, which to me seemed to have any Weight, *was*, That at the End of the Term last granted to the *Bank*, and which expires

pires in *Auguſt* 1743, it would be eaſy for the Government to raiſe Money at 4 *per Cent.* ſufficient to pay them off, in caſe it ſhould be thought fit to aboliſh the Company, or put an End to their excluſive Privilege; or in caſe the preſent Company ſhould refuſe the Terms offered for renewing their excluſive Privilege. I confeſs, Sir, this Argument had very little Weight with me; becauſe, in my Opinion, it will be impoſſible for the Government to raiſe 10,000,000 *l.* Sterling at once, at 4 *per Cent.* or any other Intereſt, eſpecially when we have ſuch a powerful and rich Company to oppoſe it, as the preſent *Bank* is, who, by the Indulgence that has been of late Years ſhewed them, are in ſome Meaſure become Maſters of the publick Credit of the Nation, and who will certainly oppoſe, with all their Might, a Scheme concerted for the Ruin of their Company, and for making every particular Man in it loſe at leaſt 50*l. per Cent.* of what he may then call himſelf worth: This, I ſay, appears to me impoſſible; and if we judge from the Experience of paſt Times, I am ſure we muſt conclude it will be impoſſible; but ſuch ſeems to be the Fatality of ſome Gentlemen, that when the Experience of what's paſt ought to perſuade us to take any particular Meaſure for the publick Good, they then judge from very improbable Conjectures of what may happen in Time to come; and when probable Conjectures of what may happen ought to prevail with us to take any particular Meaſure for the publick Good, they then determine themſelves by the Experience of paſt Times, tho' the Circumſtances are very far from being the ſame.

This, Sir, is the very Caſe, with reſpect to their Method of judging about the future Price of *Bank* Stock. 'Tis true, while a Spirit of Stock-jobbing prevailed in this Kingdom, while that Spirit was encouraged by thoſe who ought to have behaved in a quite different Manner, the Price of Stock very much depended upon what was called the Whim or Humour of *'Change-Alley*, which was never governed by Reaſon, but by Art and fraudulent Practices; but ſince that Spirit has ſubſided, and the chief Method of keeping it up has been aboliſhed by Act of Parliament, People now begin to judge reaſonably, and, therefore, the Price of Stock now depends very much upon the Dividend made, and the Probability that the ſame Dividend will be continued, or perhaps increaſed. For this very Reaſon *Bank* Stock does now ſell, and ought to ſell, at a lower Price in Proportion than *South-Sea* Annuities; becauſe People know that the *Bank*'s Term is near expiring, that a large Sum of Money muſt ſoon be paid for a Renewal, and that that Sum muſt be taken from the Capitals they have or may have in *Bank* Stock, or from the future Dividends they may expect from ſuch Capitals. This I was aware of when I made my Calculation, and, therefore, I founded it upon the preſent low Price of *Bank* Stock, and not upon that Price it ought to bear in Proportion to *South-Sea* Annuities; and by our doing Juſtice to the other publick Creditors, no Man can be induced to believe we will do Injuſtice to the *Bank*, by paying them off ſooner than any of the other publick Creditors; for if the *Bank* be willing to pay a juſt Price for the Continuance of their Company, and if that Continuance be no Detriment to the Publick, it would be unjuſt to make any more than proportional Payments to them; ſo that by our reſolving that the next Payment ſhould be made to the *Bank*, the Proprietors could take no Alarm, unleſs they either think that the Continuance of their Privilege would be a Detriment to the Publick, or are reſolved not to pay a proper Conſideration for it; in either

either of which Cases it would be a just Alarm, an Alarm we ought not to prevent; because it would be better the Loss should fall upon them by Degrees, than that it should fall all at once, as in either of these Cases it must do at the End of their present Term. As to the Profits the *Bank* makes, or may make by its Trade, I shall only take Notice, that the Quantity of ready Specie they are obliged to keep by them, depends but very little on the Value of Notes they have out, but upon the Extent of their Credit, and the Circumstances of publick Affairs at the Time: A *Bank* newly set up, or of a very small Capital, must keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them in Proportion to the Notes they have out, than a *Bank* of established Credit, or of a larger Capital than their Trade can possibly require, which is the Case of our present *Bank*; and when publick Affairs are in a variable and unsettled Condition, every *Bank* ought to keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them in Proportion to the Notes they have in Circulation, than when the Sky is clear and every Thing appears serene: Therefore the paying them off *a Million*, I am convinced, would neither diminish their Circulation, nor oblige them to keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them, than they do at present, and consequently could no Way diminish their Trade.

Thus, Sir, I could shew there is no Weight in any one Argument that has been made use of for preventing our making the next Payment to the *Bank*; but this I did not rise up for, nor should I have taken any Notice of the chief Argument made use of, but that I think, if there be any Thing at all in the Argument, it must be of great Weight with respect to what I am to propose, and, therefore, I hope I shall have the Concurrence of all those who thought it a good Argument, and particularly of the Hon. Gentleman who made use of it. Sir, if we are now in such Circumstances as that we may any Way expect in 6 Years Time to be able to raise 10,000,000 *l.* at once, and that in Spite of the most opulent Company in *England*, I am sure we may now begin to think of reducing the Interest payable to the publick Creditors, and may begin to take some Measures for that Purpose. I wish some such Proposition had come from the other Side of the House; for some Gentlemen seem to be resolved not to approve of any Proposition or Scheme but what comes from themselves, and, to return the Compliment, their Reasons are so weighty, that they generally prevail. As for my own Part, if my Reasons have any Weight with those that hear me, I am sure I have but seldom been heard by the Majority of this House, ever since I had the Honour to sit in Parliament, and yet I have always raised my Voice as much as I could. This has always made me shy of making any Proposition to the House, or of offering any Scheme, which I thought might tend to the Good of my Country; but the pleasing Prospect the Hon. Gentlemen have given us of the flourishing and happy State of our Country 6 Years hence, emboldens me now to make you a Proposition, because from what they have said, I cannot but expect their Concurrence, and from thence I have good Reason to expect Success.

Tho' my Hopes are not quite so sanguine, tho' I am of Opinion we can never be in such Circumstances as to be able to raise 10,000,000 *l.* at once, in Spite of the *Bank*, yet, Sir, I am convinced, it is now high Time for us to think of reducing the Interest payable to our publick Creditors; and my Reason for thinking so is neither founded upon past Experience, nor upon future Conjecture, but upon our present Circumstances: I mean, Sir, the present high Price of all our publick

publick Funds, and in particular the high Price of our publick Securities, which bear an Intereſt only of *three per Cent.* When ſuch Securities are at *five* or *ſix per Cent.* above Par, it is a certain Proof that the natural Intereſt of Money, upon publick Securities at leaſt, is below 4 *per Cent.* that many of the publick Creditors would be glad to accept of an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* rather than be paid off, and that the Government might borrow ſome Money, I ſhall not pretend now to aſcertain the Sum, at 3 *per Cent.* in order to pay off a Part of thoſe publick Creditors, who ſhould not appear willing to accept of ſo low an Intereſt.

I ſay, Sir, I ſhall not now pretend to determine what Sum we might be able to borrow at 3 *per Cent.* I believe it would be but ſmall, becauſe, I believe, the *Bank* would refuſe to concur with the Government in any ſuch Undertaking, and will always refuſe as long as the Intereſt payable to them is at 4 *per Cent.* For this Reaſon, among others, I was for our reſolving that the next Payment ſhould be made to the *Bank*; becauſe ſuch a Reſolution would have enabled us to bring the Intereſt payable upon the whole *Bank* Capital down to 3 *per Cent.* in 2 or 3 Years. If we had ordered *a Million* to be paid to them at *Michaelmas* next, we might, without doing any Injuſtice, have ordered that no Part of that Payment ſhould have been applied towards ſuch of the Proprietors of the *Bank* as were willing to accept of an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* upon that Part of the Capital which belonged to them; but that the Whole ſhould have been applied towards diminiſhing the Capital of thoſe who were not willing to accept of ſuch an Intereſt; and for this Purpoſe the Government might have been impowered to open Books of Subſcription for the *Bank* Proprietors to come in and ſubſcribe for that Part of the Capital which belonged to each of them: And further, as an Encouragement for the Proprietors of the *Bank* to come in and ſubſcribe, it might have been ordered that no future Payment ſhould have been applied towards paying off any Part of the Capital ſo ſubſcribed, as long as there had been any Part of the *Bank* Capital unſubſcribed. By this Means, I do not know but we might, even at *Michaelmas* next, have brought the whole Capital of the *Bank*, at leaſt all that Part of it which can be paid off before the End of their Term, down to 3 *per Cent.* In which Caſe, as no Money could then have been iſſued from the Sinking Fund at *Michaelmas* next, we would have had above *two Millions* to have diſpoſed of next Seſſion of Parliament; and with above *two Millions* in ready Money, and what we might then have borrowed, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Bank*, at 3 *per Cent.* I do not know but it would have been in our Power, to have brought the whole publick Debt to 3 *per Cent.* at the very next *Michaelmas* following; for if the Intereſt payable to the *Bank* ſhould once be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* it is certain they would then aſſiſt us as much as they could, to bring all our other Debts down to the ſame Rate of Intereſt; and tho' I am far from thinking we ſhall in 5 or 6 Years be able to borrow 10,000,000 *l.* at once, even at 4 *per Cent.* in Spite of the *Bank*, yet I am convinced that at preſent, with their Aſſiſtance, we might be able to borrow *eight* or *ten Millions* at once at 3 *per Cent.* eſpecially if the Proprietors of our Funds were enabled to ſubſcribe their reſpective Capitals, with an Aſſurance that no Part of the Capital ſo ſubſcribed ſhould be paid off for a certain Term of Years.

This Propoſition, Sir, would certainly have had the greateſt and the moſt uſeful Effect, if upon theſe Terms the next Payment had been ordered to be made to the *Bank*; but even ſuppoſe we ſhould agree with our Committee, ſuppoſe we ſhould reſolve that *a Million* be granted to

his Majeſty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increaſed Capital of the *South-Sea* Company, as is now commonly called *Old South-Sea* Annuities, the ſame Propoſition may, I think, be applied to them, and may have a very good Effect, at leaſt I am ſure it can be attended with no bad Conſequence; for as the delaying to pay off any Part of our publick Debts is now a Favour, it is both juſt and reaſonable that Favour ſhould be beſtowed upon thoſe who are willing to accept of an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* inſtead of 4. Therefore my Propoſition now is, that in order to ſee which or how many of the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants are willing to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for a certain Term of Years, rather than be paid off any Part of their preſent Capital, the Government, or the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, ſhould be impowered to open Books of Subſcription for ſuch of the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants as are willing to accept of an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years certain, rather than be paid off any Part of their preſent Capital at *Michaelmas* next, or at any other Time during that Term; and that it ſhould be ordered, that no Part of the *Million* to be paid at *Michaelmas* next ſhall be applied towards paying off any Part of the Capital ſo ſubſcribed, but that the Whole ſhall be divided and applied *pro rata* towards diminiſhing the Capital of ſuch of the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants as ſhall not ſubſcribe before *Michaelmas* next. If all the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants ſhould ſubſcribe, the Conſequence will be, that no Part of the *Million* can then be iſſued from the Sinking Fund at *Michaelmas* next; in which Caſe we ſhall have *two Millions* to diſpoſe of in next Seſſion of Parliament, and with theſe *two Millions*, we may, I am confident, be able to reduce the Capital of the *Bank* likewiſe to 3 *per Cent.* at the very next *Michaelmas* following; after which we ſhall have no Difficulty to reduce the *New South-Sea* Annuities and all our other publick Funds to the ſame Rate of Intereſt.

As a Reſolution ſeems now to be formed, that none of our other Creditors ſhall have a Shilling paid to them, till all the *South Sea* Annuities be paid off, I ſhall ſhew that it is no very unreaſonable Suppoſition to ſuppoſe, that all the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants would ſubſcribe before *Michaelmas* next; for which Purpoſe I ſhall ſuppoſe *Old* and *New South-Sea* Annuities to amount to 25,000,000*l.* and that neither of them will ever ſell for any Price above or under 113*l. per Cent.* In this Caſe, if *a Million* ſhould be paid to them yearly, it will amount to 4 *per Cent.* the firſt Year; ſo that every one of the Proprietors will have 4 *per Cent.* of his Capital annihilated, which at 113*l. per Cent.* is worth about 4*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* and therefore, as he receives only 4*l.* in Money, he muſt loſe, the very firſt Year, 10*s.* 5*d.* which Loſs, by the yearly Diminution of the Capital, and the yearly Increaſe of the Sinking Fund, will increaſe every Year ſo faſt, that in *five* or *ſix* Years, I reckon, every Proprietor will loſe 1 *per Cent.* upon the Capital he is poſſeſſed of, by every Payment made by the Publick; for which Reaſon every Proprietor of *South-Sea* Annuities, if he underſtands his own Intereſt, would certainly chuſe to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years certain, rather than remain ſubject to the Annihilation of ſo much of his Capital yearly, and the Trouble of receiving ſuch partial Payments, and of replacing thoſe Payments ſome Way at Intereſt, or inveſting them in ſome Sort of Trade or Buſineſs.

I have made the Calculation, Sir, upon *Old* and *New South-Sea* Annuities taken together, for the Sake of Eaſe and Perſpicuity; but it will come out the ſame, if we make the Calculation upon the two, ſeparately; and, therefore, I think there is a great Probability in ſuppoſing that all the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants will become Subſcribers for accepting 3

per

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per Cent. upon their Capital, for 14 Years certain, before *Michaelmas* next, if we give them an Opportunity of ſo doing; becauſe if any Number of them ſhould ſubſcribe, the Loſs will fall extreamly heavy upon thoſe who do not, which will of courſe be a prevailing Argument with the moſt obſtinate. But ſuppoſe no one of them does come in to ſubſcribe, it can be attended with no bad Conſequence; the Government will then have nothing to do but to iſſue the *Million* at *Michaelmas* next, and it will be diſtributed *pro rata* among the *Old South Sea* Annuities, according to the Direction of Parliament.

Before I conclude, Sir, I muſt take Notice, that we ought to endeavour, as much as poſſible, to reduce the Rate of Intereſt, eſpecially upon the Debt due to the *Bank*, before we come to any Agreement about granting them a new Term; for if we do not, the Reduction of their Intereſt to 3 *per Cent.* will be look'd on, perhaps, as a full Conſideration for that new Term; whereas if it ſhould be reduced before that Time, the Conſideration muſt be paid wholly in ready Money, which will enable us to pay off any Debts that may be ſtill ſtanding out at 4 *per Cent.*

Thus, Sir, I have laid before you a Propoſition, which, I am ſure, may tend greatly to the Benefit of the Publick, and can be attended with no bad Conſequence, nor with the leaſt Danger of any bad Conſequence; yet, nevertheleſs, I ſhould not, I believe, have had the Courage to offer it, if the great Hopes given us by ſome Hon. Gentlemen in the Committee, of our being able to do Wonders 5 or 6 Years hence, had not made me imagine, that I ſhould certainly have their Concurrence. Whether we can now properly take this Affair into our Conſideration, I do not know; but if it ſhould be thought we cannot, I think we ought to reſolve ourſelves into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the National Debt, or into ſome ſuch Committee, in order to take this or any other Propoſition of the ſame Nature that may then be offered into our Conſideration; for ſurely we ought not to ſit here and ſee 3 *per Cent.* Securities ſelling at a *Premium*, without endeavouring to take ſome Advantage of that favourable Conjuncture, for lowering the Intereſt of theſe National Debts which now bear an Intereſt of 4 *per Cent.*

Upon this it was ſaid by Sir *R—t W——le*, and ſome others, That publick Credit was a Thing of ſuch a tickliſh Nature, it was dangerous to meddle with it at any Rate, but much more, to make any Step which might affect it, without the moſt mature Conſideration. That in a very few Years we might, perhaps, be able to reduce the Whole, or the greateſt Part of the publick Debts to an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* but they were afraid it was not yet Time to make any ſuch Attempt. That to make any ſuch Attempt without Succeſs, would certainly be attended with bad Conſequences; for as publick Credit depended intirely upon the Opinion of the Generality of Mankind, a vain and unſucceſsful Attempt to reduce the Intereſt payable upon any of our publick Funds, would be attended at leaſt with this bad Conſequence, that it would give many People a mean Opinion of the Wiſdom and Prudence of the Government; and no Man would truſt, or continue to truſt his Fortune in the Hands of thoſe whoſe Wiſdom and Prudence he had no good Opinion of; ſo that the attempting to reduce the Intereſt might give a much greater Check to publick Credit than ſome Gentlemen ſeemed to be aware of, and might put it out of their Power to reduce the Intereſt payable upon any of the publick Funds, for a much longer Time than it would have been, if no ſuch unſeaſonable Attempt had been made.

However, they said, they were not against going into such a Committee as had been proposed; because Gentlemen would then have Time to consider of what they were about; and if any feasable Scheme should be there proposed for reducing the Interest now payable upon any of the publick Funds, they should most readily agree to it. Whereupon, the Resolution of the Committee of Supply was agreed to without a Division; and then 'twas resolved, That the House would, upon that Day Se'nnight, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the National Debt; after which 'twas ordered, that a State of the National Debt, as it was the *first* of *Feb.* last, should be laid before the House.

This State was accordingly laid before the House on *March* 18. (See the following Schemes.)

During the Time this Affair relating to the Disposition of the Sinking Fund, was depending in the H—se of C——s, the great Affair relating to the Murder of Cap. *Porteous*, by the Mob at *Edinburgh*, was resumed in the H—se of L—ds; for that House having ordered several Persons to attend on *March* 10. as mentioned in our *Magazine* for *June*, Pages 284 and 300; and the several Persons having attended accordingly, and the several Papers called for being laid before the House, their Lordships, on that Day, began their Inquiry into that famous Affair; but as it took up the whole remaining Part of the Session, being one of the last Things that was done in either House, we shall defer it till towards the End of our *Journal*, when our Readers may expect a full and regular Account of that important Affair, and not such *incoherent Scraps*, or such *blundering pretended Extracts of Speeches*, as have been published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

[*This Journal to be continued in our next.*]

An Account of the Produce of the Sinking Fund *in the Year* 1736, *and to the Payment of what Debts contracted before* December 25, 1716, *the said* Fund *has been applied.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*	Dr.			*Per Contra.*	Cr.		
The Excheq. to Cash of S. Fund on *Dec.* 31, 1735, is					137730	13	10	By Money issued towards discharging the National Debt between *Dec.* 31, 1735, and *Dec.* 31, 1736.			
To the Produce of S. Fund between *Dec.* 31, 1735, and *Dec.* 31, 1736, *viz.*								To the *S. S.* Comp. in Discharge of so much of their Capital Stock of New Annuities.	*l.* 1000000	*s.*	*d.*
On the aggregate Fund.	697996	15	9								
General Fund.	381616	13	11								
S. S. Comp. Fund.	123834	9	9	2	1203447	19	6	To *Geo.* Lord *Middleton, & aliis*, for a Debt on the Bankers Annuities, the Money reserv'd for the Payment of the said Ann. being carried to the S. F. by an Act 13 *G.*	2439	16	11
								To compleat the 1000000 *l.* granted for the Year 1735.	57984	16	9
								To make good the Deficiencies of Lottery Annuities in 1731, at *Christmas* 1735.	10043	3	10
					1341178	13	4	To pay Interest on the Loan on the Salt Duty further continued, 1735.	10000		
								To pay the Annuities on 600000*l.* at 3 *p. Ct.* granted 1736, due at *Christmas* 1736.	9000		
									1089467	17	6
								Bal. in Cash *D.* 31, 1736.	251710	15	10
									1341178	13	4

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A State of the National Debt, *provided or unprovided for by Parliament, as it stood* December 31, 1735, *and* December 31, 1736.

	Amount of the National Debt upon Dec. 31, 1735.			*Increased between* Dec. 31, 1735, *and* Dec. 31, 1736.	*Paid off within the said Time.*	*Amount of the National Debt upon* Dec. 31, 1736.		
EXCHEQUER.								
Annuities for long Terms, being the Remainder of the original Sum contributed and unsubscribed to the *S. S.* Comp.	*l.* 1836275	*s.* 17	*d. q.* 10 3		*l.*	*l.* 1836275	*s.* 17	*d. q.* 10 3
Ditto for Lives, with Benefit of Survivorship, being the original Sum contributed.	108100	0	0			108100		
Ditto payable on 2 or 3 Lives, being the Sum remaining after what is fallen in by Deaths.	127899	8	0 3		1700	126199	8	0
Annuities at 9*l. p. Ct. p. Ann.*	161108	6	8			161108	6	8
Ditto on Lottery 1710.	109290	0	0			109290		
Annuities on the Plate Act 6 *Georgii primi Regis.*	312000					312000		
Ditto on *Nevis* and St. *Christopher's* Debentures at 3*l. p. Ct.*	37821	5	1 1			37821	5	1
Annuities at 3*l.* 10*s. per Cent.* for the Year 1731.	400000					400000		
Exchequer Bills on the Victuallers Act *Anno* 1726.	481400					481400		
Ditto made out for Interest on old Bills exchanged.	2200					2200		
Duties on Salt continued *Anno* 1734.	950000			500000	160000	790000		
Duties on Salt continued *Anno* 1735.				600000		600000		
The Land-Tax and Duties on Malt being annual Grants, are not charged in this Account, nor the 100000*l.* charg'd on the Deductions of 6*d. per* Pound.								
EAST-INDIA Company.								
By two Acts of Parliament 9 *Will. Regis*, and two other Acts 6 & 10 *Annæ Reginæ.*	3200000					3200000		
BANK of ENGLAND.								
On their original Fund at 6*l. per Cent.*	1600000					1600000		
For cancelling Exchequer-Bills *Anno* 3 *Georgii primi.*	1500000					1500000		
Purchased of the *South-Sea* Company.	4000000					4000000		
Annuities at 4*l. per Cent.* charged on the Duty of Coals since *Lady-Day* 1719.	1750000					1750000		
Ditto charged on the Surplusses of the Funds for Lottery 1714.	1250000					1250000		
Ditto for Lottery 1731.	800000					800000		
SOUTH SEA Company.								
On their Capital Stock and Annuities 9 *Georgii primi Regis.*	29302203	5	6 3		1000000	28302203	5	6
	47928298	3	3 2	1100000	1161700	47866598	3	3

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As the Chriſtian, *the* Gentleman *and the* Friend, *appear in a ſtrong Light in the following Letter, we doubt not but it will be acceptable; as every Thing muſt be that proceeded from that excellent Author.*

Weekly Miſcellany, Sept. 30. N° 249.

A LETTER written by the late excellent Archbiſhop TILLOTSON *to* CHARLES *Earl of* Shrewsbury.

My LORD,

IT was a great Satisfaction to me to be any Ways inſtrumental in the gaining your Lordſhip to our Religion, which I am really perſuaded to be the Truth. But I am and always was more concern'd that your Lordſhip would continue a virtuous and good Man, than become a Proteſtant, being aſſured that the Ignorance and Errors of Mens Underſtanding will find a much eaſier Forgiveneſs with GOD than the Faults of the Will. I remember that your Lordſhip once told me, that you would endeavour to juſtify the Sincerity of your Change, by a conſcientious Regard to all other Parts and Actions of your Life. I am ſure you cannot more effectually condemn your own Act than by being a worſe Man after your Profeſſion to have embraced a better Religion. I will certainly be one of the laſt to believe any Thing of your Lordſhip that is not good; but I always feared I ſhould be one of the firſt that ſhould hear it. The Time I laſt waited upon your Lordſhip, I had heard ſomething that afflicted me very ſenſibly; but I hoped it was not true, and was therefore loth to trouble your Lordſhip about it: But having heard the ſame from thoſe, who, I believe bear no Ill-will to your Lordſhip, I now think it my Duty to acquaint you with it. To ſpeak plainly, I have been told that your Lordſhip is of late fallen into a Converſation dangerous both to your Reputation and Virtue, two of the tendereſt and deareſt Things in the World. I believe your Lordſhip to have a great Command and Conduct of yourſelf; but I am very ſenſible of human Frailty, and of the dangerous Temptations to which Youth is expoſed in this diſſolute Age. Therefore I earneſtly beſeech your Lordſhip to conſider, beſides the high Provocation of Almighty GOD, and the Hazard of your Soul, whenever you engage in a bad Courſe, what a Blemiſh you will bring upon a fair and unſpotted Reputation; what Uneaſineſs and Trouble you will create to yourſelf, from the ſevere Reflections of a guilty Conſcience, and how great a Violence you will offer to your good Principles, your Nature and your Education, and to a Mind the beſt made for virtuous and worthy Things: And do not imagine you can ſtop when you pleaſe; Experience ſhews us the contrary, and that nothing is more vain than for Men to think they can ſet Bounds to themſelves in any Thing that is bad. I hope in GOD no Temptation has yet prevailed on your Lordſhip ſo far as to be guilty of any looſe Act: If it has, as you love your Soul let it not proceed to an Habit: The Retreat is yet eaſy and open, but will every Day become more difficult and obſtructed. GOD is ſo merciful, that upon your Repentance and Reſolution of Amendment, he is not only ready to forgive what is paſt, but to aſſiſt us by his Grace to do better for the future. But I need not enforce theſe Conſiderations upon a Mind ſo capable of and eaſy to receive good Counſel. I ſhall only deſire your Lordſhip to think again and again how great a Point of Wiſdom it is in all our Actions to conſult the Peace of our Minds, and to have no Quarrel with the conſtant and inſeparable Companion of our Lives: If others diſ-

pleaſe us, we may quit their Company; but he that is diſpleaſed with himſelf is unavoidably unhappy, becauſe he has no Way to get rid of himſelf.

My Lord,

For GOD's Sake and your own think of being happy, and reſolve by all Means to ſave yourſelf from this untoward Generation. Determine rather upon a ſpeedy Change of your Condition, than to gratify the Inclinations of your Youth in any Thing but what is lawful and honourable, and let me have the Satisfaction to be aſſured from your Lordſhip, either that there has been no Ground for this Report, or that there ſhall be none for the future, which will be the welcomeſt News to me in the World. I have only to beg of your Lordſhip to believe that I have not done this to ſatisfy the Formality of my Profeſſion, but that it proceeds from the trueſt Affection and good Will that one Man can poſſibly bear to another. I pray to GOD every Day for your Lordſhip with the ſame Conſtancy and Fervour as for myſelf, and do now moſt earneſtly beg that this Counſel may be acceptable and effectual. *I am*, &c.

Craftſman, Oct. 1. N° 586.

Political MONEY-DROPPERS.

AMONGST all the indirect Means of getting Money, none hath been more practiſed amongſt us than what is called *Money-dropping*, or cheating ignorant People, by throwing a little Piece of Money in their Way, and crying *Halves*; which gives the *Artiſt* an Opportunity of getting into their Company, under Pretence of ſpending the Money they have found, and picking their Pockets at *Cards*, *Dice*, &c. This is not only a Trick of long ſtanding in *England*, but ſeems to be peculiar to us.

There is, indeed, another illegal Method of getting Money, and not very different from it, which is common to all Nations, and hath been practiſed with wonderful Succeſs; for what is all *Bribery* and *Corruption* but a Sort of *Money-dropping*, with this Aggravation; that, in *one Caſe*, Particulars only are hurt; whereas, in the *other*, the whole Community may be Sufferers in Points of the higheſt Importance?

In former Times, even Miniſters of State were not aſhamed to turn *Money-droppers*, nor afraid of playing their infamous Game upon *Parliaments* themſelves. I mean in the Reign of King *Charles* II. before which Time the very Name of *Penſions* was hardly known in our Language; and yet, in the Courſe of a few Years, it became ſo common, that almoſt the whole Nation was compoſed of nothing beſides this Sort of *Money-droppers* and their *Creatures*; but the late happy Revolution hath put ſuch an intire Stop to that dangerous Practice, in high Life, that were it not for the Practices of a few low Wretches, the Phraſe would ſoon grow obſolete again. The *Court* is now ſo far from any Deſign of corrupting the *Parliament*, and the *Parliament* ſo clear from any Suſpicion of being corrupted, that *both* together exhibit to us the nobleſt Pattern of *publick Virtue*; which is render'd ſtill more compleat by the exemplary Piety of my Lords the *Biſhops*, and the unſpotted Integrity of all Men in Office, whether Civil, Eccleſiaſtical or Military. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe burning and ſhining Lights, it muſt be confeſs'd, as the *learned Gazetteers* have often obſerved, that *Luxury*, *Corruption*, and *Debauchery* ſtill prevail amongſt the *People*, in ſo deplorable a Manner, as quite to invalidate the Truth of that old Obſervation,

REGIS *ad Exemplum totus componitur Orbis.*

But

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But this muſt be imputed to the Nature of *Virtue* itſelf, which is a Plant of a much ſlower Growth than *Vice*, and requires a great deal of Time to be brought to ſuch Perfection as to ſpread its Influence amongſt the *common People*. However, it is to be hoped that the late *Gin-Act*, the *Smuggling-Act*, and the *Playhouſe-Act*, amongſt other ſeaſonable Proviſions of the Legiſlature, will reform them by Degrees, and make the *govern'd Part of the Nation* as remarkable for *Virtue* and *Morality* as their *Governors* are at preſent. But let us now proceed to the Methods of *another Country*, with Regard to getting or keeping of *Money*.

In *Germany*, when any Man is ask'd for what he owes, it is a common Practice to pick a Quarrel with his *Creditor*, and reſent it as an Affront, that the *other* ſhould call his Honour ſo far in Queſtion as to demand his *Due*. This, I ſay, is ſo common a Practice, that *Querelle Allmaigne* is grown a Proverb in *France* for all *Quarrels*, which ariſe about *Money-Matters*; and it hath been ſometimes imitated in *England*, tho' not hitherto in ſuch a Manner, or with ſuch Succeſs, as to become a *national Cuſtom*.

§. *Next follows Mr.* D'Anvers's *Account of the late Caſe of the* Craftſman. (See p. 502.)

ON *Wedneſday*, *July* 13, about 10 at Night, no leſs than 7 *Perſons* enter'd the Printing-Houſe in *Bow-ſtreet*; 3 of whom ruſh'd up Stairs, and coming into the *Compoſing-Room*, one of them ſpoke to Mr. *Haines*, commanding him immediately to deſiſt from working, and go with them. He ask'd them, *who* they were, and by *what Authority* they behaved in ſuch a Manner; to which they anſwer'd, that he ſhould know preſently, and order'd him (being in a working Dreſs) to put on his Cloaths, and go with them directly. They then ſeparated, and went into divers Parts of the *Printing-Office*, rummaging every Place they could find for *Papers*, &c. leaving *Haines* and *one of the Workmen* in the *Compoſing-Room* by themſelves; upon which *Haines* deſir'd the *Workman* to ſhut them out, imagining them to be either *Bailiffs*, or *Thieves*; but, upon this, Mr. *Cowel*, one of the Meſſengers, burſt open the Door with ſuch Violence, that it knock'd the Man down that had bolted it, then enter'd the Room with a *Piſtol* in his Hand, and ſwore by G—d he would ſhoot the ſaid *Haines* and *Workman* thro' the Head, if they offer'd to make the leaſt Reſiſtance; and then ſaid, but not till then, they were the *King's Meſſengers*, and had Authority from *his Majeſty* for what they did. They now went down Stairs, and broke open 2 or 3 Doors, that were lock'd; then came into the lower Floor, where Mr. *Wiggs* being in the back Parlour, with ſeveral other Perſons, rummaging for *Papers*, &c. took the *Shop-Book*, *Advertiſement-Book*, and other *Books of Account*, lapp'd them up in Paper, and in Company with Mr. *Hutchins* ſeal'd them up with *their own Seals*, and took them away. They told Mr. *Haines* that he might take Care of the Door himſelf, if he had the Key; but *Haines* not having it, he ſpoke to a Neighbour's Maid to keep an Eye upon the Houſe. The *Meſſengers* took away all the People they found there, amongſt *whom* was *another Printer's* Servant, who came that Week to aſſiſt Mr. *Haines*, and kept him ten Days in Cuſtody. *Haines* was confined a Fortnight, *before* Examination, in a very cloſe Manner; and, *after* Examination, not ſuffer'd to come out of the Room, in which he was confined, but once for a Fortnight; and the *Meſſenger*, under Pretence of ſecuring him the better, tho' lock'd up in his *ſtrong Room*, lay in the Bed with him during the whole Time, except 3 Nights.

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The *Meſſengers* kept a ſtrict Guard on the Houſe, for ſeveral Days after, to ſee who went into it, and to take them up; and *two Perſons* being at Work in the Houſe on *Thurſday* the 14th, the *Meſſengers* having got Intelligence of it, and coming to the *Printing-Houſe* Door, they found it ſhut, and not only attempted to break it open themſelves, but actually offer'd a *Smith* Money to do it for them; which the *Smith* refuſed, and told them that he had had Trouble enough already for a Thing of the ſame Nature.

Tho' I was therefore miſtaken in one Particular of my former Account, concerning the *Meſſengers locking up the Door*, I leave the World to judge whether their *racking* and *rending*, in ſuch a Manner, taking up *all* they could meet, *watching* the Houſe for ſeveral Days, *dogging* every Body that went in and out, and other Ways of *intimidating* the poor Men, did not amount to almoſt the ſame Thing.

On *Thurſday*, *Sept.* 1, *two Meſſengers*, with their Aſſiſtants, went to the Houſe of Mr. *Francklin's Father*, about ſix in the Morning, and having ſhewn their *Greyhound*, ſearch'd the Houſe, and took away *Sarah Stephens* formerly Servant to Mr. *Francklin*, junior. On the *Tueſday* following, *four Perſons* came to the ſame Place, and about the ſame Time in the Morning. *Two of them* went up to the *old Man's* Room, who was then ill in Bed, and demanded Entrance; which being refuſed, they went down again to their Aſſociates below for their Advice, who bad them break open the Door, which they did accordingly with ſuch Violence, that the Door flew off the Hinges and fell upon the *old Man's* Bed. They then went up two Pair of Stairs, and broke open the Door of that likewiſe, and ſearch'd the whole Houſe, without taking *any Body* away, and without giving *any Reaſon*, or ſhewing *any Authority* for ſo doing.

They likewiſe went to the Houſes of ſeveral other Perſons, who are utterly unconcern'd in *this Paper*, and actually ſearch'd ſome of them. Nay, they were either ſo ignorant of their *Duty*, or ſo regardleſs of it, (if they really acted under any *Authority*) that they ſeized *two Gentlemen* in the Street, (one of whom was a *Clergyman*) and were dragging them away; but upon diſcovering their Miſtake, which could be owing only to *Negligence*, or *moſt exorbitant Inſolence*, they let them go again, and took to their Heels. In ſhort, whoever they were, they acted, in ſeveral Reſpects, more like *Ruffians* than *legal Officers*; and therefore I cannot ſuppoſe that they had any *Authority* for ſo doing, or that they will be ſupported in it.

The Caſe of Mr. *Amhurſt*, who ſurrender'd himſelf, is now put upon ſo honourable a Footing, by mutual Conſent, that he hath no Reaſon to complain of any Hardſhip, beſides his being confined for *ten Days*, and being at laſt obliged to take out a Writ of *Habeas Corpus* before he could regain his Liberty, unleſs he would give Security for his *good Behaviour*, as well as *Appearance*.

Sarah Stephens, the Servant-Maid, having been kept above a Fortnight in Cuſtody, without any Examination, was likewiſe brought by *Habeas Corpus*, at a conſiderable Expence, before Mr. Baron *Thompſon*, who admitted her to Bail upon *Appearance* only; tho' it had been *elſewhere* refuſed to *ſeveral others*. It does not become me to give any Account of what paſs'd before his Lordſhip, upon that Occaſion; nor is it proper to take Notice of ſeveral other Particulars, which, being cognizable by *Law*, ought not to be explain'd any where except in a *Court of Juſtice*. I ſhall therefore only add, that ſeveral of the *Workmen* are ſtill in *Cuſtody*, and God knows when any of them will be diſcharged, without an *Habeas Corpus*, for every

very one of them, as well as *Bail*, which muſt be very expenſive, as well as troubleſome.

This, with what I have ſaid already, is ſufficient to convince any reaſonable Man whether there is not ſomething *extraordinary in the whole Affair*; and whether much more could have been done, even in a Caſe of *High-Treaſon*.

Common Senſe, Oct. 8. N° 36.

Of the Miniſterial Writers.

SOMEBODY told the late Regent of *France*, that a very ſilly Pariſh Prieſt had abus'd him in the Pulpit; to which the Regent, who was above reſenting the Inſults of Fools, anſwer'd cooly, *Why does the Blockhead meddle with me? I am not of his Pariſh.*

In this Manner I reply to all the Indignation which the grave Mr. *Osborne*, and the facetious Sir *A. B. C.* have expreſs'd againſt me.—Can't they let me alone? I'm ſure they have nothing to do with *Common Senſe*. Nay, I even return them Good for Evil, and do for 'em, what I believe No-body in the Kingdom does but myſelf, for I take in their Papers at my own Expence. 'Tis true, I find my Account in it; for the *Gazetteer* makes me laugh, and the *London Journal* makes me ſleep: I take the former in the Morning, and the latter at Night. Sir *A. B. C.* and his Aſſociates, have ſuch an abſurd Pertneſs, and ſo inimitable an *Alacrity in Sinking*, that it is impoſſible not to laugh at firſt, tho' I confeſs they are below it, and that it is a little ill-natur'd into the Bargain. But one can no more help it, than one can help laughing at an awkward Fellow, who going to ſit down, miſſes his Chair, and falls ridiculouſly upon his Breech; tho' to be ſure, there's no Joke in't, and very probably the poor Man has hurt himſelf too. Mr. *Osborne* has a quite different Effect upon me; his ſolid, uniform Dulneſs, is the ſureſt Soporifick I have met with; and every *Saturday* Night, as ſoon as I'm in Bed, my Man conſtantly asks me, *Does your Honour take your* London Journal *to Night?* I never refuſe his Offer, and, to do him Juſtice, he reads with a flow Monotony, ſo well adapted to the Performance, that one would think he was the Author of it himſelf.

Thus, after taking theſe two Authors regularly, Night and Morning, they are carefully laid by in a little Cloſet, where I ultimately take 'em, as they happen to lie next my Hand.

I have lately heard, with Concern, that I ſhall ſoon be depriv'd of theſe Benefits, and that my two favourite Authors will withdraw their Weekly and Daily Labours, in order to exhibit themſelves in other Shapes. Mr. *Osborne*, I am told, has ingag'd to ſupply the Stage with Tragedies, and Sir *A. B. C.* with Comedies, that it may not be ſaid, that the late Act has prevented the Production of excellent Dramatick Performances, as ſome Male-contents pretended it would. Tho' this will diſturb the preſent regular Courſe of my Sleep and Laughter, which I muſt afterwards take by the Lump, and in Twelve-penny Doſes, yet I muſt acknowledge 'em to be the propereſt Authors to anſwer the true Intendment of the Bill: For I will defy the moſt inveterate, and ingenious Malice, even that of the *Craftſman*, to apply any Thing out of their Writings. With what Impatience do I long to ſee the Tragick Scenes of our Laureat diſgrac'd and eclips'd by *Osborne*'s ſolid *Drama!* Yes, *Osborne* ſhall ſnatch the Poppies from *C——r*'s Brow, and plant 'em on his own.

I condole with the ingenious Author of *Love in a Hollow Tree*, who muſt, indiſputably, reſign the Comick Scenes to Sir *A. B. C.*

As

As I am perſuaded theſe two young Writers will have the Stage entirely to themſelves, I moſt humbly repreſent it to the Lord C———n, as a Piece of Juſtice, to have their Labours equally divided between the Managers of the two only Theatres now ſubſiſting. The Comedy, I believe, muſt belong to Mr. *Rich*; for, I preſume, Sir *A. B. C.* after the diſtinguiſh'd Zeal he has manifeſted for the Proteſtant Religion, in Oppoſition to the Attempts of Mr. *Ward* (ſee Vol. IV. p. 7.) would, by no Means, aid and abet a Perſon of Mr. *Fleetwood*'s Principles of Religion.

Having ſaid thus much to my two Friends, to whom I give my Word I will never ſay any Thing more, I cannot conclude, without addreſſing myſelf a little to their Patron and Paymaſter. He has certainly Parts, a pretty Turn to Waggery, a little coarſe indeed, but yet not without Salt; and one muſt allow him to be, what *Tully* allow'd *Nævius*, *Scurra non parum facetus*. I therefore cannot imagine why he will ſuffer, much leſs pay ſuch Blockheads to write for him. I know he'll ſay, they are the beſt he can get. I admit it, I dare ſay they are: But then why will he have any? He had much better have none. *Sylla* bought off a Dunce, who would be writing for him; and *Auguſtus* paid a bad Poet, in bad Verſes, as the ſureſt Way to prevent any more. If theſe Fellows are to be paid for their Zeal, let the Hon. Perſon oblige them to throw him their Silence into the Bargain. Formerly, a Right Rev. or two us'd to draw their Pens in his Defence, but of late we have ſeen nothing from that Quarter neither; whether thoſe Rev. Perſons have too much Wit, or too much Biſhoprick to go on, I can't tell; but this Piece of Advice I'll give him, whenever he can get another of that Kind to write for him, not to *tranſlate* him too ſoon.

This certainly never happen'd under any Adminiſtration before; for, excepting a late Imitation of *Horace*, by Mr. *Pope*, who but ſeldom meddles with publick Matters, I challenge the miniſterial Advocates to produce one Line of *Senſe*, or *Engliſh* written on their Side of the Queſtion for theſe laſt ſeven Years. In all former Reigns, the Wits were of the Side of the Miniſters; the *Oſbornes*, and the *A. B. C*'s againſt them. And how would the *Godolphins*, the *Somers's*, the *Halefax's*, and the *Dorſets* have bluſh'd, to have been the *Mæcenas's* of ſuch wretched Scribblers?

As this Caſe is really compaſſionate in itſelf, and particularly hard upon us anti-miniſterial Writers, as we are call'd, who cannot poſſibly anſwer what we don't underſtand; I will offer what Expedients occur to me, for our mutual Relief.

I ſhould think Mr. *Wreathock* and Mr. *Juſtice* (Vol. V. p. 276, 277.) who are both happily returned from Tranſportation, might be of ſingular Uſe in this Diſtreſs. The experienc'd Knowledge of the former, in the uſeful Parts of the Law, and the known Skill of the latter in Books of all Sorts, muſt qualify them excellently well for Political Writers: And, if they clubb'd their Talents, they would amply repair the Loſs of the deceas'd *Francis Walſingham*, Eſq; or, at leaſt, they would infinitely exceed any now extant. But if this can't be brought about; and that the Avocations of theſe two Gentlemen will not allow them the Leiſure to turn Authors, the laſt Shift I can think of, and which ſeems to me the moſt likely to be put in Practice, is for the A———n to employ their A——— of A——— of P———.

Fog's *Journal*, Oct. 8. N° 19.

Caſe of the Londonderry *and* Inniſhkilling *Men.*

ONE daily ſees and hears by far too much of Cruelty and

Ingratitude: But I shall here only produce a most glaring Instance of the latter, accompanied with a strong Tincture of the former, and which I can never think on without Indignation and Resentment.

From the Notion of Regard and Love of one's Country, all wise States have ever been more than ordinary careful to reward and encourage the brave Adventurers for the Relief, Safety, or Glory of the Commonwealth.

The People of *England* seem to have had as clear a View of this Maxim as any in History; and besides being just and politic in such Cases, have shewed a Generosity, and Largeness of Heart, to such as have well-deserved of their State, even beyond most others. I shall just make some few Observations on two great and not very far distant Events; I mean the *Restoration* and the *Revolution*.

Whatever some may think of King *Charles* I. and his Catastrophe, I could never read the Trial and Sufferings of that unhappy Prince with dry Eyes; nor yet without a sensible Satisfaction to find, to his latest Moments, such a singular Fortitude in his brave Defence of the Fundamentals of our Constitution, and that under such odd and shocking Circumstances as I believe never occurred to any Prince.

Had he survived that shameful Trial, till the Distemper of his People had gone off, and they had come again to judge rightly, they could not but have acknowledg'd it utterly impossible to make him Amends, or to atone for their Crimes. But as it happened quite otherwise, and when their Remorse could not possibly reach him (which undoubtedly doubled their Pain) they could only ease their Minds by restoring his Son.

Besides, the fresh Remembrance of the Usurper's lawless Administration, raised in their Breasts such a full Tide of Joy and Gratitude, at the Thoughts of being again blessed with a lawful King, that it was likely to have overflowed its Banks. New Laws were instantly enacted, to enlarge and extend the King's Power, and the People seemed to be grown weary of their own: Large Subsidies were chearfully granted; and indeed, what not?

Again, in 1688, after the Constitution had been so much broken in upon, by K. *James* II, and his *Popish* Advisers, that it was not any longer to be indured, the true Patriots of their Country cast their Eyes upon the late K. *William* (then Prince of *Orange*) as the only Instrument, under *God*, to redress their Grievances. He came; he prospered; and the Constitution being re-established, the grateful, generous *English* thought they could not otherwise recompense him than by giving him the Crown. Nay, they looked upon their Danger to have been such, and their Relief so seasonable, that they never after could imagine themselves safe till, by his Advice, they had settled the Succession, as it now happily stands, in the present Royal Family.

Here are two shining Instances of this renowned Nation's Generosity and Gratitude: But now for the Instance I hinted at, wherein it so notoriously and so cruelly failed. Nor was it ever well known on whom the Blame might justly be lay'd —— But tho' all those good Things came upon these Realms by the Revolution, alas! who would ever have thought it? The poor *Londonderry* and *Inniſh-killing* Regiments, by whose unparallel'd Bravery that great Design was principally executed, who not only bore the Heat and Burden of the Day, but did the Work themselves, when no other Labourers could go to their Assistance and Relief, did notwithstanding never receive *every Man his Penny*, I mean their Pay, answerably to their Commissions,

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sions, all dated *Feb.* 1688-9, amounting to (and allowed over and over) 195,091*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* besides 138,349*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* for Horses, Arms, Ammunition, &c. and the Damage done them by the Enemy, who took their All.

Very memorable, to this Purpose, is Part of a Speech made by a Great Man, in the House of Peers, in 1705, *viz.* 'At the Revolution, the *Londonderry* and *Inniſh killing* Men were the Perſons who made the first and noble Stop to K. *James* in *Ireland*: And I myſelf have fed ſome of them at my Table when they were ſtarving, with the greateſt Commendations and Promiſes in their Pockets; which I have ſeen under K. *William*'s own Hand.' I ſhall at preſent content myſelf with giving my Readers the particular Caſe of thoſe brave and much-wronged Mens laſt Agent, Mr. *William Hamill*.

This gallant Gentleman was Brother and Heir of Col. *Hugh Hamill*, who was one of the Colonels of *London-derry* (of about 1000*l.* *per Annum* Eſtate) by much the moſt active Man in that memorable Siege, and kept thereof a very exact Diary. He was deemed the Spring of their Actions, and the very Life of their Councils. When K. *James* ſent to require ſome of their Chiefs to be ſent out to treat with him, the Colonel, being the principal Perſon, was tempted with a Promiſe of 20,000*l.* if he would deſert his Party; which Offer he generouſly refuſed, tho' his Eſtate was then deeply incumbered.

That great Affair being over, he was appointed Agent for all thoſe Regiments; and when he came over to *England*, he was very handſomely received at Court, particularly by Q. *Mary*. He followed the Claims of thoſe Sufferers with all imaginable Application: But the former Incumbrance on his Eſtate, with at leaſt 3000*l.* Damage done by the Enemy to his Mills and Plantations, together with the Expence of Soliciting, and the Monies which, at different Times, he advanced to the indigent Officers, &c. did actually ſtrip him of his whole Fortune; the Thoughts of which, added to the Diſappointments he met with at Court, did firſt affect his Head, and ſoon after break his Heart.

Thus was Mr. *Hamill* deprived of a worthy and dearly-loved Brother, together with the Proſpect of a fine Eſtate, to which he ſhould have ſucceeded. However to the Agency he did ſucceed, at the earneſt Deſire of all concerned.

He likewiſe proſecuted their Claims, with all the Dexterity of a Man of Buſineſs, but with his Brother's ill Succeſs and hard Fate. For, beſides his Expences in ſoliciting for upwards of 20 Years, he was obliged, as Agent, to ſupport many of the Officers, while living, and to be at the Charge of burying ſeveral of them, when they died in Want, till he had conſumed more than 4000*l.* which was his All; not in the leaſt doubting but that a Debt of ſo much Merit, as that for which he was ſoliciting, would not only have been juſtly and honourably diſcharged, but alſo, that ſome ſingular Marks of the Nation's Gratitude would have been ſhewed to every one concerned therein.

Q. *Anne* was ſo ſenſible of the Hardſhips which this Solicitation had brought upon him, that, in 1707, ſhe ordered him, as a preſent Supply, 200*l.* out of her *Royal Bounty*, and 1709, ſhe gave him 100*l.* and 400*l.* more in 1710; at which Time, a Propoſal was made by Lord Treaſurer *Godolphin* of ſettling on him a Penſion of 400*l.* *per Annum*; which he then durſt not accept, leſt his Principals ſhould ſuſpect, that he might thereupon deſiſt from proſecuting their Demand.

After that, tho' his Difficulties were hourly increaſing upon him, he could never obtain one Six-pence of Support from the Government, tho' he earneſtly ſought it, and almoſt with Tears; and in 1721, (when upwards of Sixty) he was inhumanely thrown into Jail, on Account of certain Debts which he had been forced to contract for bare Suſtenance. I could never learn what became of him afterwards; very probably he was ſuffered to lie and rot in Priſon, anſwerably to the laudable Cuſtom of ———

As to the reſt, all I can farther gather is, That, on ſeeing theſe two generous Brothers ruined in this Cauſe, none after them would undertake the Agency; and the Claimants were ſo utterly unable to do any Thing for themſelves, in the uſual expenſive Way of Application, that (as one ſays who wrote concerning the Affair) like expiring Men, they had juſt Strength left to groan out who they were who gave them the Wounds, which, they ſay, they received in the Houſe of their Friends.

Craftſman, Oct. 8. N° 587.

Paris, *Aug.* 15. N. S. 1737.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq*;

SIR,

HAVING now almoſt compleated what is commonly call'd the grand Tour of *France*, I know you will expect to hear from me. A Traveller, who imagines he ſhall ſee in *France* a great many fine, regular, well-built, neat Cities and Towns, ſuch as are to be met with in *Holland*, *Flanders*, and ſome Parts of *Italy*, will find himſelf much diſappointed. Indeed if the *French Voyage Writers* are to be believed, there are no finer Cities and Towns in any Part of *Europe*. One is extremely neat, another extremely regular, the

the third vaſtly magnificent; but they generally omit extremely nafty, which is a Character that much more juſtly belongs to moſt of them than thoſe Epithets they ſo freely make uſe of. It is true, the Country of *France* is in many Parts very fertile and delightful; the Air, eſpecially in the Southern Provinces, pure and wholeſome, and the Towns and Cities are often finely ſituated, but rarely well built, and more rarely kept in any tolerable Degree of Neatneſs.

But however defective *France* may be, with reſpect to Neatneſs and Elegance in the Cities and Towns, it appears to me the moſt thriving Nation in *Europe*. From the poor miſerable Condition, in which it was about 24 Years ſince; (when you remember I reſided in it for ſome Time) its Treaſures exhauſted, its Trade decay'd, the People greatly leſſen'd, and the Marks of extreme Poverty appearing almoſt every where; from this poor miſerable Condition, the Country is now become full of Inhabitants, Trade is exceedingly flouriſhing, a Face of Plenty appears in moſt conſiderable Places, the publick Treaſury was never better managed, nor ever abounded more with Money. This great and almoſt ſudden Change of Affairs in *France*, has not been brought about only by the natural Advantages that Kingdom enjoys, (which are very conſiderable) but alſo by the great Care taken to encourage all beneficial Branches of Trade, amongſt which, *ſuch as interfere with the Intereſt of their once powerful Neighbours are moſt carefully cultivated.*

France has at preſent a Miniſter at the Head of her Affairs, who knows that a Country can grow rich only by *foreign Trade*. He has, undoubtedly, taken Notice by what Means *England* and *Holland* are become ſo wealthy, and were enabled, not many Years ſince, to humble the grand Monarch of *France*; and having obſerved theſe Advantages attending foreign Commerce, he uſes the moſt proper Methods to extend and encreaſe that of *France* to the utmoſt. This is laying a ſolid Foundation of Power and Greatneſs.

The *French* are very ſenſible of the Advantages they enjoy under the preſent Adminiſtration; they find they grow rich, and feel themſelves as happy as a Nation can well be, in an *abſolute Monarchy*; the preſent *Prime Miniſter* is frequently the Subject of their Converſation; the Character they give of him is, that, with Regard to his own private Affairs, he is entirely diſintereſted; he neither heaps up Riches himſelf, nor will knowingly ſuffer others to do it unjuſtly, at the publick Expence; in Employments of State, he does not prefer his *Relations*, or *immediate Dependents*, becauſe they are ſuch; but chuſes Men only for their Integrity and Capacity; he looks upon himſelf as the *Servant of the Publick*, and notwithſtanding his great Age, applies with much Aſſiduity to publick Affairs, ſetting ſome Hours aſide, three Days in a Week particularly, to examine Propoſals made to him for the Benefit of *Trade*. He takes ſpecial Care to protect the Subjects of *France* againſt all Inſults from any *foreign Power* whatever. You do not hear of any *French Men* ill uſed or inſulted in *foreign Countries*, nor any of their Ships being taken and confiſcated, or ſtopp'd and plunder'd by Nations pretending to be at Peace with them; but a prompt and ample Satisfaction is immediately inſiſted on and obtain'd. This Protection and Security of Perſon and Property creates in the *French* a great Opinion both of their *Governors* and *Themſelves*, and cauſes them to look with the utmoſt Contempt on any Nation, who ſuffer themſelves to be inſulted and plunder'd by thoſe, with whom they are not at War.

Theſe People are of Opinion that there is a *national* as well as a *perſonal Reputation*, and that it behoves the *Publick* to be as careful of *one*, as a *private Man* ſhould be of the *other*. In this I doubt not but you agree with them; for if a *Nation* once ſuffers any *foreign Power* to inſult them with Impunity, they will ſoon find others will do the ſame, and in a little Time both their *Trade* and *Poſſeſſions* will become entirely precarious.

It is reported here, that a *certain Nation*, which not many Years ſince we heartily deſpiſed, and beat very ſoundly in another's Quarrel, does not only continue to do us all Manner of Injuries, but demands whole Provinces, to which they have no manner of Right. I hope, on this Occaſion, we ſhall behave as we ought to do.

We are great Admirers of the *French*, in many Reſpects, and very apt to imitate them in their ridiculous Faſhions and Cuſtoms. I heartily wiſh we were as ready to learn from them what is truly valuable and Praiſe-worthy. Pray how do you think the *French* would behave to any Nation, who inſulted their Subjects, uſed them with the utmoſt Contempt and Cruelty, made Prize of their Ships, and demanded Provinces from them, to which they had no Right?

In a Converſation I had with ſome *French Gentlemen* at this Place, I ventured (knowing my Company) to ſay, that *France* was indebted to a *ſingle Perſon* for its Happineſs, which muſt be very precarious, as it depended upon the Life of *one Man*, and he ſo far in Years; whereas the Conſtitution of our Country, in a great Meaſure, ſecured the publick Happineſs, and made it laſting. I added, that if a *future Miniſter of France* ſhould prove ever ſo corrupt, or purſue Meaſures directly oppoſite to the Intereſt of *France*, they had no *Parliament*, that could call him to Account; and that where the Whole depended on the

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the Will of a *Prince*, there could be no Security for the People. The Company, being Men of Senſe, allow'd Part of what I advanced to be true; but at the ſame Time deſired me to compare the Figure that—makes at preſent, both in foreign Negotiations, and other Reſpects, with that, which *France* makes; and as to a Miniſter, who might be corrupt, or purſued Meaſures deſtructive to his Country, being call'd to Account by P—— they deſired me to take a View ********

I am, &c.

Grubſtreet Journal, Oct. 13. N° 407.

A LETTER to good Mr. A. B. occaſioned by his Letter *to the good Citizens of* London, *concerning the putting the Laws in Execution for ſuppreſſing the pernicious Cuſtom of retailing Spirituous Liquors.*

SIR,

I Do admit, 'it is the Happineſs of the 'People of *England*, that no Law can be 'made or alter'd, without their Conſent.' But, Sir, there have been ſeveral *Laws made*, that the Generality of the *People* without Doors have highly complained againſt, and ſame have not paſſed even within Doors without great Oppoſition. I can't agree with you, that always 'the Execution of the Laws, as 'far as relates to civil Matters, is in the 'Hands of the People; or that no Man can 'be tried or condemned without a Jury of 'his Countrymen and his Equals, upon their 'Oaths, finding him guilty; or that his 'Sentence cannot be pronounced by any other 'than a Judge learned in the Law;' unleſs you mean, that the worthy and Hon. Gentlemen the *Commiſſioners* of the *Exciſe*, are both the one and the other.

I agree with you, that 'every *Engliſhman* 'is concerned in preſerving this Conſtitution:' But how far a Man is concerned *in putting in Execution* every penal Law, I ſhall not take upon me to ſay. Only I would remind you, that *Empſon* and *Dudley*, in *Henry* VIIth's Time, were famous for *putting the penal Laws in Execution*, and for retaining a Parcel of Informers in their Service, and alſo for erecting a private Juriſdiction, and condemning Men in their Houſes, without trying them by Juries. In *Henry* VIIIth's Reign, they juſtly met with their Reward, [by loſing their Heads.] As for their Men, in thoſe Days called *Promoters*, now known by the Name of *Informers*, they were ſet in the Pillory, and afterwards died of Shame in *Newgate*. Yet *Empſon*, tho' he, with his *Fellow*, loſt their Lives with the univerſal Conſent of the Nation, told the Lords of the Council, upon their firſt being taken up, 'That the Accuſation againſt them was of a 'very new and ſtrange Nature, that uſually 'Men were proſecuted for acting againſt the 'Laws, or diſobeying their Sovereign's Command; but for their Part they were accuſed 'by the People for *executing the Laws*, of 'which they themſelves were the Authors.'

I paſs over the Trouble that *the good People of England* was under, thro' the Increaſe of Spirituous Liquors. For myſelf, I never was any great Lover of ſuch Liquors: It is true, I am ſometimes willing to take a chearful Dram of good Nantz or Rum as a Cordial. Being in *Kent* laſt Week, thro' the exceſſive Rains my Spirits were much flagged, as we term it. Then I ſhould have been glad of a Glaſs (and even your ſolemn ſelf, had you been with me, I believe, would have been glad of the like.) But alas! not one to be had at all the Inns or Apothecaries Shops; and had it not been for an honeſt *Chip*, it is likely I muſt have rid 12 Miles thro' Floods of Water in the higheſt Pain, before I could obtain what was of exceeding Service to me.

It is none of my Province to enquire into the Motives that induced the Legiſlature to paſs the *Gin-Act* in the Manner it was done. It is ſufficient for me and my Fellow-Citizens, as *Engliſhmen*, to ſubmit to it. But I muſt tell you, Sir, that if a Man goes into any Inn or Coffee-houſe, and requeſts the People to aſſiſt him with a Dram, under Pretence of being ſick, and leaves Money for the ſame, and afterwards turns Informer, I conſider that Perſon, as the good People of *England* did the Underſtrappers to *Empſon* and *Dudley* in *Henry* VIIth's Time.

The Legiſlature, to be ſure, made the Law for the reſtraining the exceſſive drinking of Spirituous Liquors with a laudable and good Deſign; and I agree, that the Drinking of thoſe Liquors was got to a very great Height, and called for the Interpoſition of Parliament, to prevent the ſame being attended with pernicious Conſequences. How far the Law, made for that Purpoſe, has anſwered the Intent; or how far the Trade of the *Britiſh* Diſtillery has been turned out of its former Channel, the Publick and the Traders in that Branch are beſt Judges of.

I am ſurprized at your unfair Reflection on that Trade, in relation to their oppoſing the paſſing the *Gin-Act*. You muſt know then, Sir, what you ſeem to be ignorant of, that the Diſtillers Company in *London*, are a very antient Corporation; and that there are many of them rich, generous, and worthy Citizens; and that they even ſaw, with Concern, the ill Uſe that was made of Spirituous Liquors by the common People, and would gladly have reſtrained the ſame, had it been in their Power. You likewiſe forget, Sir, that the *Britiſh* Diſtillery has been thought not unworthy of the Care and Encouragement of a *Britiſh* Parliament.

What you mean by the *Arts that were tried*

tried by those concerned in the Trade, to prevent the passing the Bill, I know not; tho' you seem to be ignorant of the Intention of printing the *Votes*. Was it unfair in the Distillers, when they found a Law going to be made, which they apprehended would hurt their Trade, humbly to remonstrate against it? — No sure, — I suppose you was one of those that was angry with me and my Fellow Citizens for opposing the *Excise Scheme*. Had not a laudable Spirit then rose in the People, I shall not now tell you the Consequences that might have ensued. I can likewise assure you, that the Distillers in *London* not only disown the Paragraphs in the *News Papers* you talk of, but also the *Hiring* any Person to oppose the Laws now in being, they having submitted thereto as becomes good Subjects.

Sir, We have the Honour to have Magistrates in the City of *London*, renowned for asserting the Cause of Liberty; and to have a Recorder, who adorns the high Stations he sustains in the Law, and who is ready to advise the meanest of my Fellow-Citizens against being unwarily drawn in to act contrary to the Law. Being thus governed, we are under none of those dismal Apprehensions you mention, of falling under the Calamity that lately attended the City of *Edinburgh*.

In short, we have no Threatening here, even among the meanest of our Citizens, to pull down the Houses of any of our worthy Magistrates, tho' Offenders against the Gin-Act, when found out, are punished: But then our Magistrates consider the Nature of the Offence, and do not always punish with the utmost Rigour. Our Magistrates pass the Streets in Security, and are secure in their Houses; because they have all Honour and Respect shewn by the Citizens of all Denominations.

From what I have said I suppose you will begin to believe, that we, in this City, have no Occasion for your Advice. If Persons at your End of the Town are grown wicked, be so good as to address your next Letter to the Inhabitants of *Westminster*, and the County of *Middlesex*; and no Doubt but so learned a Pen as yours, joined with the Assistance of the *Middlesex* Justices of the Peace, either in the Army, or out of it, will reduce the Disorderly to Reason. When that is done, I hope there will be no more *threatening to pull down the Houses of any of your worthy Justices*: But that all may be good Subjects to a good King, and live peaceably under their Vine, is the hearty Wish of,

Your humble Servant,

London, Oct. 3, 1737. J. G.

Common Sense, Oct. 15. N° 37.

His Abyssinian *Majesty's remarkable Life-Guard.*

SIR,

I HAVE lately enjoy'd the agreeable Company of a learned Foreign * Prelate, not long since arrived here from the *East*, who being only a Bishop *in partibus Infidelium*, and, by Consequence, not oblig'd to Residence, entertains himself with viewing other Courts, particularly those of *Asia*, and of *Afric*, of which he gives very wonderful Accounts. But nothing so much strikes my Imagination, as what he recounts of the Court of that great Emperor, Lord of the Mountains of the Moon; and, except *one*, the *highest* Potentate upon Earth, the most illustrious *Prester John* of *Abyssinia*. I shall confine myself to one Article, *viz.* the *Choice of his Guard*; such a Choice, as denotes his great Acuteness in judging what may best serve both to the Glory and Safety of his Person, the most capable to strike an Awe into his Subjects, and therefore the properest Ornament of his Court. Not to keep you any longer in Suspense, I must inform you, that on each Side of the Presence Chamber, at the Foot of the Throne of his *Abyssinian* Majesty, is ranged a Band of 30 *living Lions*. They are chained indeed, but, within the Length of their Chains, as fierce as in their native Forests. What a pitiful Figure, in Comparison with this, does the most formidable Guard make here in *Europe!* Will the grimmest *Hussar* in *Germany* pretend to match his Whiskers with theirs, tho' ever so martial? Or any Beef-Eater here, to measure his Halbert with the sharp Fangs of these bloody *Eaters of Men?* How much Respect and Dread must such an Appearance imprint on all who come nigh that awful Throne! I humbly conceive, that the boldest Patriot there would not venture to bring a Complaint of any Grievances before a Prince beset with such a Circle.

Let us suppose an Ambassador sent thither from *England* (And why may not our Love of Negotiating carry us there?) to settle the Balance of *Asia*, hire Troops, *&c.* Suppose him us'd to the soft Scene of a *French* Drawing Room, or, at worst, to nothing rougher than the Sight of an Assembly of the *States-General*; What an uneasy Sensation wou'd he feel, when introduced to his Audience, thro' the Roarings and Grinnings of 60 Lions? How wou'd he *fumble with his Breeches!* How wou'd he hesitate and stammer in his Speech! How very difficult wou'd he find it to sustain the *intrepid Character* of the Prince he represented!

* *The Bishop of* Apamea.

Solomon

Solomon is ſaid to have been the moſt magnificent, as well as the wiſeſt King that ever reign'd, and yet how ſhort did he fall of *Preſter John!* For his Throne was only guarded with twelve Lions, and thoſe but in Effigy; whereas this Monarch has no leſs than Threeſcore, *all alive*, and with Claws and Teeth that can be uſed upon Occaſion, as they that anger him often find to their Coſt.

I ask'd the Biſhop, if the Kings of *Abyſſinia* had been always thus guarded? He told me no; that, till about 80 Years ago, they had no Guard but the Affections of their People, and had made a Shift to rub on ſo for many Centuries; but that the Great-Grandfather of the King now reigning bred up two tame Lions in his Palace, which he ſometimes placed on each Side of his Throne, where they did *no* Harm to any of his Subjects, but were conſider'd as a Piece of Regal Pomp, which might help to draw the Reſpect of *foreign Nations*. It was alſo urg'd, that the known Affection of theſe Animals to all thoſe of Royal Blood, and their natural Vigilance (as they never quite cloſe their Eyes, even in Sleeping) made them very proper to watch before the Throne in a Time of Danger, as that happen'd to be. On theſe Pretences, this Guard was firſt eſtabliſhed, and was, at firſt, neither dangerous, nor fear'd; but the Number of them was increas'd in every Reign, till a complete *Standing Corps* of them was form'd, to the great Terror of the Nation.

Then, indeed, the States of the Kingdom took the Liberty to remonſtrate againſt this Innovation, and humbly beſought the King to *reduce his Lions*. But ſome Excuſe was ſtill found to keep them up, and, what was worſe, the People made to feed them. Many a Bullock and Sheep are the poor Farmers oblig'd to bring to their inſatiable Jaws, and glad when they eſcape ſo; for very frequently they are, themſelves, ſnap'd up by theſe Devourers. And as the Emperor has many Country Houſes, there are ſo many different Sets of Lions kept for each of them, which, in the Abſence of the Court, are quarter'd in the Villages, and neighbouring Towns, at the Charge of the Inhabitants. Nor does the Nobility itſelf ſtand leſs in Awe of them; for tho' they are chain'd, yet the *Grand Vizir*, who is their Keeper, lets out their Chains, or contracts them as he pleaſes; and when any Nobleman, who is not in his Intereſt, preſumes to come to the King without his Leave, it is a great Chance if he be not torn in Pieces before he gets three Steps beyond the Door.

I ask'd the Biſhop, how his Majeſty durſt truſt his Lions to any but himſelf? ſince, notwithſtanding their Regard for the Blood Royal, they might, perhaps, be turn'd againſt him by a Miniſter, who knew how to manage them, if he found it for his Intereſt.

Very true, Sir, ſaid he; and for that Reaſon this politick Prince, tho' he leaves his other Affairs almoſt entirely to his Miniſter, takes this Province under his own Care; for he often reviews them, fills up Vacancies himſelf with proper *Beaſts*, ſees that they be all of the ſame Size and Colour; that they whisk their Tails, ſhake their Manes, and roar in Concert. In one Word, he knows his Lions, and is known to them; ſo that, if under him the *Vizir* has any Influence, it can't be attended with any Danger to the Crown. And ſure they can't be better manag'd; for as fierce as they are to other Men, they are ſo obedient to him and his Miniſter, that I have ſeen them, more than once, lick both their Bree—es, and fawn upon them as if they had been ſo many Spaniels. Nay, I heard the preſent *Vizir* declare in Publick, That if any of them durſt preſume to growl at him, or ſo much as look like Lions in his Preſence, he would have them turned out of Court with a good Whipping, and ſent to ſtarve in the Woods from whence they came. (See p. 371.)

Nevertheleſs, added the Biſhop, it is the Opinion of many People of good Senſe in *Abyſſinia*, that the *Vizir* is over-confident of his Power; and that, as ſecure as he thinks himſelf amongſt them, he had beſt not *put his Head into their Mouths*.

I ſuppoſe, ſaid I, he takes Care that the Chains with which he holds theſe Beaſts are very ſtrong. O! Yes, replied he, they are all of *beaten Gold*; and when any prove more unruly than the reſt, no Expence is ſpar'd to *double their Chains*, after which they become as gentle as Lambs; to their Keeper I mean: For it is obſervable of theſe Creatures, that the more tame they are to him, the more miſchievous they are to every body elſe.

I have heard, ſaid I, that the Lions of this Country are naturally ſome of the ſtouteſt in the World. They have been counted ſo, anſwer'd he; but few of theſe have ever look'd a Tyger, or a Leopard in the Face. They came to Court *errant Whelps*, and, ſince that Time, have only prey'd where they met with no Reſiſtance; yet ſome among them have good Blood in their Veins, and would have Spirit, if they cou'd but break their Fetters.

As I always endeavour, out of all I ſee or hear, to draw ſome Benefit to my native Country, I have been conſidering how far it might be proper to imitate this *African* Magnificence in *England*: And tho' I am againſt bringing Lions to our Court, as it might be called ſetting up a foreign Force, and would therefore be juſtly oppoſed by a *Britiſh* Parliament; yet, I am ſure, no Objection can

be made to a Guard of 60 or 100 *Engliſh Maſtiffes*; which, if conſtantly tied up, wou'd be as fierce, and no leſs watchful, or loving to their Maſter. I prefer them to *Bull-Dogs*, becauſe they *look more terrible*; and in theſe Matters, *Shew* is a great Article.

IN our *Magazine* for *March* 1733, p. 125, Col. 1. we obliged the Publick with a Specimen of that great Poetical Genius, Mr. *Sylvanus Urban*, in Hopes the Favour we then did him, would have raiſed his Flight, and made him ſoar to the higheſt Pinnacle of *Parnaſſus*; and for the ſame Purpoſe we have lately dubb'd him *a Doctor*; but, to our great Surpriſe, we find he ſtill grovels at the very Foot of that delicious Mountain, as the World may ſee from what follows.

In the *Grubſtreet Journal* of *Sept.* 29th. was publiſhed the following Copy of Rimes; for we ſhall not put ſuch an Affront upon Poetry as to call it a Poem, *viz.*

The Political State *to the* Gentleman's *and* London Magazines.

FOR five years I afforded your maſters to live on
Choice matters, which rightly improv'd they might thrive on:
They gave, as originals, my copy at large,
Except print and paper, not at the leaſt charge; [lecting,
I imputed no crime to their whole-ſale col-
Nay, begg'd their excuſe, if I baulk'd their expecting. [heiſer,
But ſince they've ſucceeded to plow with my (Howe'er I'm deceived, I'm not a deceiver)
They forget their old ſtate, and puff'd up with pride, [ride,
As new-mounted beggars, they *Jehu*-like
They pilfer'd whate'er their light fingers could touch, [much:
And blam'd a poor ſcrupler for not taking ſo
Yet if they ſuſpect any copies their page,
They cry—*Pillage*,—*Impoſe*—forſooth! in a rage. [rebellers!
'Gainſt good ſenſe and modeſty, what wicked
But alas! they will die, as they live, *mere book-ſellers*.

After which followed this N. B. *Theſe Verſes were inſerted on the proper Application of an unknown Correſpondent.*

By the low Conceit and hobbling Verſe of theſe Rimes we immediately gueſſed from whence they came, and were ſoon convinced we had gueſſed truly; for in the very next *Grubſtreet Journal*, *October* 6th, was publiſhed the following,

N. B. *By altering a Copy of Verſes*, To the London Magazine, *and inſerting them in our laſt, we made a diverting Diſcovery, of which we ſhall give ſome Account in our next.*

Accordingly, in the *Grubſtreet Journal* was publiſhed the following Piece of ſecret Hiſtory, which we ſhall give our Readers, with ſome Notes and Obſervations of our own.

Grubſtreet Journal, Oct. 13, 1737.

From the Pegaſus *in* Grubſtreet.

ON this Day Fortnight, *Sept.* 28. late in the Evening, an odd-look'd, antiquated, lean, ſhabby Perſon, who ſeemed to have taken his Flight from St. *John's Gate*, *Clerkenwell* —— brought a Copy of rime-tagg'd Lines to our Printer's Journey-man, giving him Half a Crown, that they might be inſerted in our *Journal* of the 29th. The Addreſs was, *The* Political State *to the* London Magazine: Which, together with the Contents, giving us a Suſpicion from what Quarter they were puffed; in order to make a fuller Diſcovery, we enlarged the Addreſs, making it run, *The* Political State *to the* Gentleman's *and* London Magazines. This we were certain we might do with the ſtricteſt Juſtice; ſince the *Gentleman Magaziner* was the firſt piratical Pillager of the *Political State*, and other Pamphlets and Papers, and ſet the Example to the *London Magaziners*: Who, as we have good Reaſon to believe, having out-bid the *Gentleman Magaziner* *, got the primary Publication of thoſe Speeches which both he and they formerly ſtole from the *Political State*; and which now the *Gentleman Magaziner* conſtantly ſteals, and the Author of the *Political State*, by a juſt Repriſal, takes from *them* †.

According as we ſuſpected, the grim Rime-Carrier

* *If this were true, it would only ſhew that we ſpare neither Pains nor Expence to procure our Readers ſuch Originals as may be worth their Acceptance; therefore we muſt firſt return our Thanks to our* Brother Grub, *for the intended Compliment, and then we ſhall aſſure him that we never had Occaſion to out-bid the* Gentleman Magaziner *for any Original, nor, we believe, ever ſhall; for the* Doctor *ſeems to have laid it down as a Maxim, never to apply to any Author, whoſe Productions may not be purchaſed for the common Price of a* City Porter; *and ſuch we ſhall never either apply to or employ.*

† *In Gratitude to the* Political State, *we think ourſelves obliged to declare, that he ſhall always be heartily welcome to copy any Thing he pleaſes from us. Even* Doctor Urban *himſelf might have proceeded without our Notice, had he behaved to his Benefactors with common Decency, and not uſhered in what he had ſtolen, with,* WE took the firſt Opportunity, WE gave a farther Detail, WE ſhall endeavour to give, *and the like deceitful Preambles.*

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Carrier came next Morning to our Printer, and, with a ſtern ſquinting Look, a wide expanded Mouth, and in a clamorous incendiary Style, demanded his Half-Crown again. Which, not out of the leaſt Apprehenſion of his Threats; but in mere Compaſſion to his meagre Countenance, his Thread-bare Coat, and poetical Wig, was charitably return'd him; and which we hope his Principal will permit him to keep as a Porter, over and above the other * Half-Crown, which we ſuppoſe he might have paid him as a Poet.

Craſtſman, Oct. 15. N° 583.

A Propoſal on Signor Balducci's *renown'd Invention.*

Mr. D'ANVERS,

I HAVE always look'd on it as a laudable Inclination in my Countrymen, and therefore have been a conſtant Advocate for the Importation of *Italian* Operas and Singers, Dancing-Poſture-Balance-Maſters, Tumblers, Rope-Dancers and *Harlequins*; all which I could prove to have been of ſo much Advantage to our moſt excellent M——n——y, and conſequently ſo neceſſary to the Well-being of the Kingdom, that the annual Expence of them is a mere Trifle, in Compariſon with the Benefits we reap from them. For Example, can any Thing be of more Uſe to a Plenipotentiary employ'd in making Treaties, than to obſerve how they manage at an Opera; where thoſe Inſtruments, which are of too high a Tone, are lower'd, and thoſe too low are ſcrew'd up to a proper Pitch, till at length their prodigious Diſcord is ſoften'd into Harmony? Again, why may not a Miniſter, from obſerving the regular Motions of a *French* Dancing-Maſter, avoid taking a falſe Step; or from the well-poiſed Performances of a Balance-Maſter gather Hints, which may be of ſingular Uſe to him, in his Profeſſion of preſerving the Balance of Power? A Tumbler, who takes that Leap which in *French* is call'd *le ſaut perilleux*, in *Engliſh* the *Somerſet*, and never fails to light on his Feet, may certainly inſtruct a Stateſman to do the like, after having attempted a general Exciſe, or any other dangerous Project; and a Rope-Dancer muſt be a conſtant *Memento* to him not to fly too high, for Fear of his Neck. *Harlequin*'s ſurprizing, and always-ready Expedients, by the Help of which he eſcapes the greateſt Dangers, avoids the threaten'd Kickings of the Burgo-maſter, and clears his Paſſage to his intriguing *Frow*, muſt be a very uſeful Leſſon to a Prime Miniſter, in the various Dangers, to which he neceſſarily expoſes himſelf from the very Nature of his Office. There is one Stratagem, which I have often ſeen *Harlequin* employ, with Succeſs, in his utmoſt Extremity, after all his Tricks have fail'd him, and when he could be no longer ſecure even in the Shape of a Spaniel Dog, and to no Purpoſe fawn'd upon one and p——ſs'd upon another. His Device was this. When he found himſelf very hotly purſued for his many flagrant Enormities, he hath got off by throwing amongſt his Perſuers Handfuls of that Money, which he had pick'd out of other People's Pockets. This naturally cauſing a Scramble amongſt them, he hath dextrouſly taken an Opportunity of running over their Backs, and making a clear Eſcape. I would humbly recommend this Hint to a certain great Man, and hope it may ſome Time be of Uſe to him, as well as of Advantage to the Nation. For which Reaſon, I apprehend, that when the Wiſdom of our Legiſlature thought fit, by a late Act, to lay an Exciſe upon Wit, they laid it only upon articulate Wit, and left to Signor *Harlequin* the full Exerciſe of his facetious Agility, for the more effectual Inſtruction of his Betters.

I ſhould be inexcuſable, if I omitted making honourable Mention of the renowned Signor *Balducci*, as he very juſtly ſtyles himſelf in an Advertiſement publiſh'd by him, in which he tells the Publick that he hath brought over with him two wonderful mathematical Statues, which are altogether of a new Invention, and exquiſite Workmanſhip; the one repreſenting a Damſel, who from the Beak of a Pidgeon on her Head, treats the Company with red or white Wine, as they call for it; the other being the Figure of a *Blackamoor*, which is ſo artfully compoſed and framed on ſuch Principles, that he turns himſelf any Way he is deſired, and gives his Opinion upon Matters propounded to him, either in the Negative, by ſhaking his Head, or in the Affirmative, by ſtriking a Bell, as commanded by his Maſter Signor *Balducci*, who influences his ſeveral Motions in ſo ſecret a Manner, that the moſt quick-ſighted Spectator can by no Means perceive how it is done.

Now, for the Benefit of my Country, I propoſe that Application be immediately made to the renown'd Signor *Balducci* to make 26 or 27 grave old formal Figures, in the ſame Manner with that of his *Blackamoor*, and contrived ſo as to *turn any Way they are commanded*. That nothing may be wanting in Point of Decency, and the goodly Appearance of theſe *ſage* Figures, I would have them array'd in the ſame Pye-bald Habits as the Originals, with their Viſages taken exactly from the Life, and double-bronz'd by that ingenious Artiſt, who retails the Heads

* *If this meagre Poet's Principal paid Half a Crown for theſe Rimes, he exceeded his uſual Generoſity; for we have good Reaſon to believe, that the Perſon to whom the pretended Prize of* 40*l. was allotted, had no more than* five Shillings, *both for his Poem, and for acknowledging the Receipt of the whole* 40*l.*

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of *Plato*, *Socrates*, *Seneca*, *Cicero*, &c. or if it ſhould be thought that their Countenances, particularly their Noſes, will come nearer the Originals, if made of Wax, I would recommend this Part to the celebrated Mrs. *Salmon*. As ſoon as they are thus compleatly finiſh'd, I would humbly propoſe that they ſhould be placed, in due Rank and Order, upon the ſame Seats, of which their Originals are in Poſſeſſion at preſent; and that each of them ſhall give his Proxy to the Figure intended to repreſent his Perſon. Inſtead of ſtriking on a Bell, each of theſe Figures ſhould ſignify his Conſent by ſmiting a Cuſhion with his Right hand, and his Non-Conſent by extending an empty Purſe in his Left, inſtead of ſhaking his Head.

The Benefits, which muſt ariſe from this Scheme, will be very great, and are ſo obvious, that they hardly want any Explanation; for by theſe Means the Originals will enjoy all their former Privileges, and at the ſame Time have more Opportunities of doing their Duty in another Capacity, which more properly belongs to them.

It cannot, indeed, be expected that the renown'd Signor ſhould either be at the Trouble of framing 26 ſuch Figures as theſe, or communicate his Secret in the Management of them, without a conſiderable Reward. But this Difficulty may be eaſily got over; for altho' the Civil Liſt is in itſelf ſo ſcanty, *as not fully to anſwer the* Intention, *for which it was granted*; yet the Money may be eaſily raiſed by Way of Lottery. I would not, however, have the Adventurers loſe quite 65 *per Cent.* as they do in the preſent *Bridge* Lottery, which I humbly apprehend is a little too much; and therefore I propoſe that their certain Loſs may not be above 60 *per Cent.* only; in which Caſe, I think, there can be no Doubt that the Lottery will immediately fill. I am farther perſuaded, that the Tickets will bear a conſiderable Premium; provided a proper Indulgence be granted to the *Jews*, and other worthy Adventurers of *Exchange Alley*, by which they may be enabled to make the moſt of the Lottery.

I am aware that ſome Cavillers may object againſt my Scheme, and allege that, at this Rate, the World would look upon theſe *ſolemn* Perſons as mere Tools and Machines, to be moved and actuated by the ſole Pleaſure of a Miniſter. But this, if rightly conſider'd, can have no Weight in it, ſince evil Tongues will always abound; and there are not wanting Men baſe enough to ſay as much of that learned Body, even in their preſent independent and uninfluenced Situation; yet were theſe bold Calumniators call'd upon to prove their Charge, they would find it very difficult, if not impoſſible, to do it to the Satisfaction of a well-choſen Jury. All they could ſay, in ſuch a Caſe, would probably amount to no more than a vehement Suſpicion; and ſince this is the preſent Caſe, will it not be the ſame Thing, when my Scheme for artificial, inſtead of perſonal *Puppets*, ſhall have taken Place? A miniſterial Influence may be then, as it is now, ſuſpected by ſome Men; but cannot be proved by any. It is now deny'd, and ſo it may be then, with as great Steadineſs; and for my Part, I ſolemnly declare, that when Signor *Balducci* exercis'd his Figures before me, (tho' I muſt freely own that I ſtrongly ſuſpected their Motions to be dependent on the Will and Pleaſure of that renown'd Virtuoſo) yet I could not, with all the Eyes I had, ſee in what Manner he influenced them; and conſequently I cannot depoſe, on Oath, that he influenced them at all. What then becomes of this Objection? It plainly appears to be a downright Cavil, and as ſuch deſerves to be intirely diſregarded.

Crane-Court, Aug. 16, 1737. *Yours, &c.* PHILOMATH.

Common Senſe, Oct. 22. N° 38.

This Paper contains a Memorial of that great Statesman, Cecil, *to Queen* Elizabeth; *in which is laid before her the Danger of being governed by any one Counſellor. I leave it to our miniſterial Gentlemen (ſays Mr.* Common Senſe) *to apply it in ſuch Manner, as in their great Wiſdoms they ſhall think fit, promiſing not to diſturb them. (We ſhall give our Readers a few Extracts from it.)*

A KING, by his royal Office, is the Father of his Country, whoſe Eye ought to watch over the Good of all and every one of his Subjects, in the juſt Execution of the Laws, and the impartial Diſpenſation of Prerogative; in redreſſing Grievances, rewarding Virtue, puniſhing Vice, encouraging Induſtry, and the like. But Princes, tho' the Vicegerents of Heaven, being not endued with Omniſcience, can only know theſe Grievances, Virtues, Vices, Induſtry, &c. of the People, and their ſeveral Exigencies, by the Eyes and Information of others: Nor can this be done by truſting to any one particular Favourite, who having no more, nor larger Qualifications than his Prince, can have no other Means of informing him aright, than what his Prince has without him; nay, it may very well be ſaid, that he has not any Means ſo ſure and infallible. For the Prince, if he conſults his great Councils, and only adheres to their publick Deciſions, cannot miſs of knowing all that is neceſſary to be known for his own Glory, and his Peoples Good, which are inſeparable; but the Favourite having private Deſigns to carry on, receives his Information from thoſe who muſt repreſent Things to him as he would have them.

them, by that Means to make their Court, and secure that Success to their Wishes, for which they daily pay the Adoration of so much Flattery. But if by the wonderful Application and Perspicuity of the Favourite, he should attain a true Knowledge of the State of Things, of the Inclinations and Desires of the People, it is forty to one that these clashing with his private Aims, he gives them another Face to the Prince, a Turn more agreeable to his separate Interest, tho' equally destructive of his Master's, and his Country's Good.

The only Way therefore for a Prince to govern with Satisfaction to his own Conscience, is to be the common Father of all his Country, to hear the Advice of all his Counsellors, and have an open Ear to all the Grievances and Necessities of all his People; which can never be done, while any one Man has the Luck to possess the Royal Favour so far, as to make his Advice an Over-balance to the whole Nation. They gain, by that Means, a Power which they extremely seldom, if ever, use for the Prince's Advantage, but most commonly, if not always, to the Destruction of both. There are Examples enough of this to alarm any wise and politick Prince. The Mayors of the Palace in *France* at last possess'd the Throne; and Domestick Instances may be given of those, who, by their excessive Power, have, if not themselves possess'd, yet deprived, and set whom they pleased on the Throne.

But omitting what your Majesty knows extremely well, I shall only give you a View of a great Favourite in the Reign of your Royal Father, a true Prospect of whose Practices and Ambition, may warn your Majesty against all those, who would engross not only your Majesty's Ear, but all the Gifts and Places your Majesty can bestow; so to be, if not in Name, yet in Effect, Kings of your People. I mean Cardinal *Wolsey*. *(Of whom he proceeds to give an Account.)*

This Sort of Men are easily distinguish'd by their fawning Devices. They make it their Endeavour to study and find out the most powerful Inclination of their King, whether he be inclined to Pleasure, Tenderness, Pity, Cruelty, or Avarice; and having gain'd a Knowledge of this, they never want the Address to work and interweave it in all their Designs, to accomplish their own private Ends. And there are few who are not sooner won by an obsequious Flattery of their darling Inclinations, than by the honest Face of Truth, in Contradiction to those Inclinations.

A wise Prince said, *In a Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety*; from whence, by a natural Consequence it is plain, that in one there is Danger; Danger both to the Prince and the People, and often, very justly, Ruin to the Person who, by such Measures, hoped to gain Power and Felicity.

The Passions too much indulg'd, have always been the Source of Miseries and Misfortunes both private and publick. And it is impossible that any one can escape Pain, who will hear no other Advice. And I think it is too plain to need any Proof, that no Prince can be guided by any one Minister, but by a passionate Fondness, either for his imaginary Virtues, or agreeable Vices. And I think it is as plain, that such a Prince, and the Kingdom govern'd by him, must be miserable in the End; and for this Reason, all wise Statesmen agree, that a Prince, or State, ought to have no Passions, if they would prosper in Glory and Power.

Valour and Conduct in Armies, may shine in one Subject, Frugality and good Management in another; but till we can find one Man Master of all Knowledge, and all Virtues, it will never be safe or honourable to confide in one, exclusive of all others. For that Nation is in a lost Condition indeed, that can afford but one Man among all its Nobility and Gentry qualified to serve the Publick: Nay, it is an Argument both of Weakness and Depravity in a Prince, who, if he encourageth Virtue, would not want Numbers of Heads to assist him.

Craftsman, Oct. 22. N° 589.

Of the antient Egyptian *Government.*

THE antient *Egyptians* were not only famous for the Invention of Arts and Sciences, but are reported, by several Historians, to be the first who understood the true Nature of Government. *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that altho' their Government was monarchical and hereditary, it differ'd in several Respects from all other Monarchies, and that their Kings were more strictly obliged to obey the Laws.

Not only Slaves and Foreigners were prohibited to attend about their Persons; but Men of the most distinguish'd Birth, Education and Abilities were always chosen for that Office, in order to instil generous Sentiments into their Minds, and check them in their Extravagancies; which little Upstarts could not take the Liberty of doing; for, as M. *Rollin* observes from the same Author, it seldom happens that Kings indulge themselves in any vicious Excesses, unless their Ministers, or Favourites, encourage them in their Irregularities and Passions.

The Kings of *Egypt* were so far from complaining of these Restraints upon them, that they did not look upon it as any Affront to be stinted both in Quality and Quantity of their Eatables and Drinkables. Nay, instead of being allow'd by Law, to range Abroad, in Pursuit of unlawful Pleasures, even the Times of lying with their own Queens were prescribed

preſcribed to them. How this nice Affair was regulated, does not appear, or whether it was always ſtrictly obſerved by the Kings; but at the Declenſion of the Empire, this Law was grown ſo obſolete, that *Cleopatra* made no Scruple of converſing with another Woman's Huſband, which proved the Ruin of them both.

However, theſe *Egyptian* Monarchs were allow'd a little Flattery, like other Kings; for it was the particular Buſineſs of the High Prieſt, in the Midſt of their divine Service, not only to pray for his *Egyptian* Majeſty, but likewiſe to enter into a long Detail of his royal Virtues; taking particular Notice that he was a moſt gracious and religious King; mild in his Government; juſt in all his Actions; a perfect Maſter of his Paſſions, &c.

But the High Prieſts of that Age were not ſo fulſome in their Panegyricks as ſome of modern Date; for tho' they paid theſe fine Compliments to all Princes, whether they deſerved them or not, it was with a glorious Intention of exciting them to the Practice of Virtue, and in order to diſſuade them from Vice. They took the Liberty of putting them in Mind, at the ſame Time, of the Faults and Miſcarriages, which Kings are capable of committing. To do this with the more Decency, they always ſuppoſed that it was owing either to Ignorance, or Miſinformation; denouncing Vengeance againſt all Miniſters, who gave their royal Maſters ill Advice, or conceal'd the Truth from them.

But amongſt all the *Egyptian* Cuſtoms, the moſt remarkable were their Funeral Ceremonies. In moſt other Countries, and particularly in the preſent Age, it is grown a received Maxim, *to ſpeak nothing ill of the Dead*; but in *Egypt* it was not allowed to praiſe them in the ſame indiſcriminate Manner. They could not have that Honour, without the Approbation of the Publick. As ſoon as any Man died, he was brought to his Trial. There was an Officer appointed, on Purpoſe to accuſe him. If it was proved that the Deceaſed had behaved in a ſcandalous, or corrupt Manner, his Memory was branded, and his Body deny'd Burial. On the contrary, if he was acquitted, he had all the Honours of Interment paid to him. This Law had ſuch an Effect upon the Morals of the People, that every Body was afraid of diſgracing his own Character, and the Reputation of his Family.

What was moſt ſurprizing, as *M. Rollin* obſerves, in this publick Court of Judicature upon the Dead, is, that the Crown itſelf was not exempted from it. The Kings were ſpared, during their Lives, for the Sake of the publick Good; but, when dead, were obliged to undergo the ſame ſtrict Enquiry; and ſome of them have been actually deny'd the funeral Honours of their Country.

If the Judgment happen'd to prove in Favour of the Deceaſed, they gave him an honourable Burial, as I obſerved before, with a funeral Panegyrick; without taking any Notice of his Birth, or Rank in the World. All the People of *Egypt* were reputed noble, and did not look upon any Thing as true Praiſe, but what aroſe from perſonal Merit. For this Reaſon, they inſiſted only on the Prince's Juſtice, Generoſity, Modeſty, Affability, Sweetneſs of Temper, and other amiable Qualities, which not only ſecured him from Cenſure, but raiſed the moſt glorious and laſting Monument to his Memory.

WE have received the Letter dated *October* 17. relating to a late Election, and ſhall willingly comply with the Gentleman's Requeſt, if he or his Friends will furniſh us with the proper Materials, or recommend us where we may be provided with ſuch; for as we never have given, nor ever intended to give, a full Account of the Proceedings and Debates upon any Election, we did not take Care, at the proper Time, to furniſh ourſelves with the neceſſary Materials for giving ſuch an Account of the Election mentioned by our Friend and Correſpondent.

We are ſenſible nothing can be of a more general Concern, than a juſt and impartial Determination of the Right of Election in general. Upon this the very Eſſence of our happy Conſtitution chiefly depends. But the Right of any particular Election is not of ſuch a general Concern. The Friends and Neighbours of the two contending Parties in any Election, may be deſirous, and even anxious, to ſee a full Account of the Proceedings and Debates upon that Occaſion; but the People in every other Corner of the Kingdom are generally very little curious about them, and would perhaps complain of our filling up our *Magazine* with what concern'd private Perſons only, and neglecting thoſe Affairs which were of the moſt publick Concern. For this Reaſon, tho' the Publick may be conſequentially concerned in determining the Right of every particular Election, yet we have always choſen to paſs them over ſuperficially, in order that we may have Room to give a more full and exact Account of thoſe Affairs in which the Publick is immediately and apparently concerned.

However, if we can be provided with Materials, we ſhall take ſome Method or other, for ſatisfying our Friend and Correſpondent in what he deſires; and ſhall always be ready to oblige any Gentleman in the ſame Way, to the utmoſt of our Power, eſpecially when he aſſiſts us with proper Materials, which any Gentleman may do, without letting any one know he does ſo, by directing them to Mr. *Aſtley* at the *Roſe* in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*.

Pap.

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Part of the Fifteenth Chapter of EXODUS *paraphras'd by a School-Boy.*

WHEN *Iſrael*'s ſons, led by the fav'ring hand
Of *God* their guide, had left th' *Egyptian* land;
In words like theſe, their ſacred Chief expreſt
The heavenly raptures glowing in his breaſt.
To thee, O Lord, my joyful tongue I raiſe,
Do thou accept, who doſt inſpire my lays.
Thy praiſe for ever ſhall employ my breath;
My joy in life, my confidence in death.
How was thy mighty arm ſtretch'd forth to ſhed
Vengeance divine on *Pharaoh*'s guilty head!
How was thy nobler pow'r diſplay'd to ſave
Thy fav'rite people from the watry grave!
To thee, our Strength, ſhall lofty altars riſe,
And ſpicy frankincenſe perfume the ſkies:
A ſpacious teat thy ſacred ſhrine infold
In waving purple and enliven'd gold.
Thy glories there, O! may thy ſervant ſee;
And dedicate the life thou gav'ſt, to thee.
Encompaſs'd round with death, when late we pray'd,
And ſpread our trembling hands to God for aid,
He heard propitious; at his dread command
The rolling ocean's confluent waters ſtand
In heaps on heaps: the riſing tides reſtrain
Their headlong courſe, nor haſten to the main.
Divide thou deep, he ſaid; the waves obey,
And parting form between a dreadful way,
Wall'd in with waters; where the dolphins play'd,
And o'er the ſpreading beds of coral ſtray'd;
Where golden ſands appear in bright array;
And rip'ning ſhells their lucid folds diſplay;
We march ſecurely forth, led by his pow'r
Who form'd the ſeas, and taught them where to roar.
We gain the diſtant land; the *Egyptian* train
With fierce purſuit, ruſh quick into the main.
Return thou deep, then ſaid th' omnific word,
Nor added more; old Ocean heard his Lord,
As (if great things we may with ſmall compare)
When *Edom* ſends her eager ſons to war;
In ſtrict array th' embattled warriors ſtand,
Preſs the ſtrong courſer cloſe, and wait command:
Quick at the word they give the ſlacken'd rein,
Hang o'er the flying ſteeds, and ſweep along the plain.
Thus with impetuous force the waters flow,
And roll in mountains o'er the ſinking foe.
Ah! what avails the painted chariot's pride,
Or courſer's ſtrength beneath the whirling tide?
Alike unable now to fight or fly,
O'erwhelm'd, confounded, lo! they droop, they die;
And bury'd in one mighty ruin lie.
To thee, O God, what trophies ſhall we raiſe;
What laſting monuments to ſpeak thy praiſe?
The well-fixt pillar, and the figur'd buſt,
Sink down with age, and moulder into duſt:
O! let our hearts the choſen marble be;
The living temple conſecrate to thee:
Thy ſacred name inſcribe, *Jehovah*, there;
They'll feel the Characters of praiſe they bear.

A Speech of MENTOR, *imitated from the 22d Book of* TELEMACHUS.

HEAR, O *Telemachus!* and bear in mind
The words of *Mentor*. In a ſtate, two things
Are dangerous, dreadful, and moſt hard to cure;
"The too great power and violence of kings:
"A people drunk with luxury and pride."
When kings, forgetting or deſpiſing law,
Give up the rein to blind and headſtrong paſſion,
And bear no check on their unbounded wills,
What muſt enſue? precipitate they ruſh,
As wayward humour, or ambition leads,
To acts of power, oppreſſion, or injuſtice:
And for the luſt of doing what they will,
Loſe the juſt power of doing what they ought.
As the ſtrong bow, when raſhly bent too far,
Unleſs ſome ſkilful hand ſhall eaſe the ſtring,
Breaks ſhort, and wounds perhaps th' unwary bound,
archer:
So regal power, when ſtretch'd beyond its
Deſtroys itſelf, and hurts the Publick too;
And who's the man ſhall dare to touch that ſtring?
Sooth'd by fond hopes, by no ſound maxims led,
Hating the truth, and far above advice,
Head-long they plunge in error and misfortune.
Their friends, their ableſt ſubjects, drove from court,
Leave them, ſurrounded with a herd of ſlaves,
A venal cringing herd! that only vie
Who, moſt ſhall flatter every royal crime.
Lamented ſtate! who to his prince's ear,
Thro' ſuch a crowd, ſhall dare convey the truth? cauſe,
Who, nobly warm'd, ſhall, in his country's
Riſe up to ſtem the tide of publick miſchief?
Alas in vain! the truly great, the wiſe,
The bravely juſt, their patriot virtues ſcorn'd,
Hopeleſs, retire to peaceful ſilent ſhades,
And mourn in private o'er their country's ruin.
The other dangerous ill is luxury.
As too much power intoxicates a king,
So luxury enervates all the land.
This ſplendid vice is thought, indeed, fine taſte,
Politeneſs, grandeur, and the life of arts,
Till by degrees the moſt ſuperfluous things
Are but eſteem'd neceſſities of life;
And every day produces ſome improv'd
Luxurious new neceſſity, till all
The land becomes a race of ſhining beggars.
Each emulating fool abſurdly vies
With thoſe above him. All forſake their rank,
And live beyond their fortune or condition:
Some

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Some, thro' vain pride, to make a ſhow of wealth,
And ſome thro' ſhame to hide their poverty.
Nay, thoſe who ſee the folly, and condemn,
Yet dare not be the firſt to ſtem the tide.
Thus the whole nation ſinks and falls to ruin:
All rank is loſt, all order is confus'd.
The paſſion to ſupport a proud expence,
In all the heights of pomp and luxury,
At once corrupts the pureſt, nobleſt mind,
And waſtes and ruins the moſt ample fortune:
And as our greateſt pride is to ſeem rich,
So nothing's infamous but poverty.
Are you ſuperior even to all mankind
In wiſdom, virtue, and in every art;
If poor —— deſpis'd each uſeful talent lies,
Your worth, your virtues, bury'd and unknown.
All will be rich, at leaſt will ſeem to be,
And to ſupport that vain deceitful ſhow,
Stoop down to mean, to venal proſtitution,
And ſell themſelves to purchaſe infamy.

The BULL-FINCH *and* DAW. *A Fable.*

A *Bull-finch*, who his talents try'd
With good ſucceſs, but more of pride,
As cobbling, ſtrutting, *turkey* vain,
Each bird the mark of his diſdain,
Admir'd, and fear'd, where-e'er he ſung,
Perch'd near a *daw*, and thus begun;
'See! joys compleat on me beſtow'd,
With pers'nal charms, and parts endow'd;
But feather'd ſages ſure agree
That nature nodded forming thee:
Awkward, alert, with whims thy head
Mercurial mounts, but drops in lead.
Thy ſhape, thy hue, our ſight offends;
Thy ſhort, ſhrill, accents who commends?
Not ſo abſurd the hooting *owl*;
But gravely he, thou pertly dull.'
Abaſh'd the *daw* with ſatire ſtung,
Jobber'd and kaw'd, and bit his tongue;
To hollow tree, his ſeat, withdrew
Still ſputt'ring anger, as he flew.
With fickle wing ſoon chang'd his place,
A chimney cover'd his diſgrace:
Here fix'd he ſcorns with heedleſs ear
The ſounds that reach his hollow ſphere,
The titt'ring voice, or haſty calling,
Dog's ſnap abrupt, or puſs's ſqualling,
Alternate fugues of ſcolding tongues,
Or ſem-briefs bray'd from aſſes lungs.
With better ſtrains, at length, he heard
A pipe inſtruct a tutor'd bird,
Catching the ſong with tuneful throat,
And echoing back each rival note.
Thus charm'd, he from his dark abode
Invited tries the advent'rous road:
Down-right he flounders on; his ſight
Is hid in momentary night.
But gloomy fears, and perils ending,
To ſpatious, lightſome room deſcending,
Reward'd with what glad ſurprize!
Impriſon'd there the *finch* he ſpies,
Swinging betwixt the floor and cieling,
A cage his pendent, airy dwelling.
A gilded bull ſhone o'er his head,
Thick wires, like rays, around him ſpread:
A turf, beneath his foot, was ſound,
In miniature, a verdant ground:
Seeds here conceal'd, there groundſel ſeen,
There plantain ſtalks were wove between.
Water, with ſtreaks of ſaffron dy'd,
Rich draughts from cryſtal font ſupply'd:
A ſhew of bliſs his ſtate expreſs'd,
Tho' ſplendid ſervitude at beſt.
But now what refuge, or relief
Can hide his ſhame, or ſooth his grief?
While ſtanding oft diſclos'd before him,
With hateful form oft hov'ring o'er him,
Clapping his ſooty wings, his foe
Adds inſults to the captive's woe.
'Where's now, cries he, thy ſcorn, or boaſt?
What's wit, or beauty, freedom loſt?
Tho' gay thy priſon, firm its hold,
And fetters gall, tho' made of gold.
Hence, warbling ſlave, be this thy ſtrain,
Thy excellence but proves thy bane:
Whilſt I in my defects am bleſs'd,
Thou ſtill art wretched, tho' careſs'd.'
The meaneſt, thanks to nature owe;
And chance can bring the wainſt low.'

The UNSAVOURY PUDDING; *or, The* Baker beſh—t. *A ſpick and ſpan-new Ballad. Compos'd by* Miſo-ſuccoſpigetta-diamnaſtifalutto-ſyocoprus.

[*To the Tune of* — King John *and the* Abbot of Canterbury.

I'LL tell you a ſtory,—a ſtory ſo fine.—
Of a *ſweet, ſober* wife of a learned divine:
O'er whom the full tankard more tears has oft ſhed,
Than herſelf has e'er done, for the life, ſhe [has led.
Derry down, down, down, derry down.
Dear *prieſteſs!* don't ſay, — that, with ſlanderous aim,
And malicious deſign, or unmerited ſhame,
My baſe, tattling muſe you unrighteouſly brands: [hands.
No;—good woman!—I had it from very good
Derry down, &c.
Beſides, — the diſcloſure may do you more good, [you blood;
Than the binding your head, or the letting
Or, the moſt grave advice, or ſevereſt rebukes, [looks.
Or, your huſband's grimace, and diſſatisfy'd
Derry down, &c.
Tho' at my new ſong, then, you chance to be vex'd, [*text:*
Sweet lady! you know, I ſhou'd *follow my*
And now, by your leave, I'll make bold to proceed,
To ſpeak of the delicate, dainty, fine deed.
Derry down, &c.

By

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By your leave,—did I say?—there myſelf I forgot;—
But I care not a pin, if I have it, or not:
Nor indeed has my muſe any reaſon to care;
Since, the truth, and no more, ſhe intends to declare. *Derry down, &c.*

Know then,—this good-wife, by bad chance t'other day, [ſay:
Sipp'd a little too deep;—as ſome goſſippers
And, tho' privately 'twas, that ſhe got almoſt drunk, [*ſt—k.*
Yet, after (forſooth!) ſhe more publickly *Derry down, &c.*

Now,—*ſtrong liquor,* we find,—in the body when pent, [*vent:*
As well as the *barrel,*—muſt ſomewhere have
And, when ſtore of *good-ale* in the ſtomach does lurk, [to *work.*
'Tis accuſtom'd, or upwards, or downwards, *Derry down, &c.*

In the very ſame manner, with *madam* it far'd;—
As is, in the *ſavoury* ſequel declar'd:
Nay, and worſe;—for the *ſpirit of barley,* you'll find, [*mind.*
Had *poſſeſs'd* both her *body,* and *muddled* her *Derry down, &c.*

Yet,—O vile diſgrace, Sir!—as ill luck wou'd have it, [it;)
(The ſtory's ſo ſad, I've a great mind to wave
O grievous misfortune!—it ſo came about,
That, e'er ſhe was quite *in-for't,* the veſſel was *out.* *Derry down, &c.*

However,—it ſeems,—what ſhe took, was ſufficient,— [cou'd e'en with on't;)
(Though ſhe had not ſo much, as her heart I ſay,—as it happen'd,—the doſe was ſo large, [*diſcharge.*
As, in proceſs of time, Sir, to make her—
Derry down, &c.

The lady *o'erloaded,* was ready to tumble,
Her guts ſorely grip'd too, began now to *grumble:*
Hopes of reaching, or *privy,* or *pot,* were quite paſt; [faſt.
Her ſtrong *mixen-throws* now came on her ſo *Derry down, &c.*

To tell you the truth,—ſhe was *needy bet'en,*
Nor cou'd longer the filthy, foul matter retain:
So, what came next to hand, ſhe *behind* did apply; [*fly.*
Then, at once,—and that *luſtily* too,—ſhe let *Derry down, &c.*

This good houſe-wife, it ſeems, had that ſame day been *baking,*
When ſhe was (poor, dear ſoul!) in this pitiful taking; [am told,)
And had ſnatch'd up a *cup* of ſuch ſort, (I
As was us'd, in the oven, *a pudding* to hold. *Derry down, &c.*

But mark, Sir, what came, at this juncture, to paſs;
(For misfortunes come ſingle but ſeldom alas!)
Ah me!—ſhe was ne'er ſo hard put to't, before: [at the door.
For lo!—*goody* (what's her name?,—knock'd *Derry down, &c.*

O damnable nonplus!—unlucky intruſion!—
What a wild conſternation,—what ſhame and confuſion,
Was *madam* now in!—(bleſs us!)—how ſhe was hamper'd! [—and ſcamper'd!
And ſtar'd, like a mad thing!—and buſtled *Derry down, &c.*

But ladies (you know) at *invention* are quick,
And, when brought to a pinch, can come off with a trick:
Thus *madam,* it ſeems, had that preſence of mind, [*ſhift.*
That ſhe, *ſomehow,* the way to the *oven* did *Derry down, &c.*

Here—(firſt, her impertinent gueſt, having damn'd,)—
The *potted ſir-rev'rence,* ſhe haſtily cramm'd:
And, when thus, in a hurry, ſh' 'ad carefully hid, [the lid.
What was hardly worth ſaving, ſhe put up *Derry down, &c.*

She then ſtalk'd to the door,—and (with much ado) ſtood,— [ſhe cou'd:)
And bade her friend welcome;—(as well as
O!—I'm moſt glad to ſee you!—(I pray now, ſit down;)—
As glad, as to ſee e'er a neighbour in town.
Derry down, &c.

I own, I'm not able to give a relation
Of what paſs'd in theſe people's polite converſation:
But the lady had ſuck'd in ſo much good *October,* [*ſober.*
I fancy, 'twas not of that ſort, we call—
Derry down, &c.

To make ſhort of my ſtory,—when *goody* was gone, [ſtone:
Madam went to the oven, and took down the
For ſhe's not *over-nice,* nor *afraid of her hand;* [underſtand.
As,—by what goes before,—you may well *Derry down, &c.*

Now buſ'neſs goes forward;—ſhe's *now* full of cares:
Now ſhe's able to ſee after houſhold-affairs;—
Having well-nigh recover'd her ſenſes again:
For when company's *by,* ſhe can almoſt refrain:
Derry down, &c.

Yet, tho' *ſober,* ſh' 'ad *got* (ſtill) *a cup,* Sir, *too much:*
For, (poor creature!) her ſhortneſs of mem'ry was ſuch,
That ſhe quite had forgot her late fit of the *colic:* [drunken frolic?
But, what fool can remember each *mad,* *Derry down, &c.*

Looking into the oven, how each thing did *bake,* [*cake:*
Her eyes were ſoon fix'd on the *ſweet ſaffron-*

'*Why*, Doll!—*come here*, Doll!—*whose pudding is this?*'——
'*Pray, dame, how shou'd I know, whose pudding it is?*' *Derry down, &c.*
'*Why, who put it in?* (says the mistress) *you jade?* [pert maid:]
'*None of me, I can tell you*;' (replies the
'*Why then, call your master, you brazen-fac'd minx!* [thinks.'
'*Of the matter, let's see, what my bed-fellow Derry down, &c.*

The husband was call'd then, his judgment to try; [*pye:*
For he often will needs have a *finger i' th'* But, sure, 'twas enough the *divine*, Sir, to *puzzle*; — [quently guzzle.
Tho' he sometimes will *read*,—but more fre- *Derry down, &c.*
Most parsons love pudding,—'tis commonly said; [his head:
So he took good, large snuffs quite up into And then,—as the mouth of the oven it stood in,— [*fly-pudding.*
He thus gave his thoughts of this strange *ba- Derry down, &c.*
'*Neither whose 'tis, nor what 'tis, can I, as yet, tell*;
'*But I'm certain, it has no agreeable smell:*
'*Yet I'll taste*;—*Out upon't!—fob!—I'll give you my word*, [t—d.'
'*Neither more 'tis, nor less than a cup full of Derry down, &c.*

As *a man of true taste*, we may now you esteem; [you seem:
Nay,—*a witch*, i' my conscience! O *dear*, I knew, you'd sometimes on a *homily* pore;
But I ne'er, for *a conjurer*, took you before. *Derry down, &c.*

All *three*, for some time, on each other did stare; [fair:
Nor knew, what to think, of this *nasty* af-
But judg'd it, howe'er, an advisable way,
Not a word of this wonderful *pudding* to say. *Derry down, &c.*

But *hedges have ears*;—ah!—and *children have eyes*; [ling espies:
And *strange* things, sometimes, e'en a strip-
So it happen'd too, here,—by some ugly, foul chance,— [*trance.*
That unfortunate *madam* was seen in her *Derry down, &c.*

The *child* told the *maid*,—and the *maid* told her *spark*,— [the *dark:*
Who soon brought to *light* what was done in
The neighbours all laugh'd, till their sides were e'en sore; [hard, *before.*
And some say,—*she*'s grown *sober*, who *swill'd Derry down, &c.*

And now, to conclude,—for, methinks, it is time, [*sublime:*—
Since my pen is but *blunt*, tho' my theme be
For abusing your patience, your pardon I crave;
But, *too much of a good thing*, we, surely, *can't have.* *Derry down, &c.*

And yet, at the same time, I must not deny, [to *obey:*
That things *sweet* and *luscious* are soon apt
Wherefore, now, this rare, *new-fashion'd pudding* I'll drop; [can *stop:*
Tho', my *muse*, (I profess, Sir!) I hardly *Derry down, &c.*

But I'm fully resolv'd to conclude, in a trice; [*wise*
And I think, it must be, with *a word of ad-*
To *you*, — dear, *sweet lady!* — who *cook'd* up the *plot:* — [got.
That the subsequent *caution* may ne'er be for- *Derry down, &c.*

To compleat your recov'ry, — keep still in your mind, [*behind:*
What a *shameful, sad thing* lately happen'd
To be plain, (tippling *madam*;) — the thing, I advise,
Is,—*that you still continue both sober, and wise. Derry down, &c.*

And, to this good intent, (love!) — whenever you *brew*, [*squatter* anew:
See, the *drink* ben't too *strong*, — lest you
For, O!—(in good faith!)—if you *brew, as you bake*, — [ry make.
You'll the publick *asfresh*, at your cost, mer- *Derry down, &c.*

The QUESTION. *A Letter to* SERENA. *By the Author of* Quintilian's Complaint. (*See p.* 268.)

CAN you, *sublime Serena*, condescend,
To read the humble missive of a friend?
And for a while those lofty pow'rs forget
That bounteous *heav'n* has in your bosom set.
I know you can; your generous soul will bear,
With those in whom *true friendship* does appear.
Friendship refin'd is what you most approve,
And modern poets call *Platonic love.*
A theme, in which a thousand beauties shine,
And much deserving better lays than mine.
But when *Serena* bids, who wou'd not write,
And tho' not her, yet give himself delight?
Calls from the *fair* the poet's breast inspire,
Provoke his genius, and augment his fire.
To please the *sex* with noble views we rise,
And all inferior arguments despise.
But I, *Serena*, with strong doubts oppress,
That daily labour in my anxious breast;
Doubts that I am not able to explain,
By dint of thought, or travail of the brain;
To you apply for counsel, and advice,
Th' affair's too *common*, but the case is *nice.*
Say, *learned fair*, for who like you can tell?
In whom good sense, and piercing judgment dwell;
Say, from what cause proceeds that *restless mind*
Which still in most of human race we find?
How few are easy in their present state,
Which *choice* has given, or is assign'd by *fate?*
Has *heav'n* the means of true *content* deny'd,
To humble mortals, and correct their pride?

Or,

Or, is it owing to ſome vain deſire,
Of gaining ſomething, which we can't acquire?
Have men a *ſource* of happineſs within?
Or is't, to ſearch it from without, a ſin?
The rich, the wiſe, the learned, and the brave,
Are ſtill in want of what they cannot have;
And ſomething *from without*, that's unpoſſeſt,
Deſtroys their pleaſure, and diſturbs their reſt.
Where lies the fatal ſpring of all this woe,
And how it may be ſtopt, *Serena*, ſhow?
Which if you can reſolve, then you ſhall be
A future *Delphic oracle* to me.

To the Author of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THE following Imitation is from the famous PASTOR FIDO, or, *faithful Shepherd of Guarini*. The whole Poem was tranſlated into *Engliſh*, above an hundred Years ſince, by Sir *R. Fanſhaw*, but not very much to the Author's Advantage; but one Scene of it was imitated very beautifully, by the late Earl of *Roſcommon*, beginning thus,

Hail happy grove, dark and ſecure retreat, &c.

And had his Lordſhip done the Whole, the following Scene had, perhaps, never been attempted.

From SCENE IV. ACT I. *of* Paſtor Fido. *By Mr.* LOCKMAN.

The VIRGIN *and the* ROSE.

AS in ſome rural paradiſe, a ROSE,
(Which, veil'd by leaves, and huſh'd in calm repoſe,
Beneath the duſky mantle of the ſkies,
On its fair ſtalk, in ſweet oblivion lies)
Wakes gently, ſoon as the firſt orient beam
Calls ſlumb'ring nature from its tranſient dream;
To *Phœbus*, who its glowing form beholds,
A boſom, rich with crimſon hues, unfolds:
Whence the wing'd bee (ſoft-breathing amorous ſighs)
Extracts the lucid nectar as he flies.
Bleſt flower! and yet if it ungather'd ſtay
Till *Sol*, high mounted, dart a ſcorching ray,
Pining, it droops with the declining light,
And all its glories glide away from ſight.
Thus the young VIRGIN, whilſt her mother's care,
From flatt'ring man, conceals the darling fair,
The fair ſecludes love's ardours from her breaſt,
And the ſoft woes which break a maiden's reſt.
But ſhou'd ſome *Thyrſis* dart a wanton eye,
And ſhe attend to the ſweet tempter's ſigh,
Inſtant her heart its inmoſt folds diſplays,
And her, now love-ſick ſoul, is on a blaze.
Then, if or baſhfulneſs or fear reſtrain
The melting nymph, and ſhe diſguiſe her pain,
To hated ſilence doom'd, ſhe weeping lies,
Eclips'd the lovely luſtre of her eyes,
Her graces fade, and ſhe untimely dies.

An Imitation of the 15*th* ODE *of the* 4*th Book of* HORACE.

Phœbus volentem prælia me loqui,
Victas & urbes, &c.

WHEN firſt I try'd, unſkill'd in lofty verſe,
Battles and conquer'd cities to rehearſe,
Apollo with his lyre my temples ſtrook.
Enrag'd, and thus the potent godhead ſpoke:
Forbear, he cries, to ſwell thy empty note,
Nor on th' *Atlantick* truſt a tott'ring boat.
Apollo thus; my tremb'ling muſe forbore,
And ſung of battles, and of war no more.
Thy reign, auſpicious *George*, belov'd by heav'n!
Has peace and plenty to *Britannia* giv'n;
No more the cannon's warlike roar alarms;
No more the brazen trumpet calls to arms;
Unbridled license is in chains confin'd,
And baniſh'd ſin relinquiſhes the mind.
The antient arts lift up their awful head,
By which the *Britiſh* name o'er all the world was ſpread; [creas'd;
By which old *Albion's* ſtrength and fame en-
By which our pow'r was own'd from weſt to eaſt. [ſtate.
While god-like *George* directs *Britannia's*
No civil wars ſhall rage, no vengeful hate,
That whets the fatal ſword, and calls to arms,
And with inteſtine broils whole towns alarms.
Not thoſe that drink *Danubius'* rapid ſtream,
Nor cruel *Turks* ſhall *George's* laws contemn;
America his dictates ſhall obey,
And foreign pow'rs his mediation pray.
We happy *Britons*, his peculiar care,
In peace and freedom breathe our native air;
And on our feſtivals and holidays
All join to celebrate our monarch's praiſe.
Men, women, children, in the temple pray,
And with a thankful heart their joy diſplay.
Then to ſweet ſongs join muſick's ſofteſt ſound;
Edward's * and *Henry's* † gallant acts reſound;
Whilſt ev'ry bard inſpir'd by *Phœbus* ſings
The beſt of mortals, and the beſt of kings.

ÆNIGMA. By M. T.

FROM the womb of the earth,
I challenge my birth,
From the ladies fair fingers my frame.
I vary as oft
As *Luna* aloft,
Yet always continue the ſame.

* *The* IIId,

† *The* Vth,

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In winter I'm hot,
In ſummer I'm not,
Yet I find no great alteration;
I play'd leaſt in ſight,
As I very well might,
At the time of the grand uſurpation.
I have fleſh I muſt own,
Without any bone;
I have tongue, yet ne'er ſpoke any treaſon;
I bear excellent fruit,
Without any root,
And always am beſt in my ſeaſon.
Both *Indies* do pay,
By night and by day,
Their juſt tribute into my cavern;
In the ale-houſe I'm poor,
As a garreted whore,
But always am rich in a tavern.
When ſcarce a day old,
I grow clammy and cold,
But when into a dungeon I'm turn'd,
I never get ſleep,
But always do weep,
For fear of my ſides being burn'd.
As ſoon as releas'd,
I away to a feaſt,
And drink ſome more wine e'er I die;
Then ſtreight diſappear,
And come no more there;
What a whimſical creature am I?

ADAM's FALL.

ONCE *Adam* trod the happy ground
Of *Eden*'s verdant plain;
Perpetual pleaſures ſmil'd around;
Nor ſin had threat'ned pain.

The charms of nature dreſt the grove,
There all her ſtores were laid;
And nature's God bid *Adam* rove,
Thro' each inviting glade.

Satan, a keen invet'rate foe,
Aſſumes the ſerpent's hue,
And bids the man attempt to know,
More than his Maker knew.

The tempter bid, and man comply'd,
And pluck'd the teaching fruit;
Knew more than if he had deny'd
The ſubtle tempter's ſuit.

The fatal purchaſe coſt him dear,
He knew both good and evil;
He ſin'd, and ſtraight commenc'd an heir,
And ſubject of the devil.

Once he ſurvey'd his Maker's face,
And call'd the God his own:
Now trembles to approach the place,
Where he erects his throne.

Rack'd with diſtreſs, the rebel tries
To ſhun his Maker's ſight;
To 'ſcape the God's omiſcient eyes,
Aims a deſpairing flight.

ALPHEUS, *Ætat.* 18.

Occaſion'd by ſeeing a young Lady drop a ſmall Pin from between her Fingers, juſt as ſhe was going to fix it in the Poke of her Cap. By the ſame Hand.

HIGH o'er her head her twinkling fingers play,
To perfect order ev'ry pleat they lay;
Then drop the little pointed jav'lin down,
Deſign'd to fix the cambrick to her crown.
Oh fatal croſs! the diſappointed fair
Gropes for the pin, and diſlocates her hair;
Compleatly vex'd ſhe whines with peeviſh tone,
And half diſtracted mutters, I'm undone:
With mimick art ſhe aims, but aims in vain,
And can't for life adjuſt the curl again.

The MORAL.

Ten thouſand diſappointments wait our ſtate,
Reſtleſs we mourn for abſent good too late:
To day we ſmile, ſecure, no danger nigh;
To-morrow droop, repine, look up, and dye.

The Deſcription of *Richmond* Gardens we believe will be acceptable.

An ODE. *By a Sea-Chaplain.*

WITH gallant pomp and beauteous pride,
The floating pile in harbour rode:
Proud of her freight, the ſwelling tide
Reluctant left the veſſel's ſide,
And rais'd it as ſhe flow'd.

The waves, with eaſtern breezes curl'd,
Had ſilver'd half the liquid plain;
The anchors weigh'd, the ſails unfurl'd,
Serenely mov'd the wooden world,
And ſtretch'd along the main.

The ſcaly natives of the deep
Preſs to admire the vaſt machine;
In ſportive gambols round it leap,
Or ſwimming low due diſtance keep,
In homage to their queen.

Thus, as life glides in gentle gale,
Pretended friendſhip waits on pow'r;
But early quits the borrow'd veil,
When adverſe fortune ſhifts the ſail,
And haſtens to devour.

In vain we fly approaching ill,
Danger can multiply its form:
Expos'd we fly like *Jonas* ſtill,
And heaven, when 'tis heaven's will,
O'ertakes us in a ſtorm.

The diſtant ſurges foamy white
Foretel the furious coming blaſt:
Dreadful, tho' diſtant, was the ſight!
Confederate winds and waves unite,
And menace every maſt.

Winds, whiſtling thro' the ſhrouds, proclaim
A fatal harveſt on the deck.——
Quick in purſuit as active flame,
Too ſoon the rolling ruin came,
And ratify'd the wreck.

Thus

Thus *Adam* smil'd with new-born grace,
Life's flame inspir'd by heavenly breath:
Thus the same breath sweeps off his race,
Disorders nature's beauteous face,
And spreads disease and death.

Strip'd of her pride the vessel rolls;
And, as by sympathy she knew
The secret anguish of our souls,
With inward, deeper groans, condoles
The dangers of her crew.

Now, what avail'd it to be brave,
On liquid precipices hung,
Suspended on a breaking wave!
Beneath us yawn'd a sea-green grave,
And silenc'd ev'ry tongue.

The faithless flood forsook her keel,
And downward launch'd the lab'ring hull;
Stunn'd,——she forgot a-while to reel,
And felt, or almost seem'd to feel,
A momentary lull.

Thus in the jaws of death we lay,
Nor fight, nor comfort found us there,
Lost in the gulph and floods of spray:
No sun to chear us, nor a ray
Of hope, but all despair.

The nearer shore the more despair,
While certain ruin waits on land,
Should we pursue our wishes there:
Soon we recant the fatal pray'r,
And wish to shun the strand.

At length the Being, whose behest
Reduc'd this *Chaos* into form,
His goodness and his power expreſt;
He spoke, — and as a God suppreſt
Our troubles, and the storm.

The SENATE-HOUSE.

THY glory, *Rome*, when in thy highest state,
Thou rais'd thy haughty front sublimely great,
And the whole captive earth thine own didst deem,
At once in wisdom, as in power supreme,
I sing advent'rous, may the verse aspire,
Nor sink below the theme for want of fire.
Say muse, what prince aspiring after fame,
First built the senate an auspicious frame?
Where those august directors of the state,
Might join in solemn council and debate.
Tullus Hostilius rear'd a stately dome,
Fit to contain the majesty of *Rome*:
Whence others with his great example fir'd,
And with the hopes of future fame inspir'd,
Pursu'd the glorious work which he begun,
Till divers *Curia's* met the rising sun.
Here the great fathers both in peace and war
Made *Rome's* protection their unwearied care;
Dispensed justice, wholsome laws ordain'd,
And with set curbs each monstrous vice restrain'd.
Their acts were not the sallies of rash youth,
Self-will'd, regarding neither right nor truth,
But such as plainly spoke discerning age,
And prov'd th' ordainers steady, careful, sage;
Tho' wise, not vain; tho' peaceable, yet brave;
Great without pride, without austereness grave.
If by dispute a murmur chanc'd to spread,
And 'midst those sages raise its impious head;
They saw a venerable *Cato* rise,
Whose sacred wisdom sparkled from his eyes;
At his appeasing words confusion fled,
And balmy peace rear'd up her smiling head.
So when the stormy main begins to roar,
And angry billows beat against the shore,
If *Neptune* but appear he turns the scene,
The winds are hush, the raging sea serene;
Th' aspiring surges level at his nod,
Call back their waters, and confess the god.
But shall your *Curia*, *Pompey*, now appear,
And the unmindful muse not drop a tear?
That fatal place where the great *Cæsar* fell;
Cæsar, whose mortal wound was meant too well;
Who after all his pains and anxious strife,
Answer'd his vast ambition with his life.
He, while he thought he firmly grasp'd a crown,
From his imagin'd height was tumbling down;
Inspir'd with rage th' avenging senate rose,
Their flaming ponyards instantly disclose;
And as they struck, with joyful rage o'ercome,
This, *Cæsar*, this, they cry'd, *for* liberty and *Rome*.

On K. CHARLES IId's *Pension Parliament. Handed about at that Time.*

FOUR winter months our senate sits,
Four millions for to raise;
And all that time employ their wits
In finding means and ways.
Eight summer months our hero spends,
In doing what? you'll say.
Why, faith, in finding ways and means,
To squander it away.

The HUSBAND.

IF bless'd the marriage state, as some agree,
Such, for my blessing, let my *husband* be!
Not in th' imperfect *bud*, but *bloom* of youth,
His *tongue* all *softness*, and his *heart* all *truth*;
Gay without *folly*, *learned* without *pride*,
Of spotless *honour*, and of *courage* try'd;
Fond as he can, but from dull *dotage* free,
Nor marr his gen'rous *love* with *jealousy*;
Patient, to hear a woman's simple tongue,
Indulgent, to approve it——*right* or *wrong*;
Neither to *rage*, nor *fullenness* inclin'd,
But ever *complaisant*, and ever *kind*;
Making each act productive of delight,
The *morn* still *happy*, and still *bless'd* the *night*.
If such one be, my happiness to crown,
Kind heav'ns, O! give me *him*--or give me *none*.

An EPITAPH.

HERE *Fanny* lies interr'd; ah! why,
Ye gods, was *Fanny* born to die?

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A female *Fanny* was, 'tis true,
But yet no female arts ſhe knew,
No viſits ſhe receiv'd, or paid,
Nor ever ſtroll'd to maſquerade;
Court, opera, *Park*, and play and ball —
The prudent *Fanny* ſcorn'd them all.
All thoſe, who knew her, muſt confeſs,
She never took a pride in dreſs;
For one brown garment, coarſe and plain,
(A fence againſt the cold and rain)
Was all the cloaths poor *Fanny* wore,
Who never wiſh'd, or thought of more.
Void of all anxious care and ſtrife,
She paſt, at eaſe, a country life;
A virgin to her dying day;
Was ever chearful, ever gay;
And ſuch an even temper kept,
She never laught, nor never wept:
So little given to offend,
She got no foe, nor loſt a friend:
Nay, tho' a female (matter rare!)
Was prais'd and honour'd by the fair.
Then, reader, if thou haſt a tear,
I pr'ythee, ſtay and drop it here;
But leſt thy eyes too faſt ſhould flow,
Methinks 'tis fair to let thee know,
Tho' *Fanny*, true, is dead and gone,
Poor *Fanny* was a harmleſs fawn.

The MANTUA-MAKER.

YE powder'd wits,
And dapper cits;
Who rail at mantua making!
A female pen,
Shall tell all men,
How much you are miſtaken.

Your girls of fire,
That rhymes inſpire,
Much ſprucer than a fiddle;
We make divine,
And dreſs ſo fine,
By dint of thread and needle.

When little miſs
Deſires to kiſs,
For ever and for aye, Sir:
Oh! then ſhe leaves
Her hanging ſleeves;
Our art we well diſplay, Sir.

When age decays
Fair beauty's blaze;
Unto the mantua-maker
The prude with care,
She muſt repair,
Or no kind man will take her.

Thus we contrive
To keep alive,
Th' expiring flame of paſſion:
So all adore
(Tho' full fourſcore)
Our mutton dreſt lamb-faſhion.

A BALLAD.

To the Tune of COLIN's Complaint.

BY the ſide of a glimmering fire
Melinda ſat penſively down,
Impatient of rural eſquire,
And vext to be abſent from town.
The cricket from under the grate,
With a chirp to her ſigh did reply,
And the kitten, as grave as a cat,
Sat mournfully purring hard by.

Alas! ſilly maid that I was,
Thus ſadly complaining ſhe cry'd:
When firſt I forſook that dear place,
'Twas better by far I had dy'd!
How gaily I paſs'd the long day
In a round of continued delights!
Park, viſits, aſſemblies, and play;
And quadrille, to enliven the nights!

How fooliſh was I to believe
Deluſive poetical dreams;
The flattering landſcapes they give
Of groves, meads and murmuring ſtreams!
Bleak mountains, and wild ſtaring rocks,
Are the wretched reſult of my pains;
The ſwains greater brutes than their flocks,
The nymphs as polite as their ſwains.

What tho' I have ſkill to enſnare,
Where ſmarts in bright circles abound;
What tho' at St. *James*'s at prayers
Beaus ogle devoutly around?
Fond virgin, thy power is loſt
On a race of rude *Hottentot* louts —
What glory in being the toaſt
Of noiſy dull 'ſquires in boots!

And thou, my companion ſo dear;
My all that is left of relief,
Whatever I ſuffer, forbear,
Forbear to diſſuade me from grief.
'Tis in vain, you ſay, to repine
At ills which can't be redreſs'd:
But in ſorrows ſo pungent as mine,
Be patient — alas! is a jeſt.

If further to ſooth my diſtreſs,
Thy tender compaſſion is led;
Call *Jenny* to help me undreſs,
And decently put me to bed.
The laſt humble ſolace I wait,
Wou'd heaven indulge me the boon!
Some dream leſs unkind than my fate,
In viſion tranſport me to town!

Clariſſa mean time weds a beau,
Who decks her in golden array:
The fineſt at ev'ry fine ſhew;
And flaunts it at the park and at play:
While here we are left in the lurch,
Forgot and ſecluded from view;
Unleſs when ſome bumpkin at church,
Stares wiſtfully over the pew.

We are ſorry that Ay and No. The Progreſs of Learning, *&c. came too late; and deſire our Correſpondents to ſend earlier in the Month.*

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

ON the 28th of last Month, the Stalls belonging to the Herb-Square in *Stocks-Market* were pulled down; as on the next Day were likewise the Butchers Shambles, in the Meat-Market, in order to clear it for the building a Manſion-Houſe for the future Lord-Mayors. And on the 30th the *Fleet-Market* was proclaimed a free Market, and opened accordingly.

MONDAY, *Oct.* 3.

Mr. *Richard Fendall*, of the *Grainge, Southwark*, had a Cart-Gelding died by an accidental Cut in his Knee with a Garden-Melon Bell-Glaſs: Which Gelding he bought at *Uxbridge-Fair* on *Michaelmas-Day*, 1693, and was his Horſe 44 Years, never ſick nor lame all that Time, and had within theſe 15 Years drew him and another in a Chaiſe 50 Miles in one Day.

TUESDAY, 4.

The Parliament of *Ireland* met on this Day, when his Grace the Duke of *Devonſhire*, the Lord Lieutenant, went in State to the Houſe of Peers, and being ſeated on the Throne, made the following Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

NOthing could be more agreeable to me, than to receive his Majeſty's Commands to meet you in Parliament. The Firmneſs and Zeal which you have ſhewn for the Support of the Proteſtant Religion, and your ſincere and conſtant Attachment to his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, Family, and Government, give me the Proſpect of an eaſy Adminiſtration: And as his Majeſty's Service and the Proſperity of this Kingdom are the only Points I have in View, I am fully perſuaded that this Seſſion cannot fail of proving to the Advantage of the Publick.

I obſerve, with great Pleaſure, how much the Exportations of your Linen Manufactures have increaſed of late Years; and aſſure you, that nothing ſhall be wanting on my Part, which may contribute to the improving and extending that valuable Branch of your Trade.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the proper Officers to prepare the ſeveral Accounts and Eſtimates to be laid before you, and have nothing in Command from his Majeſty to aſk, but the uſual and neceſſary Supplies for the Support of the Eſtabliſhment.

If any further Law could be fram'd to put an effectual Stop to that pernicious Practice of Running of Goods, the beneficial Conſequences of it would be found in raiſing the publick Revenues, in leſſening the National Debt, and in giving Encouragement to the fair and honeſt Trader.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is the peculiar Diſtinction of his Majeſty's Subjects, that they have frequent Opportunities of preparing and offering ſuch Laws as they think for the general Good of their Country. This Privilege can never be of greater Advantage than at this Time, when we have a Prince upon the Throne who conſiders the Intereſt of his Subjects as inſeparable from his own, and is always ready to give his Royal Aſſent to every Act that may promote the Happineſs of his People.

His Majeſty by chuſing a Princeſs of the moſt eminent Virtues and Accompliſhments, and of an Houſe foremoſt in the Proteſtant Cauſe, to be Conſort to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, hath given a Proof of his Royal and Paternal Care to continue the Bleſſings of his Reign to our lateſt Poſterity; and the Earneſt which we have already received from Providence, by the Birth of a Princeſs, opens to us a new Proſpect of a laſting Succeſſion in his Majeſty's moſt illuſtrious Family.

You may depend upon my moſt hearty Inclinations, and beſt Aſſiſtance, to ſerve you in every Thing that may contribute to the Security and Welfare of *Ireland*; and from the full Enjoyment you have had of your Religious and Civil Rights, under his Majeſty's mild and moſt gracious Government, I have no room to doubt but you will proceed, in all your Deliberations, with ſuch Temper and Unanimity as may be expected from a People who have at all Times ſhewn themſelves moſt affectionate and loyal Subjects.

WED-

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WEDNESDAY, 5.

The six following Malefactors, *viz. John Totterdale*, for the Murder of his Wife; *Robert Gofwell*, alias *Bob the Butcher*, *John Colfon*, *Robert Barrow*, alias *Runwell*, *John Perdue*, and *John Richardfon*, all convicted of Robberies on the Highway, were carried from *Newgate* about Half an Hour after Nine this Morning, and executed at *Tyburn*, purſuant to their Sentence. *Catherine Lange*, condemn'd for Forgery of a Will, and the reſt were reprieve'd. (See p. 395, 515.)

THURSDAY, 13.

His Majeſty's Proclamation was iſſued out for ſuppreſſing Riots and Tumults, committed by Tinners and others in the County of *Cornwall*; and for apprehending and bringing to Juſtice the Perſons who in *September* laſt were concerned in breaking open the Warehouſes of Mr. *Claudius Guide* at *Penryn*, and taking away the Corn therein: And his Majeſty, for the better apprehending and bringing to Juſtice the ſaid Perſons, has been pleas'd to promiſe his moſt gracious Pardon to any one of the Offenders who ſhall diſcover his Accomplices; with a Reward of 50*l.* on the Conviction of each.

Several Merchants, deputed by the reſt of the Merchants trading to *America*, went to *Hampton-Court*, and being introduc'd to his Majeſty, deliver'd to him the following Petition.

To the KING's moſt Excellent MAJESTY,

The humble Petition of the Merchants and Traders, in Behalf of themſelves and others, trading to and intereſted in the Britiſh *Colonies in* America,

Sheweth,

THAT the fair and lawful Trade of your Majeſty's Subjects to the *Britiſh* Plantations in *America*, hath been greatly interrupted, for many Years paſt, not only by their Ships having been frequently ſtopp'd and ſearch'd, but alſo forcibly and arbitrarily ſeiz'd on the High Seas, by *Spaniſh* Ships fitted out to cruize under the plauſible Pretence of guarding their own Coaſts; that the Commanders thereof, with their Crews, have been inhumanly treated, and their Ships carried into ſome of the *Spaniſh* Ports, and there condemn'd with their Cargoes, in manifeſt Violation of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns.

That notwithſtanding the many Inſtances made by your Majeſty's Miniſters at the Court of *Madrid*, againſt this injurious Treatment, the late and repeated Inſults of the *Spaniards*, upon the Perſons and Properties of your Majeſty's Subjects, lay your Petitioners under the Neceſſity of applying again to your Majeſty for Relief.

That by theſe violent and unjuſt Proceedings of the *Spaniards*, the Trade to your Majeſty's Plantations in *America*, is rendered very precarious; and if any Nation be ſuffer'd thus to inſult the Perſons of your Majeſty's Subjects, and plunder them of their Property, your Petitioners apprehend it will be attended with ſuch an Obſtruction of that valuable Branch of Commerce, as will be very fatal to the Intereſt of *Great-Britain*.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray your Majeſty, that your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleas'd to procure ſpeedy and ample Satisfaction to your Subjects, for the Loſſes they have ſuſtained; that no *Britiſh* Veſſel be detain'd or ſearch'd on the High Seas by any Nation, under any Pretence whatſoever; and that the Trade to *America* may be rendered ſure for the future, by ſuch Means as your Majeſty in your great Wiſdom ſhall think fit.

And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

The Parliament, which ſtood prorogu'd to *Oct.* 20, was about this Time farther prorogu'd to *Dec.* 8 next.

We had the following remarkable Inſtance of Long Life, from *Lewes* in *Suſſex*: A few Days ago died there Mr. *Henry Morgan*, aged 105 Years and a Half. He never made uſe of Spectacles, but work'd at his Trade as a Sieve-maker the Day before his Death. He never had a Day's Illneſs in his Life. The Morning he died he walked into his Garden, and when he returned ſat down in his Chair, and died immediately, not ſo much as any of the Family perceiving any Difference in him.

SATURDAY, 15.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the ſix following Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Sarah Allen*, for the Murder of her Male Baſtard Child, by throwing it out of Window, as ſoon as it was born: *Thomas Carr* and *Elizabeth Adams*, for robbing Mr. *Quarrington* of 93 Guineas, a Diamond Ring, and ſome Silver: *Charlotte Grigg*, a Girl about 14 Years of Age, for ſtealing 17 Guineas, &c. in the Houſe of one *Anne Howell*: *Alexander Radcliff*, for robbing and ſhooting Mr. *Gibſon*, the Baker at *Iſlington*, about 2 Years ago: And *Thomas Watſon*, for ſtealing Clothes, &c. in the Houſe of *Gerard Bothomley*, Eſq; Twenty-four were caſt for Tranſportation.

TUESDAY, 18.

The Merchants trading to *Jamaica*, and to his Majeſty's Plantations and Colonies in *America*, attended a Committee of the Privy Council at the *Cockpit*, *Whitehall*, with authentick Vouchers, &c. of the Loſſes they have ſuſtained by the *Spaniards*.

FRIDAY, 21.

Sir *John Barnard*, Lord Mayor Elect, was preſented to the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor,

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cellor, according to Cuſtom, for his Lordſhip's Approbation.

SATURDAY, 22.

The Princeſs of *Orange*'s Birth-Day was celebrated, when her Royal Highneſs enter'd the 29th Year of her Age.

SATURDAY, 29.

Sir *John Barnard*, Knight, the new Lord Mayor, was ſworn into that high Office at *Weſtminſter*, for the Year enſuing.

SUNDAY, 30.

This being the Anniverſary of the King's Birth-Day, when his Majeſty enter'd into the 55th Year of his Age, it was celebrated the next Day with the uſual Compliments and Rejoicings.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

SAMUEL *Edwards*, Eſq; Member for *Great Wenlock*, to the Relict of Colonel *Betton*.

Dr. *Hughes* of *Oxford*, to Miſs *Finch* of *Watford*.

James Moore of *Berks*, Eſq; to Miſs *Lacy*.

Thomas Sutton of *Kenſington*, Eſq; to Miſs *Naſh* of the ſame Place.

Thomas Drury, Eſq; to Miſs *Tyrrell* Daughter of the late Sir *John Tyrrell* of *Eſſex*.

Joſeph Townſhend, Eſq; to Miſs *Gore*.

George Lee of *Yorkſhire*, Eſq; to the Relict of the late *Robert Lloyd*, Eſq;

The Earl of *Drogheda* in *Ireland*, to Miſs *Southwell*.

The Lady of Sir *Maurice Gulſon* of *Great Marlow*, ſafely deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

The Lady *Heriot Campbell*, Wife of *John Campbell*, jun. of *Shawfield*, Eſq; —— of a Son, at *Edinburgh*.

The Lady of *William Pierſ*, Member for *Wells*, —— of a Son and Heir.

Lady *Primroſe* —— of a Son, at *Edinburgh*.

DEATHS.

AT *Wincheſter*, the Rev. Mr. *Garret*.

William Morriſon, Eſq; chief Clerk under Sir *Thomas Read*, in the Board of Green-Cloth.

At his Houſe at *Chelſea*, *John Willey*, Eſq;

At *Swaſham*, *Norfolk*, Capt. *John Medlicot*, formerly Commander of a Man of War.

At *Edinburgh*, Capt. *James Douglas*, of the Royal Regiment of Foot, commanded by the late Earl of *Orkney*.

Rev. Mr. *George Piget*, Fellow of St. *John's College*, *Oxford*.

Mr. *John Thorn*, General Surveyor of the *London* Exciſe.

At *Tidmarſh*, *Berks*, *Samuel Lynn*, Eſq; Paymaſter of the Penſions, Officers Widows, &c. in the Reign of Q. *Anne*.

John Adlam, Eſq; Clerk to the Weavers Company, and Clerk of the Securities to the Commiſſioners of Exciſe.

Rev. Mr. *Ventris*, Rector of *Little Stonham*, *Suffex*.

At *Chirton*, near *North Shields*, in *Northumberland*, *Roger Lawſon*, Eſq;

Col. *John Moody*, Lieutenant Governor, and Captain of an Independent Company in the Iſland of *Scilly*.

Col. *Winroſs*, an experienced Officer on Half-pay.

At *Drayton*, near *Uxbridge*, *Henry Maddox*, Eſq;

Anthony Ponſonby, Eſq; formerly High Sheriff of *Norfolk*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *John Hume* preſented to the Rectory of *Topeſfield*, *Eſſex*.

Mr. *Thomas Winder*, to the Living of *Cockerham*, *Lancaſter*.

Mr. *Lake*, of *Clare-hall*, *Cambridge*, appointed one of the Chaplains at *Whitehall*.

Mr. *Samuel Ganning* preſented to the Rectory of *Gadney*, *Lincolnſhire*.

Mr. *Barnard* appointed firſt Chaplain of *Chelſea* Hoſpital in the room of the late Dr. *Day*.

Mr. *Aſhburnham* ſucceeds Mr. *Barnard* as ſecond Chaplain.

Mr. *William Hill* preſented to the Rectory of *Great Chart*, in the Diocefe of *Canterbury*.

Dr. *Middleton*, Rector of St. *Peter's Cornhill*, to the Rectory of *Buſhey*, in *Herfordſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

SIR *William Irby*, Bart. appointed, by the Prince of *Wales*, Houſe-keeper at *Kew*, *Carlton-houſe*, and *Norfolk-houſe* in St. *James's Square*, which his Royal Highneſs has lately taken for his Town-Reſidence.

Thomas Salter, Eſq; ſucceeds the late Mr. *Maiſon*, as Clerk of the *Green Cloth*.

Thomas Browne, Eſq; ſucceeds the late Mr. *James Green*, as Blue-Mantle Purſuivant at Arms.

Mr. *Williams* appointed Surveyor of the Cuſtoms at *Greenhithe*, in the room of the late Mr. *Crawley*.

James Ogilthorp, Eſq; kiſſed his Majeſty's Hand for the Command of a Regiment to be raiſed for the Service of the Plantations.

Lieut. Col. *Cochran* appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the ſame Regiment.

Major *Cooke* appointed Major of the ſame Regiment.

Nicholas Carpenter, Eſq; appointed Capt. of a Troop, in General *Evan*'s Regiment of Horſe.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Eſſex* made Conſtable of the Tower of *London*, in the room of the late Earl of *Leiceſter*.

The Duke of *Manchester* appointed Capt. of the Yeoman of the Guard, inſtead of the late Earl of *Aſhburnham*.

Roger Mainwaring, Eſq; made Treaſurer of the Salt Duties.

Daniel Fotherby, Esq; made a Capt. in the Royal Train of Artillery.

Alexander Heron, *Richard Norbury*, *Hugh Mackay*, Esqrs. made Captains of the Regiment of Foot to be commanded by Col. *James Oglethorp*, to be raised for the Service and Defence of the *American* Plantations; and *Albert Desbrisay*, Esq; made Captain Lieutenant.

Lieutenant *George Dillon* succeeds the late Capt. *Robinson* in his independent Company of Foot at *New York*.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Rockingham* appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of *Kent*, in the room of the late Earl of *Leicester*.

His Majesty has been pleased to grant to Sir *Charles Payne*, of the Island of St. *Christopher's*, Knt. the Dignity of a Baronet of *Great Britain*.

Thomas Hill, Esq; succeeds Mr. *Popple*, as Secretary to the Board of Trade.

Thomas Villiers, Esq; appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the King of *Poland*.

Saville Cust, Esq; appointed Secretary to the Duke of *Manchester*, as Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.

William Atkinson, Esq; made Captain of a Company in the Regiment of Foot, commanded by General *Philips*.

Benjamin Bloom, Esq; made Capt. of a Comp. in the Reg. of Foot, commanded by Brig. Gen. *Cope*.

His Majesty has been pleased to constitute and appoint Sir *John Stanley*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Barts. *John Campbell*, *Brian Fairfax*, *John Hill*, *Gwyn Vaughan*, *George Rose*, *Wardel George Westby*, Esqrs. Sir *Robert Baylis*, Knt. Sir *Robert Corbet*, Bart. *Richard Chandler*, *Beaumont Hotham*, *Richard Somers* and *Collin Campbell*, Esqrs. Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs; the Four last in the room of Sir *Charles Peers*, deceas'd, Sir *James Campbell*, Bart. *George Drummond* and *Edward Trelawney*, Esqrs. who resign'd.

James Gambier, Esq; made Solicitor of the Excise.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *Davies*, of *Haverford-West*, Mercer and Chapman. — *Jacob Whitfield*, of *Yarme*, in *Yorkshire*, Linen-draper and Chapman. — *Thomas Middleton*, of *Great Chelsea*, Apothecary. — *Edward Mickleburg*, of *Norwich*, Grocer. — *Blagrave Gregory*, of *Banbury*, *Oxfordsh.* Draper. — *Samuel Neatby*, of St. *Mary Magdalen Bermondsey*, *Surrey*, Fellmonger. — *James Barnes*, of *Rhode*, *Somerset*, Drugget-Maker. — *George Mawson*, of *Smock-Alley*, *Spittle-fields*, Dealer and Chapman. — *Edward Salisbury*, of *Long-Acre*, Coach-Maker, and Coach-Harness-Maker. — *Lancelot Keate*, of *Eltham*, in *Kent*, Callico-Printer. — *Stephen Marshall*, and *Lancelot Keate*, of *Crayford*, in *Kent*, Partners, Callico-Printers, Dealers and Chapmen. — *Tho. Farrer*, of *Kingston upon Hull*, Mercer. — *Joseph Evitt*, late of *West-Ham*, in *Essex*, Hatter. — *William Watson*, of *Chipping Wycombe*, *Bucks*, Maltster.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	101 ½	*Afric.*	14
—*Bonds*	4 2 a 4	*Royal Ass.*	109 ¼ a 10
—*Annu.*	111 ⅜ a ½	*Lon. ditto*	15
Bank	142 ¼	3 *per C. An.*	106 ¼
—*Circ.*	7 6 a 10	*Eng. Copper*	
Mil. Bank	121 ½	*Salt Tallies*	1 a 4
India	176 ¼ a 6	*Emp. Loan*	111 ½
—*Bonds*	6 18 a 19	*Equiv.*	112

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst.	34 11 2 ½ 10	*Bilboa*	40
D. Sight	34 8	*Leghorn*	49 ¼
Rotter.	35 2 ½	*Genoa*	52 ½
Hamb.	33 10 2 11	*Venice*	50 ⅝
P. Sight	32 ⅛	*Lisb.*	5s 5d ½
Bourdx.	32 ⅜	*Oport.*	5s 6d a 5 ¼
Cadiz	39 ¼	*Antw.*	35 1
Madrid	40 ⅛	*Dublin*	8 ⅞ a ¼

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	30 33	*Oates*	12 14
Rye	16 18	*Tares*	22 24
Barley	17 18	*Pease*	20 28
H. Beans	20 23	*H. Pease*	16 17
P. Malt	24 26	*B. Malt*	17 19

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Sept.* 27. to *Oct.* 25.

Christned	Males 641, Females 602	1243	
Buried	Males 1210, Females 1255	2465	
Died under 2 Years old			911
Between 2 and 5			208
5	10		80
10	20		87
20	30		213
30	40		245
40	50		219
50	60		207
60	70		139
70	80		105
80	90		45
90 and upwards			6
			2465

Hay 52 to 56*l.* a Load.

FROM

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FROM the *Imperial* Armies in *Hungary*, we have the following Accounts: That about the Beginning of *September* laſt, the *Turks* having aſſembled a conſiderable Army in *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*, General *Ghilani*, chief Commander of the *Imperial* Troops in thoſe Provinces, found himſelf under a Neceſſity of abandoning the Poſts he had poſſeſſed in them, and retiring towards *Tranſilvania*. In his Retreat, the *Turks* came up with his rear Guard and attack'd it; but were ſo warmly receiv'd, that they were ſoon obliged to retire in Confuſion, leaving a great Number dead upon the Spot, and about 30 Priſoners.

On the other Hand, the *German* Army under Count *Seckendorff* having inveſted *Uſitza* on *Sept.* 21. carried on the Attack with ſuch Vigour, that the Gariſon were obliged to ſurrender on *Oct.* 2. having obtained the ſame Terms of Capitulation, that were granted to the Gariſon of *Nizza*.

But that Part of the *German* Army under the Command of Count *Khevenhuller*, which had been left to continue the Blockade of *Widdin*, being reduced to 5000 Men, by having ſent off ſeveral Detachments, the *Turks* were, by the Smallneſs of their Number, encouraged to attack them. Accordingly having gathered together a Body of about 15 or 16000 Men, moſtly conſiſting of their regular Troops lately arrived from *Aſia*, they came and encamped on *Sept.* 27. at Night, at the Mouth of the *Timock*, near the *German* Army; and next Day Count *Khevenhuller* having perceived they intended to march and attack him in his Camp, reſolved, notwithſtanding the Smallneſs of his Numbers, to march out and meet him. For this Purpoſe he drew up his Army in Order of Battle about 1000 Paces from his Camp, and in that Order marched towards the Enemy, till he came near to a large Foreſt, or open Country, which he ſaw it would be dangerous for him to enter, becauſe, the *Turks* being much more numerous, might there have had Room to have ſurrounded his little Army, and ſo have attacked him on all Sides; therefore he made a Halt near the Foreſt, and took up his Ground ſo ſkilfully, that it was not in the Power of the *Turks* to ſurround him. Upon his Halting, the *Turks* marched up to the Attack, in good Order, and with a ſlow Pace, contrary to their uſual Cuſtom. About 2 in the Afternoon they began the Attack in their uſual Manner with general and horrible Shrieks; but met with ſuch a ſmart Fire from the *German* Cavalry, Infantry, and Cannon, that they ſoon retreated in Confuſion. However they returned ſeveral Times to the Charge, ſo that the Battle laſted till Night; when their whole Army retired over the *Timock*, leaving the *Germans* in Poſſeſſion of the Field of Battle. The Count *Khevenhuller* having ſo ſmall a Number of Troops, could not leave any proper Guard in his Camp, which, during the Engagement, was attacked by a Detachment of *Turkiſh* Horſe, who maſſacred moſt of the ſick Men they found in the Camp; but the Servants fled with all the Tents and Baggage to the Mountains, and the *Turkiſh* Detachment being attacked in their Turn, by a Detachment from the *German* Army under Lieutenant General *Bathiani*, were entirely put to the Rout; ſo that they carried off no Booty. In this Action the *Germans* loſt but about 200 Men, beſides the Sick killed in the Camp, but the *Turks* 'tis ſaid, loſt above 1500. However as Count *Khevenhuller* ſaw it was impoſſible for him to defend himſelf againſt ſuch a ſuperior Body of the Enemy, and at the ſame Time to block up *Widdin*, he retired next Morning, and marched to *Perſa-Palanka*, without having met with any conſiderable Loſs in his Retreat, tho' often attacked by the *Turks*.

The Operations of the Campaign between the *Muſcovites* and *Turks* being over, Count *Munich*, with the Body of the Army under his Command, retired towards the *Ukraine*, where they are to take up their Winter Quarters, and was expected to arrive at *Perelawna*, *Oct.* 1. laſt. And General *Lacy*, with the Army under his Command, having retired out of the *Crim*, as mentioned in our laſt, arrived *Sept.* 14. at *Bachmuths*; from whence it ſeems not very poſſible, there can be any Truth in the Story we had lately from *France*, of his having been defeated and taken Priſoner by the *Turks*.

The *Muſcovites* are making great Preparations for a vigorous and active Campaign next Summer; for which Purpoſe they have reſolved to raiſe 4,000 Men additional Troops, which they propoſe to do by taking one out of every 125 Men fit for Service in that Empire; from whence we may compute, that, notwithſtanding the vaſt Extent of that Empire, almoſt equal to all the reſt of *Europe*, they reckon in it but 500,000 Men fit to bear Arms: But the moſt diverting Part of this Reſolution is, that even their *Prieſts* and *Monks* are not to be excepted; for out of every 125 *Prieſts* and *Monks*, one of them muſt take up the Weapons of the Fleſh, in order to fight againſt the Enemies of *Chriſtianity*; and 'tis probable they may do more Service in this Way againſt the *Turks*, than they ever did in their ſpiritual Warfare againſt the *Devil*. However, it muſt be granted, this is a dangerous Precedent for the *Prieſts* in all Countries; for as great Numbers of *able-bodied Recruits* might be raiſed from among the *Clergy* of almoſt every Country, it is to be feared this Precedent may ſome Time or other be followed by other Nations.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

NOVEMBER, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *last Session* of PARLIAMENT, *continued from Page* 548.

ON *Monday*, *March* 21, the House having (according to Order, as mentioned in our last, see p. 548.) resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the National Debt; and the State of the National Debt, which we gave in our last, having been referred to the said Committee, as soon as Sir *Charles Turner* had taken the Chair, Sir *J—n B——d* stood up and made a Motion, for enabling his Majesty to raise Money either by the Sale of Annuities for Years or Lives, at such Rates as should be prescribed, or by borrowing at an Interest not exceeding 3 *per Cent.* to be applied towards redeeming of the Old and New *South-Sea* Annuities; and that such of the said Annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective Annuities, should be preferred to all others.

Upon this Motion there were long Debates, so that the Committee did not come to any Resolution that Day; therefore, 'twas resolved, That the House would, upon *that Day Sevennight*, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the National Debt; and it having been much insisted on, in this Debate, that there was a great Part of the *South-Sea* Old and New Annuities in the Hands of Widows and Orphans, and Persons who were Proprietors for very small Sums, therefore, next Day 'twas ordered, That an Account should be laid before the House, of the Quantity of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuity Stock, and the Number of Annuitants who were intitled to any such Stock, not exceeding 1000 *l.* to each Annuitant; and also, 'twas ordered, That an Account should be laid before the House, of the Quantity of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuity Stock, holden by any Executors, Administrators, and Trustees, and the Number of such Trusts: Which Accounts were presented to the House by Mr. *John Bristow* on the *Friday* following; and on *Monday* the Order of the Day being read, and these Accounts referred to the Committee, the House resolved itself again into the said Committee, when the Debate upon the aforesaid Motion was resumed; in both which the Arguments for the Motion were in Substance as followeth, *viz.*

Sir, As some Things I mentioned

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in the Committee of Supply, gave Riſe to the Houſe's reſolving itſelf into this Committee, I think it incumbent upon me to riſe up, in order to explain and enforce what I then mentioned but ſuperficially, and to make you ſuch a Propoſition as I think may at this Juncture be made effectual, for reducing the Intereſt payable upon a Part of the National Debts, and for eaſing the People of a Part of that heavy Load of Taxes they now groan under. In the Committee of Supply I mentioned only the Application of the *Million*, to be paid at *Michaelmas* next, to ſuch of the *South-Sea* Old Annuitants only, as are not willing to accept of an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* for if there are any who are willing to accept of ſuch an Intereſt, and I am convinced there are a great many, I muſt think it a very abſurd Sort of Conduct in the Publick, to make any Payment to them, as long as there is any one publick Creditor who will not accept of ſuch a low Intereſt: However, as this Houſe ſeems to be of a contrary Opinion, I ſhall readily ſubmit; but as the Houſe then reſolved upon the Committee we are now in, I thought myſelf obliged as a Member of this Houſe, and as one who ſincerely deſires to ſee the Nation freed from its Debt, and the People freed from their perpetual Taxes, I mean ſuch as are made perpetual by Parliament; I ſay, I thought myſelf obliged to turn my Thoughts that Way; and from conſidering our preſent Circumſtances, and the preſent low Rate of Intereſt, I am of Opinion, that the Scheme for reducing the Intereſt of the publick Debts may be puſhed further than I then propoſed or thought on.

Every one knows, Sir, that the Price of all our publick Funds is now at a higher Rate than ever it was before, upon any reaſonable Foundation: Every one knows, that even thoſe publick Securities, which bear an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* only, now ſell at a Premium in *'Change Alley*; and I muſt be of Opinion, it would be an unpardonable Neglect in us, not to endeavour to take Advantage of that happy Circumſtance, for the Benefit of the Publick. I am perſuaded there are few or none, who are willing to give a Premium for any 3 *per Cent.* Security, but would willingly lend his Money to the Government at the ſame Intereſt, if Books of Subſcription were opened for that Purpoſe, with an Aſſurance that no Part of his Principal ſhould be paid off for 14 Years; and therefore, I think, we ought to have ſuch Books always lying open at the *Exchequer*, or ſome other convenient Place, for taking in the Subſcriptions of thoſe who are willing to lend at 3 *per Cent.* in order to pay off the ſooner ſuch of the publick Creditors as are not willing to accept of a lower Intereſt than *Four*. If this were done, it would convince all our publick Creditors, who are now intitled to an Intereſt of 4 *per Cent.* that the Government is in earneſt, and firmly reſolved to pay them off as ſoon as poſſible; and as the only Conteſt among the publick Creditors now is, which of them ſhall be the laſt in being paid off, 'tis more than probable, the far greateſt Part of them would come in and ſubſcribe what is due to them reſpectively, at an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* rather than run the Risk of being quickly paid off the whole, or the greateſt Part of their Capital, by means of the *Sinking Fund*, and the Money-Subſcriptions at 3 *per Cent.*

That the Rate of Intereſt upon publick Securities, has always had, and always will have a great Influence upon the Rate of Intereſt between Man and Man, is what, I believe, Sir, no Gentleman will queſtion; for as upon publick Securities a Man is always ſure of having his Intereſt regularly paid, and may have

have his Principal whenever he has a Mind, which are two Advantages he can never be assured of, in lending upon the most undoubted private Security, it is certain the natural Rate of Interest upon publick Securities will always be lower than the natural Rate of Interest upon private; therefore the only Method of reducing the latter, is, to reduce the former; and when you have reduced both, then, and not till then, you may safely venture to reduce the legal: And that a low Rate of Interest upon private Securities, is of great Advantage to every Nation where it can be brought about, is what can be as little questioned by those who have any Regard to Experience, or to the Nature of Things. But as this depends upon Speculations, and upon Facts which some Gentlemen may not perhaps be acquainted with, I shall beg Leave to enlarge a little upon the Subject.

'Tis certain, Sir, the Strength and Power of a Nation can be increased only by multiplying its Inhabitants, increasing its Trade, or improving its Lands; for Extent of Territory weakens, instead of strengthening a Nation, if that Territory lies desert and thinly inhabited; because the greater Frontier a Nation has to defend, the more they will be exposed to Insults and Incursions, unless every Part of the Frontier be so well stock'd with People, that they are able to defend themselves against any sudden Invasion; and the Frontiers of every Country will always be worst stocked with People; for Mankind always retire from Danger, if they can; which is the Reason for the Heart or Middle Part of every Country's being generally the most populous. As to the multiplying or increasing the Number of Inhabitants in any Country, it must always proceed from the Increase of its Trade, or the Improvement of its Land; for let the People be as prolifick as possible, let them be as prolifick as ever the Northern Parts of *Europe*, or of this very Island, have appeared to have been, if they cannot find Imployment and Subsistence at home, they will wander abroad either in armed Bodies, or as single Adventurers, to seek for that in foreign Countries, which they cannot find in their own. It is therefore highly requisite for every Nation to take every possible Method for increasing its Trade, and improving its Land; and nothing can tend more to either of these Purposes, than a low Rate of Interest for the Use or Forbearance of the Payment of Money between Man and Man.

With respect to Trade, Sir, it is either foreign or domestick, and both depend in a great Measure upon the low Rate of Interest; for Mankind naturally pursue that which is their greatest Advantage, and but few Men will be either frugal, diligent, or industrious, if they can live otherwise; therefore, if a Man can live indolently upon the Interest of his Money, he will generally follow no Trade or Imployment; and if he can make more of his Money by lending it at Interest, than he can make by imploying it in Trade or the Improvement of Land, he will always chuse the former. For this Reason the People of a Country, where the Rate of Interest is high, will never carry on any Trade for so small a Profit, as the People of a Country will do where the Interest of Money is low; nor will the Persons engaged in Trade ever be so numerous or so rich in the former, as in the latter. Suppose, in this Country, a Man may make 5 or 4 *per Cent.* of his Money, by lending it at Interest upon a certain Security; we cannot, in that Case, suppose that any Man will take the Trouble of carrying on any Trade, by which he cannot make 8 or 10 *per Cent.* Profit: Whereas in *Holland*, where a Man can never get more than *Three*, and often not above 2 *per Cent.* by lending

ing his Money at Intereſt upon a certain Security, we muſt ſuppoſe that in that Country, a Man will be glad to engage in any Trade, by which he can make 6 or 4 *per Cent.* Profit; and an additional Advantage is, that in *Holland* a Man who has but 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* Capital muſt neceſſarily engage in Trade, becauſe he cannot live upon the legal Intereſt of his Money; whereas a Man of that Capital in this Country, may live comfortably in moſt Corners of the Kingdom upon the legal Intereſt of his Money; ſo that more Men, and Men of greater Stocks, are neceſſarily drove into Trade in that Country than in this; and their People will willingly engage in a great many Branches of Traffick, which no Man in this Kingdom will touch at; becauſe he can make as much, or very near as much, by imploying his Money in our Funds, as he could expect to make by that Traffick.

This, Sir, gives the *Dutch*, and the *French* too, a great Advantage over this Nation, in all Branches of Trade which muſt be carried on at a ſmall Profit, ſuch as the *Carrying-Trade*, and the *Fiſhing-Trade*, but eſpecially the laſt, which I hope ſome Gentlemen who hear me will take particular Notice of; and I ſhall add this other Obſervation, That in thoſe two Trades there are more Ships, and more Seamen employed in Proportion, than in any other; and the Seamen thus employed are more uſeful for the Defence of their Country, becauſe they are always at Hand upon any ſudden Emergency; which I hope every Gentleman will take particular Notice of, who has any Regard to the Naval Power, or the Security of his Country.

All the Branches of foreign Trade, Sir, which any Nation does or can carry on, muſt conſiſt either in the *Carrying-Trade*, the *Fiſhing-Trade*, or the *exporting* their Manufactures and Produce to foreign Markets, and *importing* thoſe foreign Commodities which they have Uſe for at home. In the firſt *Two*, we are under ſuch a Diſadvantage, by the high Rate of Intereſt among us, and the ſmall Profit to be expected by the Trade, that few or none of our People will engage in either; and in Fact we have but very little of either, and would have none at all, if it were not for the many natural Advantages we are bleſs'd with above any other Country upon the Face of the Globe. And as to our Trade of *importing* and *exporting* our own Commodities, and ſuch foreign Commodities as we have Uſe for, it depends upon the Cheapneſs of our Navigation, and proper Laws for its Encouragement. As to the Cheapneſs of our Navigation, it will always depend upon our People's imploying their Money in that Way at a ſmall Profit; ſo that in this too, our Neighbours have a great Advantage over us; for they will be glad to imploy their Money in that Way, if they can make but 6 or 4 *per Cent.* Profit; whereas we cannot ſuppoſe any of our People, (except ſuch as venture, or, as they call it, throw away a little Money for the Service of a Friend) will imploy their Money in that Way, at a Profit leſs than 8 or 10 *per Cent.* ſo that both Ship-building, Ships, and Freight, would be cheaper in our neighbouring Countries than in this, by at leaſt 4 *per Cent.* if it were not for ſome natural Advantages we are likewiſe bleſſed with in this Particular, and the great Supply we now receive from our Colony of *New England*; but, notwithſtanding all theſe natural Advantages, 4 *per Cent.* Difference is ſuch a great Advantage in Favour of ſome of our Neighbours, that if it were not for the Navigation Act, and other Laws in Favour of our own Shipping, I am convinced, we ſhould ſee our Ports every Day full of *Dutch* Ships and Seamen: and even as it is, we may obſerve that the Number of *Hamburgh*, *Harbo-*

Harborough, *Daniſh* and *Swediſh* Ships, is every Day increaſing in the River *Thames*; and for what I know, in ſeveral other Ports of the Kingdom.

But, Sir, I need not inſiſt ſo much upon the Prejudice a high Rate of Intereſt does to our Navigation, with reſpect to our Importation and Exportation; for if our preſent Rate of Intereſt, and our preſent Taxes continue for ſome Years longer, I'm afraid we ſhall have very little either of Manufactures, or home Produce, to export; and in that Caſe our Importation muſt likewiſe decreaſe in Proportion; becauſe we ſhall not then be able to give either Money, or other valuable Conſideration in return. With reſpect to our home Manufactures, it is certain the Exportation of them can proceed from nothing but our Merchants being able to ſell them cheaper, or at leaſt as cheap in foreign Markets, as any foreign Manufactures of the ſame Kind and Goodneſs can be ſold. Let us then ſee how the Difference of Intereſt may affect this Branch of Trade. An *Engliſhman* will not inveſt his Money in the Carrying on of any Manufacture, unleſs he can make 8 or 10 *per Cent.* Profit; a *Dutch* or a *Frenchman* will gladly inveſt his Money in the Carrying on of a Manufacture, if he can make 4 or 6 *per Cent.* Profit; therefore, ſuppoſing all other Charges equal, a *Dutchman* or *Frenchman* will ſell his Manufactures to the Merchant Exporter 4 *per Cent.* cheaper than the *Engliſhman* will do. Here is an Overload of 4 *per Cent.* upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market. Again, an *Engliſh* Merchant will not employ his Money in the Exportation and Sale of our Manufactures, unleſs he can make 8 or 10 *per Cent.* of his Money; a *Dutch* or a *French* Merchant will employ his Money in the Exportation and Sale of the Manufactures of his Country, if he can thereby make but 4 or 6 *per Cent.* of his Money: Here is an additional Overload of 4 *per Cent.* upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market; ſo that all the Manufactures of this Kingdom, by means of the high Rate of Intereſt, carry with them to every foreign Market, a Load of 8 *per Cent. per Annum*, more than the *Dutch* or *French* Manufactures carry with them to the ſame Market, without mentioning the Difference of Freight, and ſeveral other additional Overloads, that naturally ariſe from the high Intereſt of Money in this Kingdom, above what it is among our Neighbours and Rivals.

This ſingle Advantage, Sir, is of itſelf ſufficient to exclude our Manufactures from every Market in the World, where our Rivals can come in Competition with us; but if we conſider, what a heavy Load is added to the prime Coſt of all our Manufactures, by the Taxes laid upon ſeveral Materials neceſſary for working them up, and by thoſe Taxes which are laid upon many of the Neceſſaries of Life, we may have ſome Reaſon to be ſurprized there is at this Day *a Shilling's* worth of any Sort of Manufacture exported from *Great Britain*; for that we ſtill do export great Quantities of Manufacture, is certain; and becauſe this may be an Argument with ſome for concluding there is nothing in what I have ſaid, I muſt beg Leave to conſider ſome of the natural or acquired Advantages we ſtill enjoy.

Before the Peace of *Utrecht*, we had no Rival in the Woollen Manufacture Trade but the *Dutch*, and over them we have many natural Advantages both as to our Situation, the Goodneſs of our Ports, and the principal conſtituent Materials of that Manufacture, all of which they are obliged to furniſh themſelves with at ſecond Hand. To this I ſhall add, that when the Woollen Manufacture was firſt chiefly eſtabliſhed in *England*, which was in the long and happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the

the Intereſt of Money was pretty much the ſame in both Countries, and the *Dutch* were engaged in a bloody and dangerous War, and in eſtabliſhing their Commonwealth and their *Eaſt-India* Trade, ſo that their People had not much Time to think of improving any Sort of Manufacture. By theſe Means we got ourſelves riveted in the Poſſeſſion of all the principal Marts for Woollen Manufacture both in *Aſia* and *Europe*; and that Poſſeſſion we in good Meaſure kept, till the Beginning of the laſt War with *France* and *Spain*, when we were ſo wiſe as to prohibit Trade with both. During that long Period, the People in *Turkey*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and even in *France* too, till the Revolution, became ſo accuſtomed to the wearing of *Engliſh* Cloths and Stuffs, that it was not eaſy to make them change their Merchant; for a long eſtabliſhed Cuſtom in any Country, eſpecially in *Turkey*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, is not eaſily altered, nor are People apt to go to a new Shop, as long as they meet with tolerable Uſage at the old. Thus by getting Poſſeſſion of the Trade, and keeping that Poſſeſſion for ſo long a Time, we acquired an Advantage, which could not eaſily nor ſpeedily be taken from us; and this acquired Advantage is, I'm afraid, the chief Support of our preſent Exportation: But in a long Courſe of Time we may entirely loſe this Advantage; and we are in the more Danger, becauſe we have now got a Rival in the Woollen Manufacture Trade, much more formidable than the *Dutch*, and of much more dangerous Conſequence.

Before our late happy Revolution, Sir, they had but few Manufactures of Woollen Cloth in *France*, and ſuch as they had were of the coarſeſt Sort; ſo that they were furniſhed with all their fine Cloths either from *Holland* or *England*; but after the Revolution we found our ſelves, it ſeems, under a Neceſſity of prohibiting all Manner of Trade and Intercourſe with that Kingdom. This prevented its being in their Power to have any Woollen Manufacture directly from *England*, which laid them under a Neceſſity, and at the ſame Time furniſh'd them with the Means of improving what they had of their own; ſo that before the ſecond War broke out, they had come ſome Length in the Manufacture of Woollen Cloths, eſpecially Stuffs or Camblets; and by our prohibiting Trade with *Spain* as well as them, at the Beginning of that War, we furniſhed them not only with a new Opportunity of improving their Woollen Manufacture, but likewiſe with an Opportunity of introducing it by Degrees into the Kingdom of *Spain*; and the Peace of *Utrecht* confirmed their Manufacture in the Advantage it had reaped by the War.

Ever ſince that Time, Sir, they have enjoyed almoſt an uninterrupted State of Tranquillity, during which Time, it muſt be confeſſed, they have made the beſt Uſe of the Benefits we beſtowed upon them; for they have now brought their Woollen Manufacture to ſuch Perfection, that they make ſuperfine Woollen Cloths almoſt as fine and as good as we can do, and ſell them much cheaper; by which Means, they very much interfere with us in *Turkey* as well as *Spain*; in both which Places they as yet meet with ſome Difficulty, by reaſon of the Attachment the People in general have to the Manufactures of this Kingdom; but that Attachment will at laſt wear off, and then it will be out of our Power to preſerve any Share of the Trade, unleſs we can ſell all Sorts of Woollen Manufactures as cheap as the *French*, or any other Nation can poſſibly do.

Now, Sir, with reſpect to the Rivalſhip in this Trade between the *French* and us, it is very different from that between us and the *Dutch*. The Situation of the *French* is rather

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more convenient for that Trade than ours, and their Ports are as good; then as to the Materials, the only Advantage we have over them, consists in our Wool; but they lie so convenient for stealing it away from us, that 'tis hardly possible to prevent it; and as to *Spanish* Wool, which is the chief Material in the Manufacture of all superfine Cloths, they lie more conveniently for having it, and may have it at a cheaper Rate than we can. From all which I must conclude, the chief Advantage we now enjoy in this Manufacture, is the superior Skill, Dexterity, and Numbers of our Workmen, and the old Attachment to the Woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom, something of which still remains in *Turkey*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; but the latter will wear off by Degrees, if we cannot sell as cheap as any other Nation, and the *French* Workmen will be every Day improving and increasing. These, Sir, are our Circumstances with respect to the Woollen Manufacture, which is our chief Staple; and in such Circumstances I am sure every Gentleman that hears me, must conclude, it is high Time for us to look about us, and to neglect no Opportunity that may tend towards enabling, and in some Manner obliging our Merchants and Manufacturers, to sell their Goods as cheap as such Goods can be sold by any foreign Nation whatsoever.

Thus, Sir, I have shewn what bad Effects our present high Rate of Interest may have upon our foreign Trade, and our home Manufactures; and now let me shew the Advantages a Nation may reap from a low Rate of Interest with respect to the Improvement of their Lands, and maintaining a great Number of Inhabitants. For this Purpose, let me observe, that the Riches of a Nation properly consist in the aggregate Total of every Man's Riches in particular; for a Nation where the Subjects are all or generally rich, will be able to maintain an expensive War much longer than a Nation can do, whose Subjects are all or generally poor; because the Subjects of every Nation, if they are under a good Government, will contribute as much as they can towards a necessary War, and rich Subjects will always be able to contribute more or longer than Poor: But then these Riches of particular Men must be such as consist in Lands, Houses, Goods, ready Coin, Bullion or Jewels; they must not be such as consist in large Sums out at Interest among their Fellow-Subjects; for such Riches add nothing to the Riches of the Nation, nor would the Nation be one bit the poorer, if they should declare a Year of *Jubilee* by a publick Law: Whatever such Men may be able to contribute towards the publick Expence, must diminish the Power of others to contribute; and therefore it is against the Interest of every Nation to have a great Number of such Men, or to encourage the heaping up of such Riches among them.

Then, Sir, as to the Revenue of a Nation, it is to be computed, in the same Manner, from the aggregate Total of every Man's Revenue in particular; but then these particular Revenues must consist in such as come from Land, Trade, or Industry: They must not, for the same Reason, be such as come from Sums of Money lent out at Interest. And, lastly, I shall observe, that an Acre of Land without any Improvement, may not perhaps be sufficient to imploy and subsist *one* Man; whereas the same Acre, with proper Improvements, may perhaps be made able to imploy and subsist *two* or *three*. Now, Sir, Suppose a Gentleman of 1000 *l.* a Year Land Estate, has in a Course of Years saved 10,000 *l.* Suppose, upon looking over his Estate he finds, that by laying out this Money in Improvements, he could make his

Eſtate worth at leaſt 1500 *l.* a Year: He would then naturally conſider which was the moſt profitable Way of laying out his Money, whether to lay it out upon theſe Improvements, or to lay it out on a Purchaſe of another Eſtate, or to lend it upon a Mortgage? In this Caſe, if the Intereſt of Money were at 5 *per Cent.* he would certainly lay out his Money upon a Purchaſe or Mortgage, becauſe he would have as much yearly Profit by laying out his Money in either of theſe Ways, as he could expect by laying it out in Improvements; and in either of theſe two Ways he would ſave himſelf all that Trouble and Fatigue, which the laſt would neceſſarily ſubject him to. Tho' this Gentleman, by laying out his Money in ſuch a Manner, certainly improves his own Revenue, tho' he has added to the Riches of his Country by his Frugality, yet he adds nothing either to the Riches or the Revenue of his Country, by his Purchaſe or Mortgage; nor does he enable or make his Country fit for imploying or maintaining any greater Number of Inhabitants. On the other hand, if the natural Intereſt of Money were at 3 *per Cent.* the Price of Lands would riſe very near in Proportion; in which Caſe he would certainly lay his Money out in Improvements, becauſe, in this Way, he would make near 200 *l.* a Year more of his Money than he could do by Purchaſe or Mortgage; and by laying it out in ſuch a Manner, he would not only add to the Riches and Revenue of his Country, as well as to his own, but he would make his Country capable of imploying and maintaining a greater Number of Inhabitants than it could do before.

The Caſe, Sir, will be the ſame in ſmall Sums as well as large. Suppoſe a Farmer has taken a 21 Years Leaſe of a ſmall Tenement, and after ſtocking his Tenement has 20 *l.* over: Suppoſe he finds that by laying that 20 *l.* out in improving his Tenement, he may improve its Value 20 *s.* a Year: While Money is at 5 *per Cent.* he will certainly chuſe to lend out his Money at Intereſt, rather than lay it out upon ſuch an Improvement; but if the Intereſt of Money were at 3 *per Cent.* only, he would certainly lay it out upon the Improvement; and by ſo doing would add to the Revenue of his Landlord, as well as to the Revenue of his Country. This, the Landed Gentlemen that hear me, will, I hope, have a particular Regard to; for from hence they may ſee how naturally a low Rate of Intereſt tends to the Improvement of their Eſtates, as well as raiſing their Price, and that a high Intereſt prevents both the one and the other.

I hope, Sir, I have now ſhewn, even to a Demonſtration, that the Lowering of Intereſt muſt be attended with great Advantages to the Nation in general, and to the Landed Gentlemen in particular; and I have ſhewn, I hope, likewiſe to a Demonſtration, that if the Intereſt of Money be continued for any Number of Years at the preſent Rate in this Kingdom, which is much higher than it is in thoſe Countries which are our greateſt and moſt formidable Rivals, both in Trade and naval Power, it muſt be attended with the gradual Decay of our Navigation, our foreign Trade, and our home Manufactures, which will at laſt bring irretrievable Ruin upon the whole Nation. Whoever is convinced of this, muſt have a Heart of Stone, he muſt have no Bowels towards his native Country, if for any ſelfiſh End he oppoſes, if in ſpite of every ſelfiſh View he does not promote any practicable Scheme, that may tend towards bringing the Intereſt of Money in this Country upon a Par with what it is in our neighbouring Countries, eſpecially in thoſe neighbouring Countries, which are our greateſt

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Rivals in Trade and naval Power. And, I am sure, no Gentleman will say, it is possible to bring down either the natural or the legal Interest of Money between Man and Man, till after we have reduced the Interest payable upon all our publick Securities; for by the long and regular Payment of the Interest upon such Securities, and by the growing Provision we have made for paying off the Principal by Degrees, they are got into such Credit, that no Man will lend upon a private Security for the same Interest he can have upon a publick; except a very few Persons who have large Sums, which they are willing to lend at the same Interest upon Mortgages of Land only.

I shall not pretend, Sir, it is in our Power, or in the Power of any Nation, to make what Regulations they have a Mind, with Regard to the legal Interest of Money. The natural Interest of Money is always the Standard by which the legal ought to be regulated; and the natural Interest of Money does not depend upon the Regulations of Men, but upon natural and sometimes very accidental Events: But this I will say, that by a prudent and circumspect Administration of the publick Affairs of any Country, such Measures may be taken as must necessarily contribute towards reducing the natural Interest of Money; and when such Measures are observed to have taken Effect, the legal Interest of Money ought then to be reduced; for the legal ought always to be kept at a Rate equal to, or but a very little above the natural; because a great deal of Money is in every Country borrowed by the young and extravagant, in order to support their Luxury and Extravagance; and as such Persons are apt, and generally obliged, to pay a higher Interest for it, than those who borrow, in order to imploy it in Trade, one of the most effectual Ways to prevent their Luxury and Extravagance, (which every Government ought to prevent as much as possible) is, to make it dangerous for Men to endeavour to reap great Profits, by supplying them with the proper Medium for supporting their Luxury and Extravagance.

Even in this Country, Sir, if the Supplies of the Year had been duly raised within the Year, and the *Sinking Fund* wholly and regularly applied to the Discharge of our Publick Debts, ever since its first Establishment, I will be bold to say, the Interest upon any publick Funds we had remaining, would not now have been above 2 and a $\frac{1}{2}$, nor would the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, where there was any tolerable Security, have been above 3; for the natural Interest of Money must always depend upon the Proportion between the Quantity of Money ready to be lent at Interest, and the Quantity wanted to be borrowed; so that publick Loans of all Kinds, must tend towards inhancing the natural Interest of Money, and publick Payments must as necessarily tend towards its Reduction. Therefore, from the present low Rate of Interest upon publick Securities, notwithstanding our being now very near as much in Debt as we were at the End of the War, I am sure I may venture to say, the natural Interest upon all Sorts of Securities would have been at or below 3 *per Cent.* if we had paid off the greatest Part of our old without contracting any new Debt: And if we had done so, I am convinced, the Trade of this Kingdom would have been in a much more flourishing State than it is at present, and the Nation much better able to support its Friends or avenge itself of its Enemies.

These, 'tis true Sir, are but melancholy Reflections, however they may serve for making us more circumspect in Time to come, and for making every Man contribute with

the greater Alacrity towards whatever Sums may hereafter be thought neceſſary for the current Supplies, in order that the *Sinking Fund* may for the future be applied wholly to diſcharge the national Debt, and to relieve the People from thoſe heavy Taxes they now groan under; for either of which Purpoſes it will be made much more effectual by a Reduction of the Intereſt payable to the *South-Sea* Old and New Annuitants, from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* if ſuch a Thing can be brought about without any Danger to publick Credit, or Breach of publick Faith; and that this may in all Probability be done, is what I ſhall now endeavour to demonſtrate. That there are in this Kingdom large Sums ready to be lent at an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* is evident, from the ready Acceſs the Government has for ſome Time had, to the Borrowing of Money at that Intereſt for the yearly Supplies, and upon every new Fund that has been lately eſtabliſhed. But this is ſtill more evident from the high Premium now daily given for thoſe publick Securities, that bear an Intereſt only of 3 *per Cent.* Therefore, I think, it is reaſonable to believe, that, if Books of Subſcriptions ſhould be opened, the Money-Subſcriptions would amount at leaſt to *two Millions*, and the whole *Million* to be paid to the *South-Sea* Old Annuitants at *Michaelmas* next, would, I believe, be ſubſcribed into this new Fund; ſo that ſoon after *Michaelmas* next, the Publick would have a Fund of *three Millions* in ready Money, to pay off a Part of thoſe Annuities, whoſe Proprietors ſhould not appear willing to accept of an Intereſt for 14 Years certain, at the Rate of 3 *per Cent.*

Now, Sir, as there is *one Million* to be paid off at *Michaelmas* next, the Total of the remaining Annuities, will amount to about 23,600,000*l.* and if the whole *three Millions*, raiſed by Money-Subſcriptions, together with *a Million* from the Sinking Fund, were to be applied at the *Michaelmas* following, towards paying off the like Sum of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuities, which for Calculation's Sake I ſhall ſuppoſe to be 24 *Millions* full, it would amount to 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d. per Cent.* That is to ſay, every Proprietor would have ſo much *per Cent.* of his Stock annihilated, ſo that he would loſe the whole advanced Price upon that 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Stock ſo annihilated, which at the preſent advanced Price, (being 13 *per Cent.*) would be above 2*l. per Cent.* entirely loſt; and if the preſent advanced Price of Stocks ſhould riſe, every Proprietor's Loſs, by ſuch a Payment, would riſe in Proportion. To avoid this immediate Loſs, we may ſuppoſe, that ſome of the preſent Proprietors of *South-Sea* Annuities would ſubſcribe their reſpective Shares in thoſe Annuities, and would be willing to accept of the 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years irredeemable: Suppoſe theſe Subſcriptions amounted in the Whole but to 3 *Millions*, this would make the firſt Loſs fall ſtill heavier upon the Obſtinate; becauſe the 4 *Millions* in Money would then come to be divided upon 21 *Millions* Capital, inſtead of 24 *Millions* Capital, which would make their Loſs, by the Payment of 4 *Millions* at once, amount to very near 2 and a ½ *per Cent.* But ſuppoſe they continued obſtinate, let us inquire what they would gain by their Obſtinacy. The whole Capital of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuities remaining at 4 *per Cent.* after *Michaelmas come a Twelvemonth*, would be but 17 *Millions*, to the Diſcharge of which we muſt ſuppoſe the *Sinking Fund* afterwards wholly and regularly applied; in which Caſe, we muſt ſuppoſe that a Sum of at leaſt 1,300,000*l.* would be yearly applied to the Diſcharge and Annihilation of the like Sum of that Capital: Therefore ſuppoſe the advanced Price of thoſe

those Annuities should rise no higher than it is at present, it will appear by Calculation, that upon the very first Payment, which would be at *Michaelmas* 1739, every one of the Proprietors of this 17 *Millions* would have above 7 *l. per Cent.* of this Stock annihilated, and would thereby lose 19*l.* 10*d.* ½; at the next *Michaelmas* following, every such Proprietor would have above 8 *per Cent.* of his Stock annihilated, and would consequently lose above 1 *per Cent.* and this Loss will increase yearly, in Proportion as the *Sinking Fund* increases, and the Capital to which it is to be applied diminishes, if the advanced Price should continue as high as it is at present; and no Man can reasonably expect the Price of any of our Stocks will fall lower than they are at present, as long as Peace continues, and the *Sinking Fund* is regularly applied.

From these Calculations it must appear, Sir, that, if Books were opened for taking in Subscriptions either in Annuities or Money, with a Right of Preference to the former, a Subscription of 2 *Millions* in Money, and 3 *Millions* in Annuities, any Time before next *Michaelmas*, with the Money-Subscriptions that might then be expected from the *Million* to be paid off, would make it the immediate Interest of all the rest of the Annuitants to come in and subscribe their respective Annuities at an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years irredeemable, rather than continue them at 4 *per Cent.* subject to the Trouble and Loss of having a Part of their Capital every Year annihilated, by means of Payments from the *Sinking Fund*. That 3 *Millions* of Annuities would be immediately subscribed, I make no Question; because even suppose Things stand upon their present Footing, every Annuitant must lose above a *half per Cent.* by the yearly Payments to be made; and I am sure the Trouble of replacing their partial Payments is by many thought worth the other *half per Cent.* at least. Then as to the 2 *Millions* in Money, I am confident, that is the least Sum that would be subscribed, if there should be Occasion for it; for I am sure the 3 *per Cent.* Funds could not bear so high a Premium, if there were not a great deal of Money in the Nation ready to be lent at that Interest; but I am in some Doubt, whether or no there would be Occasion for accepting of any Money-Subscriptions at all: Because every Man may, from the general Circumstances of our Affairs, find Reason to believe, and I have particular Reasons to believe, that a great Number of our Annuitants are uneasy in their present Situation, and would be glad to accept of 3 *per Cent.* if they were assured of not being obliged to receive any Payment for 14 *Years* to come; and if *one Third* of them, or any Number above *one Third*, should readily come in, it would make it the immediate Interest of all the rest to come in and subscribe; because they would lose above 1 *per Cent.* yearly by the future Payments to be made from the *Sinking Fund*; besides the Trouble they will be annually put to, in receiving and replacing the partial Payments which would be made them from that Fund only; and besides the Danger they would be in, of having the whole soon paid them by a large Money-Subscription.

From what I have said, Sir, and the easy and obvious Calculations I have made, it is evident, that we may in all Probability before *Michaelmas* next, or very soon after, reduce the Interest upon all the *South-Sea* Annuities, both New and Old, from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* Interest, without any Danger to publick Credit, or Breach of publick Faith, which would make the *Sinking Fund* amount from thenceforth to above 1,400,000 *l. per Annum*, to be applied only towards redeeming the Capital of our several

trading Companies. This would bring every one of them so much within our Power, that I am convinced we could then get every one of them to accept of 3 *per Cent.* Interest upon any reasonable Terms we had a Mind to propose, which would be a new Addition to the *Sinking Fund*, of above 170,000 *l.* a Year: From which Time the *Sinking Fund* would amount to about 1,600,000 *l. per Ann.* and then we might venture to annihilate above *one half* of it, by freeing the People from the Taxes upon *Coals*, *Candles*, *Soap*, *Leather*, and such other Taxes as now lie heavy upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, and thereby inhance their Wages in every Part of the Kingdom, but especially in the City of *London*; by which the prime Cost of all our Manufactures is so much inhanced, that it is impossible for our Merchants to sell them in foreign Markets so cheap, as Manufactures of the same Kind and Goodness are sold by the Merchants, even of those Countries, where the Interest of Money is as high as it is in this.

The remaining Part of the *Sinking Fund* might then, Sir, be applied towards paying off those Annuities and publick Debts which now bear an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* only, and after that, towards diminishing the Capitals of our several trading Companies, till the Expiration of the Term of 14 *Years* to be granted to the Annuitants; at which Time the *Sinking Fund* would again amount to above *a Million* yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the Nation entirely from all its publick Debts, in a short Time; for if the People should be immediately relieved from Taxes to the net Amount of 800,000 *l.* or *a Million per Annum*, it would have, I am convinced, such a happy Influence upon all the Branches of our Trade and Manufactures, especially if it should be attended with the Reduction of the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, which it necessarily would, that the net Produce of every one of our remaining Taxes would increase, in Proportion to the Increase of our Trade; whereas if our People continue subject to all their present Taxes, and the present high Rate of Interest continues, it is, I think, evident, to a Demonstration, that our Trade and Manufactures must yearly decrease, and consequently the Number of our People will be diminished yearly, and the Rents of all our Land Estates will sink gradually, from whence must necessarily ensue a gradual Decrease in the Produce of every one of our present Taxes; and when the People in general come to feel these melancholy Effects, I am afraid, all Regard for publick Credit and national Faith will then be swallowed up in the Ruins of the Publick, and *Salus Populi est Suprema Lex* will become the general and the only Cry.

I am very sensible, Sir, that the Reduction of Interest upon all publick Securities, from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* will fall heavy upon, and will be grievously felt by those who have but small Capitals, and who have nothing else to trust to for a Subsistence, but that Annuity or Interest they have from our publick Funds. I have as great a Compassion for all such Persons as any Gentleman of this House can, or ought to have; for there can hardly be any publick Mischief but what must contribute to the Advantage, perhaps to the Subsistence of some private Men, nor can there be any Measure taken for the publick Benefit but what may be attended with a Loss to some private Men. But when we are considering what may tend to the Good of the Nation in general, we must lay aside all Compassion for particular Persons, so far as it happens to be inconsistent with the publick Good. The only Regard we ought in such Cases to have, is, not to do a real Injury

to

to any private Perſon; and ſurely it cannot be ſaid to be doing an Injury to any of the publick Creditors, to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* in order to pay what is due to thoſe who are not willing to accept of a leſs Intereſt than 4; nor can it be ſaid to be doing an Injury to any Set of publick Creditors, to pay thoſe off firſt, who are not willing to accept of ſuch a low Intereſt as the reſt are willing to accept of.

Compaſſion therefore, Sir, can be of no Weight in the preſent Queſtion; but if it could, it muſt fall with its greateſt Weight upon that Side where the Sufferers are the moſt numerous, and the Sufferings the moſt grievous: By continuing the preſent Taxes and high Rate of Intereſt, every Merchant, every Tradeſman, every Labourer, in ſhort, every Perſon in the Kingdom, will ſuffer ſeverely; and by the Decay of our Trade many will, in every ſucceeding Year, be utterly undone; whereas, by the Reduction of Intereſt from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* no Merchant, no Tradeſman, no Labourer, as ſuch, will ſuffer, no Man will be utterly undone: The only great Sufferers will be thoſe who can very well bear it, I mean our overgrown rich Stockholders, moſt of whom do not near ſpend their yearly Income from the Funds; and even as to thoſe who have but ſmall Capitals, and have nothing elſe to truſt to for a Subſiſtence, no one of them can be utterly undone; for many of them will, without Doubt, take their Money and turn it into ſome Trade or Buſineſs, which will be an Advantage to the Nation in general; and thoſe who are grown too old for entering into any Trade or Buſineſs, can be expoſed to no other Suffering, except that of being obliged to contract their yearly Expence, which they may the more eaſily do, becauſe upon aboliſhing ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes, all the Neceſſaries, as well as all the Conveniencies of Life muſt neceſſarily become a great deal cheaper than they are at preſent. From whence I muſt conclude, that by the Reduction of Intereſt, a few *Thouſands* will ſuffer, or think they ſuffer, by their not being able to heap up Riches ſo faſt, or to live ſo luxuriouſly or conveniently, as they might otherwiſe have done; but by continuing our Taxes, and the preſent high Rate of Intereſt, *Millions* will ſuffer, and *Hundreds of Thouſands* will at laſt be utterly undone; and from this, which is certainly the true State of the Caſe, I leave to every Gentleman that hears me, to conſider, upon which Side of the Queſtion, our Compaſſion, even with reſpect to private Men, ought to fall with its greateſt Weight.

But, Sir, that every Sort of Diſtreſs may be prevented as much as poſſible, and at the ſame Time, that the Publick may be enabled to take every poſſible Method to raiſe Money for reducing the Intereſt of the publick Funds, or paying off thoſe who will not accept of a leſs Intereſt than they have at preſent, I think Books of Subſcription ſhould likewiſe be opened for the Sale of Annuities for Terms of Years to all Sorts of Perſons, or for Life to ſuch Perſons as are not Foreigners, nor under the Age of 4 or 5 and 40, at ſuch Rates as this Houſe ſhall deem reaſonable, ſuppoſing the Rate of Intereſt not to be above 3 *per Cent.* As the Circumſtances, Humours, and Inclinations of Mankind are various and very different, there may be ſome Perſons who would chuſe to purchaſe ſuch Annuities, rather than to lend their Money at 3 *per Cent.* therefore the Publick would certainly reap ſome Benefit from this Alternative; and a great many of thoſe Annuitants who have but ſmall Capitals, and are too far advanced in Years, for engaging in any Sort of Trade of Buſineſs, would have an Opportunity of increaſing,

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creasing, instead of diminishing their present yearly Income.

I have now, Sir, explained, as fully as I am able, the Scheme I have thought of for an immediate Reduction of Interest upon all the *South-Sea* Annuities, and I have given you my Reasons for thinking it practicable; but suppose I should be disappointed; suppose that, upon opening such Books of Subscription as I have mentioned, no Man should come in to subscribe either Stock or Money at an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* what Harm can ensue either to the Publick or to any private Man? The Annuitants will remain upon the same Footing they were on before this Proposition was mentioned, or the Scheme attempted: They will continue to enjoy their 4 *per Cent.* Interest till the Parliament can pay them off; and if it be an Advantage not to be soon paid off, the Price of their Annuities will rather rise than fall, upon its being made apparent to the World, by an Experiment, that the Parliament has no Way of paying them off but by the regular Application of the *Sinking Fund*. Then as to the Publick, I cannot so much as suggest to myself any Prejudice that can ensue from the total Misgiving of this Scheme; for surely no Man can have the worse Opinion of our Management, on account of our endeavouring to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* in order to pay off those Debts for which we pay 4; but on the contrary, if we should make no such Attempt, when there is such a Probability of our meeting at least with some Success, it will, in my Opinion, make the whole World conceive a bad Opinion of our Conduct, which can no Way add to our Credit; and it will make the whole Nation believe, that the Interest of the publick Creditors in particular has got, by some unjustifiable Means, a greater Influence in this House, than the Interest of the Nation in general: If such an Opinion should prevail, the Consequences might be fatal to the Principal as well as the Interest of our publick Debts; for from such an Opinion the People would naturally conclude, that they must forever be loaded with heavy Taxes, in order that the publick Creditors might enjoy a high Interest, and that either the Nation or the publick Creditors must be utterly undone. In such a Dilemma it is easy to see which Side the People would chuse; and an enraged People have seldom any great Regard either to publick Credit or publick Faith.

This is a Consequence, Sir, which I dread to mention, which I dread to think of; but it is a Consequence which, in my Opinion, is unavoidable, unless some Measures be speedily taken for reducing the Interest, and for easing the People of some of those heavy Taxes of which they have so long in vain complained. There are many of the publick Creditors, I know, who seem highly displeased with me, for making any Sort of Proposition towards reducing the Interest payable upon any of the publick Funds; but I can with the utmost Sincerity declare, that my turning my Thoughts this Way, proceeded from a Regard for them, as well as from a Regard for my Country; and if the Scheme I have now proposed, or some such a one, be not speedily put in Execution, I am fully convinced they will in a few Years have Reason to wish my Scheme had met with Success, and will then acknowledge their being obliged to me for having endeavoured to prevent their impending Ruin. At present I am very easy about what some of them may say or think; for I shall always direct my Conduct in this House by that which, in my own Conscience, I think just and right, without any Regard to the false Glosses which some People, from selfish Motives, or mistaken Notions, may

may put upon it. Truth will always at last appear in its full Splendor; and as I am convinced what I have now explained to you, will contribute towards the Good of the Publick, and consequently towards the true Interest of the Creditors of the Publick, at least of such of them as are Natives of *Great Britain*, and for that Reason must have an Interest in, and may, I hope, be supposed to have a Regard for, every Thing that can contribute to the Happiness of *Great Britain*; therefore I shall conclude with making you this Motion, *That*, &c. (see p. 581.)

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, I am extremely sorry to find myself under a Necessity of opposing the Scheme now laid before you. I am persuaded the honourable Gentleman would neither have thought of it, nor proposed it, if he had not imagined it would contribute both to the Good of the Publick, and the Good of the Creditors; but as I think it will tend to the Prejudice of both, I am therefore, for the same Reasons, obliged to oppose it. I wish with all my Heart we were in a Condition to pay off, honourably and fairly, all the Debts due by the Publick, and to give the People an immediate Relief from all those Taxes which are appropriated to the Payment of Principal and Interest; but as it is impossible to do this at once, as there is no Way of paying off our Debts, or abolishing our Taxes, but by Degrees, by Means of the Sinking Fund; and as this is a certain Way of paying off, in a few Years, all our Debts, and freeing the People from almost all those Taxes, which have been made perpetual by Parliament, I shall always be fearful of coming into any Scheme which may disturb, and perhaps entirely disappoint that certain and regular Method we are now in, whatever plausible Appearances it may have at first View.

To reduce the Interest payable upon all, or any Part of our publick Debts, and thereby to add to the yearly Produce of the Sinking Fund, or to enable us to annihilate a Part of it, by abolishing some of our most heavy Taxes, is a Project, Sir, which at first View seems mighty alluring. In private Life, a Gentleman who had a large Mortgage upon his Estate, would think himself highly obliged to a Man who should offer to put him in a Way of reducing the Interest payable upon that Mortgage, in order to enable him to live better than he did before, or to pay off the Mortgage, and clear his Estate sooner than he could otherwise do; but if upon examining this Project, he should find Reason to believe, he might be disappointed as to the Raising of a sufficient Sum at a less Interest, and that the Attempt would certainly exasperate all his old Creditors, and excite every one of them to file Bills of Foreclosure against him, by which his Estate might be brought to immediate Sale at a bad Market, and he and his Family brought to utter Perdition; he might, perhaps, thank his Friend for his kind Offer, but surely he would be a Madman, if he should embrace it, or openly attempt to carry the Project into Execution. This I take to be our Case at present; but before I endeavour to shew the Probability, or the Danger of our being disappointed, I shall beg Leave to consider a little what the Hon. Gentleman has said about the Interest of Money, and the Influence it has upon our Trade, Manufactures, and Navigation, and upon the Improvement of our Land Estates.

I shall agree with him, Sir, That in a Country where the Interest of Money is at too high a Rate, there can be little or no Trade, or Improvement of Land; because it is a certain

certain Sign, there is little or no Money in that Country, and without Money no Sort of Trade can be carried on, nor any Land Improvements made: But, I hope, it will likewise be granted, that the Intereſt of Money may be too low as well as too high; for thoſe who have more Money than they can employ in any Trade or Buſineſs, ought to be allowed to make ſome Profit by lending it; in order to tempt them not to hoard, or to hide their Talents in the Earth, but to lend them to thoſe who can employ them to Advantage in ſome Sort of Trade or Buſineſs; and the Hopes of getting a moderate Intereſt or Profit for Money, will always be a great Incitement to Men of all Ranks and Conditions, to get and to ſave as much as they can. What do Men engage in Trade for? what do they toil and fatigue, and ſave for, during the greateſt Part of their Lives, but to provide a comfortable and eaſy Subſiſtence and Relief for the Infirmities of old Age? And after they have done ſo, what do they continue their Toil and their Saving for, but to ſatisfy their Ambition by eſtabliſhing and enriching their Families? If they could make little or no Uſe of their Money after they have got it and ſaved it, no Man would toil, no Man would carry on any Trade or Manufacture farther than was abſolutely neceſſary for his daily and immediate Subſiſtence. Therefore to encourage Men to engage in Trade, or to lend their Money to thoſe that will, to encourage Men to get and to ſave Money, it is abſolutely neceſſary to leave them in a Condition of receiving ſome Profit or Benfit from their Money after they have got it and ſaved it; and this Profit muſt be great or ſmall according to the Circumſtances of the Country where they are, and according to the Humour and Inclinations of the People, among whom that Profit is to be ſettled or regulated.

A very low Rate of Intereſt for Money, Sir, is ſo far from being the Origin or firſt Cauſe of a flouriſhing Trade, that a flouriſhing Trade is always the Cauſe of a low Rate of Intereſt; and in every Country, their Trade muſt have flouriſhed for ſome conſiderable Time before the Rate of Intereſt in that Country can be brought very low. The firſt Origin of Trade in every Country is owing to a well-regulated Conſtitution, and a prudent Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, which Advantages may be very much improved by concurring Accidents. In this Country, before the Reign of *Henry* VII. tho' our Conſtitution had a Face of Liberty, yet that Liberty was almoſt entirely confined to the noble and great Families, under whom moſt of the Commons lived in a Sort of Bondage or Dependance; ſo that our Conſtitution, tho' free, was not very well adapted to the Encouragement of Trade; and the continual Wars we were engaged in from the Conqueſt till that Time, made the Spirit of the Nation run more upon the Arts of War than of Peace; but that wiſe King having very much broke the Power and the Influence of our noble Families, and eſtabliſhed the Rights and Privileges of the Commons, our Trade began even in his Reign to rear its Head; and the wiſe and long Reign of Q. *Elizabeth* eſtabliſhed what her Father and Grandfather had begun; for in her Reign, which upon this Occaſion ought to be particularly remarked, our Trade flouriſhed more, and increaſed faſter, than it ever did in any the like Period before or ſince, tho' the Intereſt of Money was then at 10 *per Cent.* at which Rate it continued till the 21ſt of *James* I. when it was brought down to 8; and at that Rate it continued till after the Reſtoration, when it was reduced to 6 *per Cent.* from whence 'tis plain the Eſtabliſhment and Proſperity of Trade do not proceed from a low Rate of Intereſt,

Intereſt, but that a low Rate of Intereſt proceeds from the Eſtabliſhment and Proſperity of Trade; and the common Rate of Intereſt having ever ſince been upon the Decline, is to me a convincing Proof, that our Trade has been ever ſince that Time in a flouriſhing Condition, and increaſing daily rather than decreaſing.

For this Reaſon, Sir, I muſt think it a little odd to hear ſome Gentlemen pretend, our Trade is now, and has been for ſome Years, in a declining State, and yet at the ſame Time inſiſt, that within theſe 10 Years the Intereſt of Money has ſunk from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* for I muſt obſerve that this pretended Fall of Intereſt is greater in Proportion than what happened in that long and for the moſt Part happy Period of Time, from the 37th of *Henry* VIII. to the 21ſt of *James* I. the former being *one fourth*, whereas the latter was but *one fifth*. Surely if our Trade had been upon the Decline, our national Stock of ready Money would have diminiſhed in Proportion; and if our Stock of ready Money had been diminiſhed, the certain Conſequence would have been, an Increaſe of the natural Intereſt of Money. Therefore, either our Trade is in a flouriſhing Condition, or the natural Intereſt of Money muſt be higher than it was 10 Years ago. If our Trade be in a flouriſhing Condition, it would be dangerous, and conſequently imprudent, to take any new Meaſure for rendering it more flouriſhing, leſt that new Meaſure ſhould have a contrary Effect; and if the natural Intereſt of Money be higher than it was 10 Years ago, it will be impoſſible for us to reduce the Intereſt payable upon any of the publick Funds, without Fraud or Compulſion; neither of which we can make uſe of, without a Breach of National Honour and Parliamentary Faith.

But I am convinced, Sir, our Trade is ſtill in a flouriſhing Condition, and I am of Opinion a further Reduction of Intereſt, unleſs the Circumſtances of the Nation ſhould very much alter, will tend towards a thorough Change, rather than Improvement of that Condition. The preſent Rate of Intereſt is ſo low, it can no Way injure our Trade; for in this Country, as well as every other, moſt Men will chearfully engage in and carry on any Branch of Trade, if they can make but 1 or 2 *per Cent.* net Profit of their Money in that Trade, more than they can make by lending their Money out at Intereſt. We are not to preſume, People put a higher Value upon their Labour and their Trouble in this Country, than they do in *Holland*, becauſe the Rate of Intereſt is higher here than there; if there is any Difference, it muſt proceed from the different Nature of the People, and not from the Difference of Intereſt; and as the Difference of Intereſt is not above 1 *per Cent.* it can give them no Advantage in Trade, at leaſt not ſuch an Advantage as can be equal to the many Advantages we have in other Reſpects over them.

I am therefore of Opinion, Sir, that our preſent Rate of Intereſt can no Way injure our Trade; but, on the contrary, that it is no more than what ſeems neceſſary in this Kingdom, for prompting our People to engage in Trade and to be induſtrious; becauſe by ſo doing they may probably get ſuch a Sum of Money as may, by being laid out at Intereſt, afford them a comfortable Subſiſtence, when they are old and paſſed their Labour; which is what very few could expect, if the Intereſt of Money were much lower than it is at preſent; and if a Man ſhould in his Youth deſpair of ever being able to provide a comfortable Subſiſtence for old Age, he would never think of ſaving, he would think only of getting as much as was neceſſary for his

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daily Subsistence, and would never engage either in Labour or Trade further than he found absolutely necessary for that Purpose, according to the frugal or extravagant Manner he chose to live in.

To this I must add another Consideration, for shewing that the Interest of Money may be too low, and that is, the great Encouragement which is thereby given to Luxury and Extravagance; for as too high an Interest encourages the Luxury and Extravagance of the Lender, too low an Interest will always encourage the Luxury and Extravagance of those who have either Credit or Pledge upon which they can borrow. Therefore, I must think it is not a very low Interest, but a moderate Interest, that is the Parent both of Industry and Frugality; and what ought to be called a moderate Interest in any Country, must depend upon the Circumstances, the Humours, and the Inclinations of the People.

From these Considerations I am of Opinion, that the Lowering of Interest would be hurtful instead of being beneficial to our Trade; and I may, I think, declare my Opinion the more boldly, because, I find, the famous Mr. *Locke* was of the same Opinion, and was therefore against the Lowering of Interest in his Time, tho' it was then at 6 *per Cent.* For a Project having been offered in the Year 1691 for reducing the national Interest, in order to enable the Government to borrow Money at an easier Rate for the Expences of the War, that great Man wrote a Pamphlet against it, which is still extant, and reprinted with his other Works. But as the low Rate of Interest in *Holland* has been much insisted on, and represented as a great Advantage they have over us in Trade, it lays me under a Necessity of considering the Difference between what may be called a moderate Interest in one Country, and that which may be called a moderate Interest in another; which, as I have said, depends not only on the Circumstances, but the Humours and Inclinations of the People.

In *Holland* they have little or no Land, their chief Fund is Money; and as their rich Men have little or no other Riches but Money, there can be few or no Borrowers among them, but such as have a Mind to employ it in Trade; for a rich extravagant Man, whose Riches consist only in Money, can have no Occasion to borrow; as long as his Money lasts, he makes use of it for supplying his Extravagance, and when his Money is gone he has neither Pledge nor Credit whereon to borrow; therefore no extravagant Men can be Borrowers in *Holland*, and a Man who borrows Money to be employed in Trade, neither can nor will give a high Interest for it. On the other Hand, in this Country, our chief Fund is Land, which must always be the Occasion of our having a great Number of Borrowers, who borrow Money only for supplying their own Extravagance, or for atoning for the Extravagance of their Ancestors; for every landed Man who is extravagant, or who succeeds to an extravagant Ancestor, is long a Borrower, and perhaps for large Sums, before he becomes a Seller. From hence we may see, that the natural Interest of Money in this Kingdom must always exceed that in *Holland*, till such Time as the total Value of our Money Estates exceeds the total Value of our Land Estates, as far as the former exceeds the latter in *Holland*. Therefore, from this Difference in our Circumstances, 4 *per Cent.* may be a very moderate Rate of Interest in this Kingdom, and yet 3 *per Cent.* may be an extravagant Rate in *Holland*.

Then, Sir, as to the Humours and Inclinations of the People, it must be granted, that our People neither

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do, nor can live ſo penuriouſly, as the Generality of the People of *Holland* do; therefore a *Dutchman* may live, as he may think, comfortably, upon 3 *per Cent.* for his Money, whereas no Man of this Country would propoſe to live upon ſuch a Sum, unleſs he could have 4 *per Cent.* for it at leaſt. For this Reaſon an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* in *Holland* may be ſufficient for prompting their People to engage in Trade, and to get and ſave as much as they can by their Induſtry, in order to provide for old Age and Infirmities; and yet 4 *per Cent.* may be the leaſt that is neceſſary for the ſame Purpoſes, with reſpect to the People of this Country. And with Regard to thoſe who are apt to borrow, in order to ſupply their Extravagancies, I have already ſhewn there can be few or none ſuch in *Holland*; therefore, with them there is in this Way no Danger to be apprehended from the Lowneſs of their Intereſt; but in this Country, we have in this Way a great deal to apprehend, if we ſhould ever reduce our Intereſt too low. Thus it muſt appear, that if Lowneſs of Intereſt be an Advantage in Trade, it is a natural Advantage the *Dutch* have from the Circumſtances of their Country, and from the Nature of their People; and that it is an Advantage we cannot take from them, without doing ourſelves an Injury of a worſe Conſequence in another Way; but for this very Reaſon we have many Advantages over them, and ſuch as greatly over-balance this one Advantage they have of us. From our Lands we have, or may have, Proviſions ſufficient for all our Workmen, and almoſt all the Materials neceſſary for any Sort of Manufacture, from the firſt Production of Nature to the utmoſt Perfection of Art; whereas they have within themſelves neither the Materials for any Manufacture, nor Proviſions for any of their Workmen, ſo that both muſt come dearer to them, by at leaſt the Freight, and other Charges of tranſporting them from one Country to another: And from the Nature of our People, we have likewiſe an Advantage; for as our People live better, they work with greater Spirit, and more Alacrity than their People can do, and, conſequently, muſt do a great deal of more Work in a Day's Time. Let us, therefore, think of improving thoſe Advantages Nature has given us; for if we neglect them, in order to catch at thoſe which Nature has given to others, we ſhall loſe the Bird in Hand, by endeavouring to catch at that in the Buſh.

As to our Neighbours the *French*, I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid they have any Advantage over us, with Regard to the Intereſt of Money. The legal Rate of Intereſt in that Country is as high as it is in this; and the natural Intereſt of Money, at leaſt upon their publick Securities, is, I am ſure, much higher. Nor have they any natural Advantage in Trade over us worth mentioning, except that of the frugal and penurious Temper of their People, eſpecially their Labourers and Manufacturers; for the Freight of a Ship from any Port in *England* to *Spain* or *Turkey*, is very near as cheap as from any Port of *France*, at leaſt the Difference can have no Influence upon a rich Cargo; and if it could, the Expence of carrying their Goods to their Port for Export, is generally much higher in *France* than in *England*, which will more than atone for any Difference there may be in the Freight: And for the ſame Reaſon a Quantity of *Spaniſh* Wool may always come cheaper to the Manufacturer in *England*, than the ſame Quantity can come to the Manufacturer in *France*. But then, as to the Advantages we have over them, they are innumerable, and the ſingle one of our Wool, is ſuch a one as we may, by proper Care and Diligence, make inſur-

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mountable; for the more careful and diligent we are in preventing its Exportation, the greater the Risk of exporting it will be, and the greater the Risk, the higher its Price will be in *France*; so that at last we may raise its Price so high, as to make it impossible for their Manufacturers to work it up with any Advantage.

Now, Sir, with Regard to our Taxes, as I have said before, I wish we could immediately get free of them, but they must all be continued, or our Debts must remain unpaid; the more of them we abolish, before all our Debts are paid, the longer we must remain under those that are not abolished. I do not know but some of the Materials for Manufacture, and some of the Provisions necessary for Life, may, by Means of our Taxes, be rendered dearer than they would otherwise be. However, it cannot be said, that either the *Dutch* or the *French* have in this the Advantage of us; for in both these Countries their Taxes are as numerous and as heavy as they are in this, and in *France*, 'tis certain, the Method of collecting them is much more grievous; therefore, if Provisions, Wages, or Labour, be dearer in this Country than in *France* or *Holland*, it must proceed from there being a greater Plenty of Money in this Country than in either of the other two: This, I believe, is really the Case, with respect to all the Counties near *London*; and as for our remote Counties, I believe, Provisions, Wages, and Labour, are as cheap in them as in any Part of *France*, and much cheaper than in any Part of the *United Provinces*. From all which, I must conclude, that neither the *Dutch* nor the *French* have any Advantage of us in Trade; but on the contrary, that we have, upon the Balance, a great Advantage of both; and from hence, as well as from the present low Rate of Interest, I think I have Reason to believe our Trade is now as extensive as ever it was; tho' it neither does nor can now increase so fast as it did in its Infancy, nor can the Profits from any Branch of Trade be now so great as when that Channel was first opened. It is not now, indeed, so easy, for a Man to get into a Method of growing rich, or to heap up Riches so fast, by Trade, as it was 50 or a 100 Years ago; but this proceeds from the Nature and certain Consequences of Things, and not from any Decay of Trade; yet this is, I believe, the chief Ground of all our Complaints, and the sole Reason most People have for imagining our Trade in general to be upon the Decline.

I hope, Sir, I have now made it appear, that the present low Rate of Interest can have no bad Influence upon our Trade, and that therefore it would be imprudent and dangerous for us to take any extraordinary Measures for reducing it, but that we ought to let Things go on in their natural and present Course, till the total Value of our moneyed Estates has begun to exceed that of our Lands; and then I make no Doubt but the Interest of Money, upon all Sorts of Securities, will fall of itself, and without our taking any extraordinary Measures to enforce it. I shall next examine what Effect a Reduction of Interest would have on our Lands; and here I must observe, our Landed Gentlemen are extremely mistaken, if they think the Price of their Lands will always rise in Proportion to the Fall of Interest. If Land sells for 20 Years Purchase when Interest is at 5 *per Cent.* he would find himself very far out in his Calculation, who should imagine that if Interest could be reduced to 1 *per Cent.* he might get 100 Years Purchase for his Land: But suppose he did, what the better would he be? For if he sold his Estate, he would then become a money'd Man, and the 100 Years Purchase in Money at 1

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per Cent. would produce no more than the 20 Years Purchaſe would have produced when Money was at 5 *per Cent.* Then as to the Improvement of a Land Eſtate, if Money ſhould become ſo plenty as to yield but 1 *per Cent.* Intereſt, the Price of Labour, and all Sorts of Materials proper or neceſſary for Improvement, would riſe in Proportion; ſo that any Improvement of an Eſtate would then coſt *five* Times as much as when Money bore an Intereſt of 5 *per Cent.* from whence we muſt conclude, that a low Intereſt of Money can no Way contribute to the Improving of any Eſtate; and as no Man would toil or labour for the Sake of ſaving any Money, if he could get little or nothing by it after he had ſaved it, we cannot ſuppoſe, that any Gentleman or Farmer would get Hands enow to aſſiſt him in any ſuch Improvement; ſo that the Reducing of Intereſt too low, would, in my Opinion, rather prevent than encourage Improvements of every Kind.

Thus it appears, Sir, that a further Reduction of Intereſt, till the Circumſtances of the Nation, and the Humours of the People, be very much altered, would neither tend to the Increaſe of our Trade, nor to the Improvement of our Lands, but might probably contribute to the Ruin of both. And as to the more ſpeedy Payment of our Debts, the Difference is not ſo great as ought to induce us to run a Risk of diſabling ourſelves from ever paying any Part of our Debts, in order to pay them off a little ſooner; for if we ſhould annihilate no Part of the Sinking Fund upon the Reduction of Intereſt propoſed, ſuppoſing it to extend to the Whole of our Debts, it would be near 22 Years before we could pay off all our Debts, by means of the Sinking Fund ſo increaſed; and as our Affairs ſtand at preſent, we can pay them all off in leſs than 25 Years; ſo that all we get by bringing ſo many Families into great Diſtreſs, and running the Risk of loſing our Trade, is to get rid of our Debts about 3 Years ſooner than we could otherwiſe have done. But if we ſhould annihilate any Part of the Sinking Fund, if we ſhould annihilate only that Part added to it by the Reduction of Intereſt, it will be very near 27 Years and a half before we can pay off all our Debts; ſo that we ſhall be 2 Years and a half longer in Debt than we need be, if Things ſtand as they are at preſent.

I have now conſidered the publick Benefits which, it is pretended, would ariſe from a Reduction of Intereſt, and have ſhewn the great Reaſon there is for apprehending a quite contrary Effect; but, Sir, if we conſider the private Diſadvantages and Inconveniencies which muſt neceſſarily from thence enſue, they are numerous, and would affect Men of every Rank and Degree. The Landed Gentlemen, and all our noble and great Families, would either ſoon be undone, or their younger Children, both Sons and Daughters, eſpecially the latter, muſt be left in a State of Beggary. 5000*l.* may now be a ſuitable Fortune for the younger Son or the Daughter of a noble Family; but if Intereſt ſhould be reduced much lower than it is, it would hardly enable them to keep Company with their elder Brother's Cook or his Coachman; and to charge a Land Eſtate with a greater Sum to each of the younger Children, would very much encumber the Heir, and might probably ruin the Family. Merchants, Shop-keepers, and Tradeſmen, would be in no better Condition; for every Branch of Trade and Buſineſs is already overſtock'd, and the Reduction of Intereſt would bring ſuch Numbers of new Adventurers into Trade, that they would all be ruined by under-ſelling and under-working one another: Even thoſe who might have the good Luck

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to escape the general Shipwreck, and to get a little Money by the utmost Care, Industry, and Penuriousness, could never expect to get so much as would enable them to pass their old Days in Quietness and Security. Our present Set of Farmers would mostly be turned out of their Farms, and obliged to turn Cottagers; because our Farms, upon the Expiration of the present Leases, would mostly be let to Gentlemens younger Sons, or Persons of much greater Stock or Fortune than our present Farmers are possessed of. But the most unfortunate of all would be our Widows and Orphans, who now have their Money in the Funds, or upon Land Security, and have nothing else to trust to for a Subsistence, but the Interest payable yearly or half yearly upon that Money: Such Persons could not engage in Trade, or turn their Money to any other Use; because Orphans cannot raise it till they come of Age, and Widows generally have the Interest only settled upon them during their Lives: Nay, they could not so much as take the Benefit of that hard Alternative proposed to be offered, of purchasing Annuities for Term of Years or Life. In short, Sir, it would, in my Opinion, bring such a Deluge of Distress upon all Ranks of People, that the Consequences might be fatal to our present happy Establishment and Constitution; so that if we are not moved with Compassion for the Distresses of others, we ought at least to have a Regard for ourselves and our own Families.

But in particular, Sir, I must take Notice of the great Prejudice this Scheme would do to the Landlords of Houses, the Shop keepers, the Tradesmen, and all Persons concerned in the Retail Trade, within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and the Counties next adjacent. Many of our Stockholders and Annuitants being rendered unable to live in or near the City of *London*, would, of course, retire to the remote and cheap Counties; by which Means their Houses would be left empty in the Hands of their respective Landlords, and the Butchers, Bakers, Chandlers of all Sorts, Grocers, and other Tradesmen and Shop-keepers they used to deal with, would for ever lose their Custom. Even those Stockholders and Annuitants who might continue in *London*, or near to it, would every one be obliged to contract their Expence, which would be an additional Loss to the Shop-keepers and Tradesmen in *London* and *Westminster*, and the Counties adjacent; and this double Loss would likewise considerably affect the Custom these Shop-keepers and Tradesmen have from one another. This Consequence of the Scheme proposed is so obvious, that I must say I am surprized to find it patronized by some of those Gentlemen who have always shewn a particular Regard for the Citizens of *London*. I am sure they do not view it in the same Light I do; for if they did, they would certainly have been so far from patronizing it, that they would have opposed it to the utmost of their Power.

These, Sir, are some of the Dangers, which I think are justly to be apprehended from the Scheme now before us, supposing it should succeed; but I have the Comfort to think it would fail in the Execution, tho' every Branch of the Legislature should agree to it, and I shall beg Leave to give you some of my Reasons for thinking so; after which I shall take the Liberty to shew you some of the bad Consequences such a fruitless Attempt may be attended with. But I must first make an Observation upon the two Ends proposed by the Scheme, which are, that we may the sooner get rid of our Debts, and immediately relieve the People from some of their burdensome Taxes. These two Ends are, I confess, mighty plausible,

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ble, but the Misfortune is, that they are, as I think, abſolutely incompatible. It is impoſſible to relieve the People from any of the Taxes appropriated for the Payment of our Debts, without prolonging that Payment; and tho' our Taxes are certainly very burdenſome, yet Experience has ſhewn they are not altogether inſupportable. In this Caſe therefore the firſt Queſtion that occurs is, Whether it be more for the Advantage of the Nation in general to continue our Taxes till the Nation be quite free, or very near free from Debt, and then aboliſh them all at once, which may be done in a ſmall Number of Years, if the Sinking Fund be duly and regularly applied? Or whether we ought now to aboliſh ſome of the Taxes, which we may do without reducing the Intereſt or ruining any of the publick Creditors, and thereby leave the Nation incumbered with a large Debt for a much longer Time? If this were to be a Queſtion, I ſhould, according to my preſent Sentiments, be for the firſt Method; becauſe I think it is not only the moſt advantageous to the Nation, but the moſt juſt with reſpect to our Creditors. I think it is our Buſineſs, before all Things, to rid the Nation of Debt; for till then we can never propoſe to act with ſuch Vigour as we have formerly done, either in aſſiſting our Allies or avenging ourſelves of our Enemies; and I cannot think it abſolutely juſt with reſpect to our Creditors, to annihilate any Part of the Sinking Fund, till they are all paid; becauſe by the expreſs Words of the Law by which it was eſtabliſhed, and by many Laws ſince that Time, it ſtands appropriated to the Payment of thoſe Debts which were contracted before the Year 1716. This was always my Opinion, and was formerly the Opinion of ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe, who ſeem to be great Lovers of the Scheme now before us, and with whom I have generally joined in Opinion ever ſince I have had the Honour to ſit here; but when they change their Opinion, I ſhall not think myſelf any Way bound to join with them, unleſs they give me ſome better Reaſons than I have yet heard, for ſuch a Change.

Now, Sir, to come to my Reaſons for thinking the Scheme impracticable as well as incompatible. There may, I grant, be ſome People in this Nation, who are willing to lend their Money at 3 *per Cent.* that there are ſuch is evident from the Sums that have lately been borrowed at that Intereſt, and the Premium ſuch Securities are ſold at; but I am convinced, we ſhould find ourſelves vaſtly miſtaken, if we ſhould expect to borrow 2 *Millions* or *half a one* at that Intereſt; for with reſpect to the Sums lent for the current Supplies, they are lent by ſuch Perſons as cannot lie out of their Money for any Term of Years; and with reſpect to the Premium upon 3 *per Cent.* publick Securities, it proceeds entirely from the ſmall Quantity of ſuch Securities that are or can be in the Market. Thoſe who lend upon ſuch Securities are generally Men of vaſt Fortunes, and who do not intend to be chopping and changing, ſo that few or none of them are ever in the Market; therefore a very ſmall Sum of Money brought to Market, in order to be laid out upon ſuch Securities, raiſes their Price above Par: Even ſuch a ſmall Sum as 50,000*l.* brought to Market at any Time, more than ſufficient to purchaſe all that are then to be ſold, would raiſe them to a Premium higher than that they are now ſold for; and being once got to a Premium, they muſt continue at it, becauſe few or none of thoſe who are poſſeſſed of ſuch Securities, are ever under a Neceſſity of Selling. And as for *Eaſt-India* Bonds, and ſuch like Securities, they are always bought up by thoſe who

do not think proper to let their Wealth be known, or by ſuch as muſt always have thoſe Securities which they can turn into Money upon an Hour's Warning. From hence we may ſee, Sir, that none of thoſe who lend Money for the current Supplies, or who become Purchaſers of Bonds at 3 *per Cent.* would become Subſcribers upon this new Scheme; and if you ſhould open ſuch Books as are propoſed, your other Securities at 3 *per Cent.* would ſoon come to ſell under Par; becauſe many of the preſent Proprietors would chuſe to ſell out of the Old, in order to become Subſcribers to the New, on account of their being made irredeemable for 14 Years; which would bring ſuch a Glut of the Old to Market, as would certainly bring them under Par, and this would of courſe put a Stop to any Man's coming to ſubſcribe for any new Security at that Intereſt.

There may likewiſe be ſome few of the overgrown rich Annuitants, eſpecially ſuch as live at a Diſtance from *London*, who would rather accept of 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years irredeemable, than be at the Trouble of receiving yearly, or every 2 Years, a partial Payment, and replacing that Payment in Stock or Annuities; but the Number of ſuch Perſons is ſo ſmall, that I am convinced their Subſcriptions would not amount to *half a Million*, and much leſs to 3 *Millions*. I am afraid the Hopes Gentlemen have of great Subſcriptions in Money and Annuities, are founded chiefly upon a wrong Suppoſition. From the Premium given for our 3 *per Cents.* they ſuppoſe the natural Intereſt of Money is now at 3 *per Cent.* but that this is a Miſtake, is, I think, evident from the Price of all our other Funds; for if the natural Intereſt of Money were no higher than 3 *per Cent.* our 4 *per Cent.* Annuities ought to ſell at 133 and *one Third*; *Bank* Stock at 183 and *one Third*; and *Eaſt-India* at 200 *l. per Cent.* which is very far from being the Caſe.

But, Sir, if the natural Intereſt of Money lent upon Pledges of Jewels or Plate, or upon good and undoubted Mortgages of Land, were at 3 *per Cent.* we are not from thence to infer, that the natural Intereſt of Money upon all Sorts of publick Securities, eſpecially Annuities, could be no higher. Our Annuitants are far from being in as good a Condition as a Pledge of Jewels or Plate, or a Mortgage of Lands. If War or any other Accident ſhould raiſe the natural Intereſt of Money, a Pledge or Mortgage could inſiſt upon Payment, or a higher Intereſt, otherwiſe he would bring his Bill of Foreclоſure, and have the Pledge or the mortgaged Lands ſold, by which Means he would certainly recover his *Principal* and all Arrears of Intereſt, and would then get a higher Intereſt for it from ſome other Borrower. On the other hand, let the natural Intereſt of Money riſe as high as it will, an Annuitant can neither inſiſt upon Payment, nor can he bring a Bill of Foreclоſure againſt the Publick; if he wanted his Money, he could recover it no Way but by Sale at the Market Price, which would certainly, in that Caſe, be much below Par; nay, perhaps he might find it impoſſible to meet with a Purchaſer, and then he could have no other Reſource, but to take his 3 *per Cent.* while the Government remained in a Condition to pay him; for even as to the Payment of his Annuity, he has no ſuch abſolute Certainty as a Pledge or Mortgage. For which Reaſon, if Money were now commonly lent upon Pledges or Mortgages at 3 *per Cent.* we could hardly expect Subſcriptions for Annuities at 3; and, I muſt think it a little extravagant to expect any ſuch, eſpecially for ſuch a large Sum; when 'tis well known, that the common Rate of Intereſt upon Pledges

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Pledges or Mortgages is 5 *per Cent.* and the loweſt 4.

For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I muſt be of Opinion, that however plauſible this Scheme may appear in Speculation, it will be found impracticable in the Execution; and the more ſo, becauſe, it is to be expected, all the moneyed Men in the Kingdom will join in Meaſures for preventing its taking Effect. And now, Sir, with regard to the Conſequences of our being diſappointed in ſuch an Attempt, they are various, and may be fatal. I ſhall begin with one which, I think, will be certain, whether the Scheme takes Effect or not. The very Attempt will make all Foreigners, eſpecially the *Dutch*, draw their Money out of our Funds as faſt as they can; for the chief Reaſon any Foreigner has for truſting his Money in our Funds, is, becauſe he makes a greater Profit of it here than he can do in his own Country, upon any Security equally certain and good. It has been allowed, the *Dutch* may make 3 *per Cent.* of their Money at home; and if we examine into the Loſs they are at by the partial Payments made upon our Funds, and the Expences they are at for Commiſſion, Poſtage of Letters, and other incident Charges, we ſhall find they do not now make much above 3 *per Cent.* of their Money; ſo that if we ſhould reduce 1 *per Cent.* of the Intereſt now paid them, they would not then make much above 2 ½; for which Reaſon I think it is moſt juſtly to be apprehended, they would all at once draw their Money out of our Funds; and what a Shock the drawing of ſo much ready Caſh out of the Kingdom at once muſt give to our publick Credit, to our Trade both Foreign and Domeſtick, and to the natural Intereſt of Money between Man and Man, I ſhall leave to Gentlemen to conſider; only I muſt acquaint them, it is generally computed the *Dutch* have above 10 *Millions* Sterling in our ſeveral Funds.

The Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion pretend, the World will be apt to conceive a bad Opinion of our Conduct, if we ſhould not endeavour to take Advantage of the preſent advanced Price of 3 *per Cent.* Securities; but I have ſhewn the Premium upon ſuch Securities is by much too narrow a Foundation for us to build any Hopes on, of reducing all our Annuitants to 3 *per Cent.* and if we ſhould fail in the Attempt, I am ſure the World will have better Reaſon to ſuſpect the Wiſdom of our Conduct, or the Honeſty of our Intentions. A Man who never attempts but what appears by the Event to be within his Reach, is certainly a wiſer Man, tho' not perhaps a Man of ſo much Courage, as he who aims at extraordinary Heights, and falls headlong from the Precipice. By making ſuch an Attempt, and failing in that Attempt, we may very probably be like thoſe vapouriſh Ladies, who fancying themſelves ill, ſwallow Draughts and Bolus's, till they have actually thrown themſelves into a Diſtemper much worſe than the imaginary.

Then, Sir, as to the Prejudice which may accrue to private Men, I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that no ſuch Thing can be apprehended; for, in my Opinion, it is inevitable, whether we ſucceed or not. If we ſucceed, the Annuitants will certainly loſe 5 *s. in the Pound*, of their preſent Revenue; but it ſeems this Loſs is to be made good to them by aboliſhing ſome of our Taxes. Are Gentlemen ſerious when they talk ſo? What would any Annuitant ſay to a Man who ſhould tell him, Sir, we muſt take 5 *s. in the Pound* from your preſent Revenue, but in lieu of that, you ſhall have Candles *an Halfpenny or a Penny in the Pound* cheaper than uſual? Would not any Man take this as a Banter? Suppoſe again, which I think by much the moſt

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probable, that we ſhould not ſucceed; ſuch an Attempt would certainly diminiſh publick Credit: It would make many, both Natives and Foreigners, reſolve not to truſt their Money longer in our Funds. It would make them begin to think of employing their Money ſomewhere elſe, in order that they might take the Benefit of ſelling out, before the Price ſhould be diminiſhed by the Reduction of Intereſt. This would of courſe leſſen the advanced Price of every one of our Funds; and would not this be a Prejudice to every one of the preſent Proprietors, eſpecially to ſuch of them as have lately purchaſed? I do not now argue from Suppoſition only, I argue, Sir, from certain Fact, from preſent Experience: Do not we ſee that all our publick Funds have fallen in their Price ſince this Affair was firſt brought before us? And if an immediate Fall of Stocks has been the Effect of its being mentioned, what Conſequence can we expect from its being agreed to?

I cannot conclude, Sir, without taking notice of the great Endeavours that have been uſed, both within Doors and without, to raiſe our Compaſſion, by repreſenting the deplorable State of our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, and that the Reduction of Intereſt will enable us to give them an immediate Relief. For my Part, I cannot think their State near ſo deplorable as it has been repreſented; for we have no heavy Taxes upon any of the Neceſſaries of Life: All our heavy Taxes are laid upon the Luxuries of Life; and cannot therefore affect a poor Tradeſman who has a Mind to live frugally, and not to indulge himſelf or his Family in the Uſe of Things, that are not abſolutely neceſſary for their Subſiſtence; and the few ſmall Taxes we have upon ſome of the Neceſſaries, or rather Conveniencies of Life, are ſuch as our People have been long accuſtomed to, and not ſo heavy, nor collected in a Manner ſo grievous, as ſuch Taxes are in *France* or *Holland*. But ſuppoſing it were otherwiſe, I have ſhewn, that by a Reduction of Intereſt we could not abolish any of our preſent Taxes, without ſubjecting the Nation to a greater and more dangerous Inconvenience, I mean the putting off for a longer Term the entire Diſcharge of the national Debt; and if by a Reduction of Intereſt our Trade ſhould be diminiſhed, which may probably, as I have already ſhewn, be the Conſequence, eſpecially in and about the City of *London*; then many of our poor Labourers and Manufacturers would be ruined, inſtead of being relieved, by a Reduction of Intereſt; conſequently all the Compaſſion that can be pleaded in the preſent Caſe, muſt operate ſtrongly againſt a Reduction, and in Favour of the many poor Widows and Orphans, who certainly would be irretrievably undone by the great Reduction propoſed.

I muſt confeſs, Sir, I cannot well comprehend the Meaning of that Diſtinction, uſually made upon this Occaſion, between the Publick and the Creditors of the Publick. By the Publick I always mean the collective Body of the People of this Nation; and as our Creditors are a Part of our own People, as thoſe Foreigners who have truſted their Fortunes to our Faith, will, I hope, be always looked on as ſuch, and treated in the ſame Manner with our native Creditors, therefore I ſhall always look upon the Creditors of the Publick to be a Part of the Publick, and ſhall always think, no Injury can be done to them, without injuring the Publick; I believe they cannot ſo much as be ſubjected to any Inconvenience, but what will at laſt prove to be an Inconvenience to the Publick as well as to them; and, I hope, it will be granted, that the taking *one fourth* Part

Part of their Revenue from them, would at leaſt be a great Inconvenience; in my Opinion, it would be a great Injury to every one of them. We have had lately great Complaints of the Inequality of the Land Tax, and of the Injuſtice done to the Land-holders, by ſubjecting them to that Burden for ſo many Years together; for which Reaſon one of thoſe Taxes, which moſt certainly and moſt generally affect the Poor, was lately revived, in order to free the Land-holders from *a Shilling in the Pound* for *one Year* only. The prevailing Doctrine then was, and it is but a few Years ſince, to impoſe ſuch Taxes as might fall equally upon all; but now, it ſeems, we are to lay a Tax of *five Shillings in the Pound* upon that Part of our People, who have the Misfortune of being Creditors to the Publick, in order to free the Nation from ſome of thoſe ſmall Taxes it now pays, and has paid for many Years.

From all which, I think, Sir, it will appear, that the Propoſition now before us will be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Trade, to our Landholders, to the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and to our People in general; that it can be attended with no conſiderable publick Advantage, and that it will be a great Injuſtice done to our publick Creditors; therefore, I ſhall think myſelf fully juſtified in giving my Negative to the Queſtion.

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, viz.

Sir, I ſhall not ſuppoſe, that any of the Gentlemen who ſeem to be againſt this Queſtion, are conſcious of their being in the wrong; but, I muſt ſay, that with reſpect to ſome Arguments they have made uſe of, they treat us as thoſe People generally do, who are conſcious of their having the wrong Side of the Queſtion. They ſtate the Caſe quite different from what it is, and then triumph in the Arguments or Authorities they bring againſt it. By this Means Mr. *Locke* has been brought into the preſent Debate, and brought in too as a Favourer of an Opinion againſt which he has expreſsly declared. Immediately after the Revolution, our Government began to borrow large Sums of Money for ſupporting the Expence of the War, which they found they could not procure but at a very high Intereſt. This gave Foundation for a Project in the Year 1691, for reducing the legal Rate of Intereſt at once, from 6 to 4 *per Cent.* in order, as it was vainly imagined, to enable the Government to borrow Money for the publick Service at a cheaper Rate than what they found they could otherwiſe do. As the natural Intereſt of Money was then greatly increaſed above what it had been for ſome Years before, by the large Sums borrowed for publick Service, every Man of Senſe ſaw that this Project would prove abortive, and that it would very much diſturb, if not entirely ruin, the Trade of the Nation; and Mr. *Locke*, among others, not only oppoſed, but wrote againſt it.

Is there now, Sir, any Queſtion before us for reducing the legal Intereſt of Money? Is there any Thing in the Propoſition that ſeems to have the leaſt Tendency that Way? No, Sir, the only Queſtion now before us is, Whether or no the Publick ſhall endeavour to take Advantage of the low Rate to which the natural, not the legal, Intereſt of Money has fallen; and one of the Arguments made uſe of in favour of this Queſtion, is, That it would tend to the bringing the natural Intereſt of Money between Man and Man, in this Nation, down to a Par with what is in thoſe Countries, which are our greateſt Rivals in Trade and naval Power. Then, and not till then, it has been ſaid you may ſafely venture

to bring down the legal; and it has been said, I think demonstrated, that the bringing down the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, would be an Advantage to our Trade and Manufactures, and a certain Cause of great Improvements in our Land Estates. Mr. *Locke* is expressly of this Opinion. His Words in that very Treatise are, *All the Danger lies in this, That our Trade shall suffer, if your being behind-hand has made the natural Use so high, that your Tradesman cannot live upon his Labour, but that your rich Neighbours will so undersell you, that the Return you make will not amount to pay the Use, and afford a Livelihood. There is*, says he, *no Way to recover from this, but by a general Frugality and Industry; or by being Masters of the Trade of some Commodity, which the World must have from you at your Rate, because it cannot be otherwhere supplied.* These are his Words, Sir, and I appeal to every Man, whether he can think it Frugality in the Publick to pay 4 *per Cent.* when they can have Money at 3? Whether the giving a Man 4 *per Cent.* when he can live upon, and would be obliged to take 3, can make him more frugal, or promote a general Frugality? And whether the enabling a great Number, even of your meaner Sort of Subjects, to live idly upon the Interest of their Money, can be a proper Method for introducing or restoring a general Industry?

Fear, Sir, may be extravagant and ridiculous, as well as Courage, and such I should think that Fear to be which should prevent a Man from borrowing, or attempting to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* for clearing himself of a Mortgage at 4; especially when he is certain, that should he be disappointed in the Attempt, his old Mortgagee would be glad to continue his Money upon the Mortgage at 4, because he could not have so high an Interest, or so good Security, any where else. If a Man had 20 Mortgages upon his Estate of 1000*l.* each, at 4 *per Cent.* and a Gentleman should offer to lend him 1000*l.* at 3, could he in Prudence refuse it? Would not common Prudence direct him to make use of that Offer, for reducing every one of his old Mortgages to 3 *per Cent.* and applying it at last to the redeeming of him who should appear the most stubborn? Could there be any Danger in this, if he were certain that none of his Mortgagees, or not above one of them, could employ his Money to a better Use upon any Security equally certain. This, Sir, is our Case at present. The Reduction of Interest may, perhaps, force some People into Trade, or to lend upon private Security; but I am certain there is now a much greater Sum ready to be lent at 3 *per Cent.* than would be sufficient for replacing all that could be that Way drawn out of our publick Funds; because no extraordinary Profits can be made by any Trade, and a very small Sum would bring the Rate of Interest upon any certain private Security down to 3 *per Cent.* And we have this further Security for encouraging us to try the Experiment, that, should I be mistaken in my Opinion, all our present Creditors would be glad to continue their Money in our Funds at 4 *per Cent.* as we may with the greatest Certainty conclude from the advanced Price of all our Funds.

If I did not know, Sir, how much the Generality of Mankind are blinded by what they think their private Interest, if I did not know how often they are by private Interest misled in their Judgments about what they take to be the publick Interest, I should be surprized to hear it questioned, that the lower the Interest of Money is in any Country, the more their Trade will thrive, the more their Lands will be improved. It is a Maxim so long established, and so

generally

generally acknowledged, that I cannot think there is much Occaſion for adding to what has been ſaid upon that Subject; but that no Man may be miſled, I muſt beg Leave to anſwer, in as brief a Manner as I can, what has been ſaid in Support of the contrary Opinion. Low Intereſt, I ſhall grant, is not the Cauſe, but the Effect of a flouriſhing Trade; and the Trade of a Country may proſper and increaſe, tho' their Rate of Intereſt be high, with reſpect to what it is in this Kingdom at preſent, providing their Rate of Intereſt be no higher than it is in thoſe Countries which are their Rivals in Trade; but this I will ſay, that the Trade of no Country can thrive or continue, if the natural Intereſt of Money among them be higher than it is in thoſe Countries which are their Rivals, unleſs thoſe Rivals forcibly expel their Trade by ſome ridiculous publick Meaſures. The Trade of *Flanders* was once in the moſt flouriſhing State of any in *Europe*, and then the natural Rate of Intereſt was certainly lower among them, than it was in this Kingdom; but the Sovereign of that Country began at laſt to lay ſuch heavy Taxes upon their Manufactures and People, a Rock we ſhould take Care not to ſplit on, that many of their rich Merchants and moſt skilful Manufacturers came over and ſettled in *England*, which gave the firſt Riſe to the Trade and Manufactures of this Kingdom. This Advantage was greatly improved indeed, by the wiſe Conduct of *Henry* VII. *Henry* VIII. and Q. *Elizabeth*, eſpecially the latter, and was at laſt fully eſtabliſhed by the ridiculous Conduct of the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*; ſo that our Trade owes its Origin, not ſo much to the Beauty of our Conſtitution, or the Wiſdom of our Conduct, as to the ridiculous and oppreſſive Meaſures of our Neighbours; for it is always with Regret, that Merchants or Tradeſmen leave their own Country; indeed when they are forced to it, they will certainly retire to that Country, where they are ſureſt of being free from that Oppreſſion or Uneaſineſs, which made them fly from their native Land; and our Happineſs at that Time was, to have a peaceable Country, and a wiſe Adminiſtration, which made them chuſe to take Refuge here, rather than in any neighbouring Country.

This, Sir, would of courſe have brought down the natural Intereſt of Money in this Kingdom, long before the End of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign; but in the mean Time our People began to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and to make Settlements in the *Weſt-Indies*; by both which the Profits were ſo great, that vaſt Numbers were tempted to engage in the Trade, and to borrow Money at any Rate, to be employed in thoſe Branches of Trade, not only in this Kingdom, but in all the other Trading Parts of *Europe*; ſo that, tho' the Intereſt of Money here was then high, in reſpect to what it is at preſent, yet it could not then be called high, becauſe it was no higher than it was among our Rivals in Trade, and could not, therefore, lay our People under a Diſadvantage in carrying on any Branch of Trade or Manufacture.

Thus, Sir, we may ſee, that a great Proſperity of Trade may be the Cauſe of keeping up for ſome Time the Rate of Intereſt; becauſe there is then a great Demand for Money at Intereſt, in order to be employed in Trade; and for the ſame Reaſon, the Declenſion of Trade may, for ſome Time, be the Cauſe of ſinking or lowering the Rate of Intereſt; becauſe, when the Trade of any Country, by Accident or bad Meaſures, is laid under ſuch Diſadvantages, that their Merchants and Tradeſmen cannot carry it on to a reaſonable Advantage, no Man borrows Money to trade with; but, on the

the contrary, those Merchants and Tradesmen who have got any sufficient Sum to live on, draw their Money out of Trade, in order to lend it at Interest, or to employ it in the Purchase of Land; which lowers the natural Interest of Money, by increasing the Demand for Lending, and lessening the Demand for Borrowing; and it likewise raises the Price of Land, by augmenting the Demand for Purchases. But these two Effects have very different Consequences; for in the first Case, the Stock of ready Money in the Country being every Day increasing by the Prosperity of Trade, the natural Interest of Money will soon begin to fall, and will at last come to be extremely low; whereas, in the last Case, the Decay of their Trade and Manufactures will certainly at last turn the Balance of Trade against them, and from that Time their Stock of ready Money will begin to decay insensibly, the natural Rate of Interest will rise by Degrees, the Rents of their Estates, and Price of their Lands will fall, the Numbers of their People will diminish daily, either by their going abroad, or starving at home; and unless they change their Measures, there will at last come to be little or no Money left among them; nothing will remain but Barter and Paper Credit, and the Nation will in the End be certainly undone. From hence it appears, that the natural Rate of Interest, considered by itself only, is a very bad Rule for judging of the Trade of a Country; because, like a consumptive Person, a Nation may look well to all outward Appearance, the natural Interest of Money may be lower than ever it was, and may continue so for some Time, and yet that Nation may be in a galloping Consumption, which I wish may not be our Case at present.

I am surprized, Sir, to hear it said, that the View of getting a high Interest, or any Interest, for Money, is what makes a poor Man labour and fatigue more than is necessary for his daily Subsistence. What makes a Labourer, or a Journeyman do so, is the Hopes of getting and saving as much as may set himself up as a Master; then he gets and saves Money, in order to enable him to extend his Trade, and to carry it on with the more Ease; he never thinks of lending his Money at Interest, until he has got more than he can employ in his Trade, or as much as may maintain him without any Care or Trouble; and in both Cases, he is forced to take what Interest he can get for it. Then as to our Merchants and Shop-keepers, who generally begin with a little Money, they engage in Trade generally because they cannot live upon what Interest they can get for their Money, or at least cannot live as they would *desire*; and as their Stock increases, they increase their Trade; they never think of lending Money at Interest, till they have got more than they can employ in Trade, or as much as may maintain them in an idle and indolent Way, and then they, as well as others, are obliged to take what Interest they can get.

But suppose, Sir, the getting of a high Interest for Money, and subsisting upon that Interest in their old Age, was the only Motive for Peoples labouring, or engaging in Trade, are there any Bounds to be set to Peoples Hopes? Do not we know that every Man hopes to get more by any Trade or Project than he generally meets with, often more than he can reasonably expect? And shall we say that a Man in his Youth, when Hopes are most sanguine, may expect to get 3000*l.* or 300*l.* but cannot expect to get 4000*l.* or 400*l.* and will therefore despair of being ever able to get what he may think a comfortable Support for old Age? This is so much contrary to the Nature

ture of Mankind, that 'tis in vain to think of building any Argument upon it. On the contrary, as every Man muſt get a larger Sum before he can retire to live upon the Intereſt of his Money, when Intereſt is low, than when it is high, every Man will labour with the more Ardor and Aſſiduity, and Numbers of People muſt be bred up to Trade, and muſt engage in it, when Intereſt is low, who would be bred up, or would chuſe to live, like Drones in the Society, upon the Intereſt of their Money, if the common Rate of Intereſt were high; and the greater Stock of Money a Man has to trade with, the leſs Profit he may ſell at, and conſequently the more able will he be to underſell Foreigners, and to improve the Trade of his Country. To this we muſt add, that a rich Merchant or Tradeſman may retire much ſooner from Buſineſs, in order to live upon the Intereſt of his Money, when Intereſt is high, than he can do when Intereſt is low; for I muſt obſerve, it is ſeldom or ever Neceſſity but Choice, that makes a rich Man retire from Buſineſs: No Man can grow rich by the mere Labour of his Hands, at leaſt not ſo rich as to be able to live upon the Intereſt of his Money; a Man muſt be a Merchant or Maſter Tradeſman, before he can get ſo much Money, let Intereſt be as high as it will; and as ſuch Buſineſs is carried on by the Labour of the Head only, the common Infirmities of old Age never render a Man incapable of carrying it on; quite otherwiſe, by his Knowledge and Experience he probably becomes more capable than he was when young and healthful. Therefore we muſt conclude, that a high Intereſt for Money not only prevents the youthful Rich from engaging in Trade, but makes the wealthy Old leave it off; both which muſt be hurtful to the Trade of any Country.

To tell us, Sir, that the *Dutch* being by Nature more penurious than our People, therefore a leſs Intereſt may encourage their People to labour, and engage in Trade, is certainly miſtaking the Effect for the Cauſe; for one of the principal Cauſes of the Penuriouſneſs as well as Induſtry of their People, is the Lowneſs of their Intereſt. Mankind are by Nature generally the ſame; a *Dutchman*, by his Make or Conſtitution, has nothing can make him more penurious than an *Engliſhman*. It is by Laws and Cuſtoms, the Humours and Inclinations of a People are formed, and it is the Buſineſs of every wiſe Nation to invent or adopt ſuch Laws and Cuſtoms as may propagate Virtue, Induſtry, and Frugality among the People. The penurious Nature of the *Dutch* is therefore an Argument in Favour of what is propoſed, inſtead of being an Argument againſt it; and the Circumſtances of that Country, with reſpect to the Proportion between their Money and Land Eſtates, will appear to be an Argument of the ſame Sort. I ſhall admit we have a much greater Demand for borrowing Money at Intereſt upon Land Eſtates, than they have in *Holland*; but is it not therefore our Buſineſs to take all poſſible Methods to diminiſh that Demand, or increaſe the Demand for lending Money upon ſuch Securities? If we can reduce the Intereſt payable upon the publick Funds, we ſhall be able to aboliſh ſome of the Taxes which eat up the Landed Gentleman's Eſtate, by increaſing the Expence of his Family; or we ſhall be able to pay off our Debts ſooner; if we take the former of theſe Methods, we ſhall diminiſh the Demand for borrowing Money upon ſuch Securities; if we take the latter, we ſhall more quickly increaſe the Demand for lending Money upon ſuch Securities; and as ſoon as the Proportion between theſe two Demands comes

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to be the same in this Country with what it is now, or may then be, in *Holland*, will not our Circumstances be in that Respect the same?

Now, Sir, with respect to Extravagance, 'tis true, the Extravagance of some few Men may be increased, or longer supported, in a Country where Interest is low; but in such a Country there cannot be such a Number of extravagant Men in Proportion, as in a Country where Interest is high, because Extravagance generally proceeds from an idle Education; and as there cannot be such a Number of Persons bred up to Idleness, in the former, as in the latter, therefore we may depend on it, the Extravagant will be much less numerous, and consequently more despised, in the one, than in the other; and the Contempt these People meet with, will be a much more effectual Curb upon their Extravagance, than the highest Rate of Interest could be; from whence, I think 'tis certain, the Reducing of Interest is one of the most effectual Methods for restraining the Luxury and Extravagance of the People in general; and my Argument is confirmed by Experience, for in Countries where the Interest of Money is high, their People generally live either in the utmost Penury and Want, or in the Height of Luxury and Extravagance.

The only tolerable Plea, Sir, for that Distinction, which Gentlemen have been pleased to make between a too high and a too low Interest, is, that if Men cannot get what the Gentlemen have been pleased to call a moderate Interest for their Money, they will lock it up in Chests, or hide it in the Earth. This is an Argument which has often been made use of, but in my Opinion without any Foundation; for in peaceable Times we know that no private Man will keep his Money by him, but will rather lodge it in some Bank or Banker's Hands without any Interest; because in such Hands it is secured against Pilferers, Thieves, and Robbers, which it cannot be in his own Habitation. Indeed, in Times of Civil War, many Men may perhaps hide their Money in the Earth, because it cannot then be secure, either in the House of any private Man or publick Bank; but such an extraordinary Case can be of no Weight in the present Debate; and if much larger Sums should be lodged in the Hands of any Banker than he had use for in Circulation, he would certainly lend it at 1 *per Cent.* nay at a ½ *per Cent.* if he could no Way turn it securely to any better Account; either of which is lower than the natural Interest of Money ever yet fell to in any Country. However, for Argument's Sake, I shall suppose Money become so plenty in a Country, that none of their own People will give any Thing for the Use of it: In this Case, 'tis certain, their Bankers would fall upon some Way of lending it to Foreigners, which would be an annual Advantage to the Nation; and if even this were found to be impossible, if every Man had as much Money at Command as he had use for in his Trade or Business, what Harm could ensue to the Nation, if all the rest of their Money were lock'd up, and the Owners obliged to pay Warehouse Room for it, as they do for any other useless and unvendible Commodity.

From what I have said, Sir, I think I may justly conclude, there is no such Thing as a too low natural Interest of Money; and therefore, with respect to the natural Interest of Money in general, there can be no such Thing as a moderate Rate. It is a Term to be made use of only when we talk of the common Interest in different Countries, or of the Interest paid by different private Men; and as that Man who has Money at the most moderate, that is to

say,

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ſay, the loweſt Rate of Intereſt, is the happieſt and moſt thriving Man, ſo that Country where the common Intereſt is at the moſt moderate, or loweſt Rate, is the happieſt and moſt thriving Country. Therefore, every Nation ought to endeavour as much as poſſible to bring down the common Rate, I mean the natural, not the legal Rate of Intereſt, among them, in order, as Mr. *Locke* has well obſerved, *that their rich Neighbours may not be able to underſell them*; which they certainly can and will do, if they can borrow Money at a leſs Intereſt; as was, I think, fully demonſtrated by my worthy Friend in the Beginning of this Debate; and the Suppoſition he then made, that a Man will always expect to make by any Trade double what he pays, or may have, by way of Intereſt for the Money employed in that Trade, was ſo far from being extravagant, that I rather think it was too modeſt; for in carrying on any Trade or Buſineſs in Partnerſhip, where one contributes only his Skill and Induſtry, and the other the whole Stock neceſſary for carrying it on, there is nothing more common than an Agreement to divide the Profits between them, tho' he who furniſhes the Stock generally runs the whole Risk; therefore I think it is but reaſonable, that a Man who borrows Money at Intereſt for carrying on any Trade or Buſineſs by his ſole Skill and Induſtry, ſhould have as great a Share of the Profits as he who lends his Money without running any Risk; for in ſuch Caſes, the Lender has always the Borrower's Obligation, and ſometimes a Pledge, or ſome other collateral Aſſurance, for ſecuring the Repayment of the Money with a certain Profit, come of the Trade what will. And if a Man employs his own Money as well as his Skill and Induſtry, he will certainly expect, beſides the common Rate of Intereſt for his Money, as great a Reward at leaſt for his Skill and Induſtry, as he who has no Money could expect; for we always find that the richer a Man is, the greater Value he puts upon his Skill and Induſtry. From which Conſiderations I muſt conclude, that 8 *per Cent. per Annum* is the leaſt Overcharge we can reckon upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market, above thoſe of the ſame Kind and Goodneſs, which are carried thither from *Holland*, or even from *France*.

With reſpect to the latter, 'tis true, Sir, the legal Intereſt is there as high as in this Country, but the natural Intereſt of Money between Man and Man, is, by the beſt Information I can have, at a much lower Rate. In *France* they have the bad or the good Fortune not to have much publick Credit. Their publick Funds are below Par, even reckoning the Intereſt at 5 *per Cent.* and the Government can never borrow at that Rate; but if I am rightly informed, there is great Plenty of Money to be lent upon private Credit, and even upon perſonal Security; inſomuch that the Brokers or Scriveners in that Country are continually employed by the Lenders to ſeek out for the Borrowers, the Conſequence of which is, that a Merchant or Manufacturer may there borrow Money for a long Term below the legal Intereſt, and upon his perſonal Security, or perhaps getting another to join with him, and Bills are often diſcounted at the Rate of 3 *per Cent.* both which are a great Advantage to the Trade of that Kingdom, eſpecially the former, becauſe it encourages Merchants and Manufacturers to launch out upon any Project of Trade, much beyond their own proper Stock of ready Money. In this Country it is quite otherwiſe. Our publick Credit is much better than our private; for if we except the Diſcounting of Bills, which is tranſ-

acted between Merchant and Merchant, or between a Merchant and his Banker, there is hardly any private Credit, properly ſpeaking, in the Nation: I ſay, properly ſpeaking, becauſe when a Mortgage or Pledge is given, there is properly no Credit given to the Borrower. We have hardly any ſuch Thing, eſpecially here about *London*, as Money lent for a long Term upon perſonal Security at 5 *per Cent.* and even moſt Bills, I am afraid, are diſcounted at a Premium much above that Rate. I believe I may appeal to all the Brokers and Scriveners about *London*, if they are ever applied to by any Lender of Money, to find them out a Perſon who will borrow their Money upon perſonal Security at the legal Intereſt. This makes it impoſſible for any Man to launch out upon the moſt hopeful Project farther than his own Stock of ready Money will reach; becauſe, if he ſhould by good Luck find a Friend to lend him Money at the Beginning, that Friend may die, or may have Occaſion for the Money, before he can ſpare it from the Trade he has undertaken; in which Caſe he muſt be entirely ruined, unleſs he can meet with ſuch another Friend, which 'tis ten to one if he does.

By this we may ſee the great Advantage the *French* have over us, by means of the low natural Rate of Intereſt, and great Plenty of private Credit in that Country. 'Tis true, the Advantage this Way is not, I believe, equal in *France* to what it is in *Holland*; but in *France* it is, I reckon, equal to 4 *per Cent. per Annum* at leaſt, which is ſufficient to deſtroy every Branch of our Trade in which they can rival us. And as to the Conveniency of their Ports, I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid we can carry on any Trade in the *Mediterranean*, ſo cheap or ſo eaſily, as the *French* can do at their Ports of *Marſeilles* and *Thoulon*; or that we can carry on a Trade with *Portugal*, or any Part of *Spain* without the *Streights*, ſo cheap as the *French* can do from their Ports on the *Bay of Biſcay*. Then as to our own Wool, I wiſh with all my Heart we could render the Exportation of it impracticable; but, I believe, the only effectual Way of doing ſo is, to enable our Manufacturers and Merchants to work it up at home, and ſell it ſo wrought up in foreign Markets, as cheap as ſuch Manufactures can be ſold by any of our Neighbours; for if we ſhould once loſe the Sale of ſuch Manufactures at foreign Markets, we cannot make uſe of all our Wool in working up Manufactures for Home Conſumpt; and if we cannot work it all up at Home, it will, like *Spaniſh* Gold and Silver, find its Way out, in ſpite of the ſevereſt Laws, and the greateſt Care we can take for preventing it. Our Laws will then ſerve only for running down the Price upon the Farmer; for as he muſt ſell, if he cannot find a Buyer at home, he muſt take what Price he can get from the ſmuggling Exporter, who in that Caſe will be ſure to make the Farmer pay for the Risk he runs in Exporting.

Now, Sir, as to Taxes, I ſhall grant, the Taxes both in *France* and *Holland* are extremely heavy, but I doubt much if they are ſo heavy upon, or ſo inconvenient to Trade, in either of theſe Countries as in this. I know it is generally thought the *Dutch* have great Taxes upon Trade, and heavy Exciſes; but, properly ſpeaking, they have neither the one nor the other. Their Taxes are all upon the Conſumpt, and are generally raiſed, not at the Time of Importation, but upon their being carried to Market and ſold for Retail or Conſumption in the Country; for as every Province, and every City or Town, is a Sort of Sovereignty within itſelf, and raiſes, as well as im-

impoſes, moſt of the Taxes and Duties paid by the People, Goods, upon Importation, pay but very ſmall Duties or rather Fees; the high Duties are all paid upon their being brought into any of their Cities or Villages for Retail or Conſumption; and the Nature of their Country makes it eaſy for them to raiſe thoſe Duties without ſending Officers into every Retailer's Shop, or ſubjecting their People to what we call the Laws of Exciſe. I need not deſcend further into Particulars, it will be eaſy from what I have ſaid, to ſee that the Taxes in *Holland* cannot be ſo troubleſome or expenſive to the Merchant-Importer, or to the Retailer, as the Taxes in this Country; and if we examine into the Taxes impoſed by their ſeveral little Sovereignties, we ſhall find, great Care has been taken not to impoſe any Tax which may inhance the Price of their Manufactures. In *France* again they are ſubject to great Inconveniencies, with reſpect to Smuggling, as well as we; but, except their *Taille*, I do not know that they have any Tax ſo troubleſome to the People as our Exciſes are. Their *Taille*, indeed, is ſuited to the Nature of their Monarchy, it is arbitrary; but then their Gentlemen are not ſubject to it, nor have they any Land Tax, but in Time of War, and even then it is but *two Shillings in the Pound*. As for their other Taxes, there are, I believe, none of them, except that upon Salt, ſo high as the like Taxes in this Country; nor have they ſo many of them: They have no Tax upon Light, Heat, or Air; I mean, they have no Tax upon Candles, upon Firing, or upon Windows, ſo far as I have ever heard; nor have they any Tax upon Soap, becauſe they know it is a Material neceſſary for every Sort of Manufacture. Even upon Wine they have no Tax, unleſs it be brought into ſome City for Sale; and therefore, in Villages and Country Places, their People may drink the beſt of *French* Wines as cheap as our People can drink common Beer; and ſmall Wines they may have almoſt as cheap as our People can have ſmall Beer.

But, Sir, without taking any Notice of ſuch Particulars, we may be aſſured, that the People of this Kingdom are more heavily taxed, than the People of *France*, only by comparing the total Amount of the publick Revenues in *France* with the total Amount of the publick Revenues here at home. In *France*, the total yearly Amount of the publick Revenue is computed to be about 200 *Millions of Livres*, which is but a little more than *nine Millions Sterling*; and let any Man look back upon the annual Reſolutions of our Committee of Supply, and add to that the real Produce of the Civil Liſt Revenue, and the Produce of that Revenue which is appropriated to pay the Intereſt and Principal of our Debts, he will find, that in *Britain* alone, I may ſay in *England* alone, we have for many Years raiſed above *ſix Millions* yearly, and often above *ſeven*; which is above *two Thirds* of what is raiſed in *France* yearly; and, I am ſure, no Man will ſay, that in the whole Kingdom of *France*, there is but *one Third* more People than in *England* alone. From hence, Sir, proceeds the Dearneſs of Labour, and of Proviſions in *England*; it is not from our having a greater Plenty of ready Money; for if ready Money were more plentiful in this Country, than in *France*, the natural Intereſt of Money would be lower here than it is there.

When I conſider theſe Things, Sir, and when I compare the preſent State of the Trade of *Europe* with what it was *forty* Years ago, I am really aſtoniſhed to hear it pretended, that the Trade of this Nation is in as flouriſhing a Condition as ever it was. *Forty* Years ago, we had no

Rival in the *East-India* Trade but the *Dutch*; now there is hardly a Nation in *Europe* but interferes with us in that Trade: Then, the *French* had little or no Trade in *Turkey*, *Spain*, or *Portugal*, nor exported any Woollen Manufactures to either; now, they greatly interfere with us in every one of them, and export to each, great Quantities of Woollen Manufactures. Then, we had no Rivals in the *Sugar* Trade; now, the *French* not only interfere with us, but, I am afraid, have out-done us: Is not every Country in *Europe* now setting up Manufactures of all Kinds; and, consequently, can we say it is possible for us now to find such a Sale for our Manufactures as we found at that Time? In short, Sir, if it were not for our Colonies and Plantations in the *West Indies*, and the Exports we are enabled to make by their Means, I am convinced, the general Balance of Trade would be entirely against us; and if that should ever come to be our Case, as we have no Mines of Gold or Silver, we would soon have very little of either of these Metals amongst us; the Consequence of which would be, a Stagnation of all Sorts of Trade and Manufacture, and the Departure of most of our Mechanicks and Tradesmen.

It is with Regret, Sir, I have taken so much Notice of our Circumstances, and the melancholy Consequences they may be attended with; but some People are so apt to ascribe every Thing that has happened, or may happen, to the Luxury, Extravagance, and Idleness of our People, that I thought myself obliged, in Justice to my Countrymen and Fellow Subjects, to shew that, if any notable Misfortune does happen to us, it will not proceed from their Luxury, Extravagance, or Idleness, but from the Difficulties they are exposed to, by Means of the Interest of Money's being higher, and the Taxes heavier, in this Country, than in those which are our Rivals in Trade and naval Power; and as I have done it with the sole View of shewing the proper and the only Methods for extricating ourselves out of those Difficulties, I hope every Man who has a true Regard for his Country will excuse me.

That the Lowering of Interest raises the Price, and encourages the Improvement of Lands, is a Maxim so generally received, and was so clearly demonstrated by my worthy Friend in the Beginning of this Debate, that I am almost ashamed to add any Thing farther upon the Subject; but, Sir, I must beg Leave to answer some of the Objections made against it. As to the Price of Lands, it must necessarily fall or rise, very near in Proportion as the Interest of Money rises or falls; because, if a Man can make a great deal more annual Profit by purchasing Lands, than by lending Money, every Man will purchase, no Man will lend; which must of course raise the Price of Lands, as well as the natural Interest of Money, till they come near upon a Par with one another. And surely the Raising the Value of a Man's Estate must add to his Riches; for no Man sells in order to employ his Money at Interest, unless upon a sudden Rise of the natural Interest of Money, as happened to be the Case, immediately after the Revolution, occasioned by the great Sums then borrowed at a high Interest by the Publick. What makes a Man sell, is generally to pay off a Mortgage, or in order to divide his Estate among his Children; in either of which Cases he has a great Advantage by the Rise of the common Price of Lands. A Man who has 10,000*l.* Mortgage upon 1000*l.* a Year Estate, must sell a Moiety of his Estate to pay off that Mortgage, when Interest is at 5 *per Cent.* and Lands sell at 20 Years Purchase; but if Interest should fall

to 2 ½ *per Cent.* and Lands ſhould of Conſequence come to ſell at 40 Years Purchaſe, which I am told is now the common Price in ſome Parts of *Italy*, the Landed Gentleman might then clear his Eſtate of the Mortgage, by the Sale of *one Fourth* Part of it. And if a Man ſells his Eſtate to divide it, I ſhall ſuppoſe, among four Children; ſurely a Son in Trade with 10,000*l.* or a Daughter with 10,000*l.* and married to a Merchant, may puſh any Trade further, and conſequently be more beneficial to themſelves as well as to their Country, than if they had but 5000*l.* each. Nay, if it be neceſſary, that Gentlemen in *England* muſt always be called, or deſerve the Name of *Idlemen*, as they are called in *Holland*, ſuch a Gentleman will have the ſame Revenue out of 10,000*l.* when Intereſt is at 2 ½ *per Cent.* as he could have in the ſame idle Way from 5000*l.* at 5 *per Cent.* Intereſt.

As to the Improvement of Land, the only Objection that has been made to it, is, that the Price of Labour and Materials, fit for Improvement, will riſe in Proportion to the Fall of Intereſt; but this, Sir, will not hold; for the Price of nothing that can be imported will riſe in Proportion to the Fall of Intereſt; the only Reaſon why the Price of Lands riſes in that Proportion, being, becauſe they cannot be imported. As to Labour, whenever its Price begins to riſe, Workmen and Labourers of all Kinds will flock in upon you from Countries where Labour is cheap; and as to all Sorts of Materials and Proviſions, ſince they may be imported from other Countries, your home Produce can never ſell for more than ſuch Commodities can be imported and ſold for; unleſs you ſhould prohibit, or load with Duties, the Importation of thoſe Materials or Proviſions, which are neceſſary for the Improvement of your Lands, or the Subſiſtence of your Poor; which no Nation, ſurely, will ever be mad enough to do.

After having heard ſuch eſtabliſhed Maxims in Trade controverted, I hardly believed the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion would have admitted any Thing in this Debate; but, I find, Sir, they do admit, that by the Reduction propoſed, the Nation may get rid of Debt *three* Years ſooner, or may aboliſh ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes, and yet get entirely rid of Debt almoſt as ſoon. However, they have endeavoured to vilify this Advantage as much as poſſible, and, therefore, I muſt give you the Trouble to hear it ſtated in its true Light. In order to do this, I muſt obſerve, that every Tax laid upon any Commodity, raiſes the Price of that Commodity a great deal higher than the Value of the Tax laid upon it; becauſe the Merchant or Retailer muſt be paid for the Riſk and Intereſt of that Money which he pays for the Tax, as well as of that Money which he pays for the prime Coſt of the Commodity: And I muſt likewiſe obſerve, that the Expences of collecting every Tax are all paid by the People; ſo that upon all our Cuſtoms and Exciſes in general, I may compute, the People pay about *one Third* more than the net Produce brought in to the Publick. Now as the Intereſt now paid yearly upon all our publick Debts, and the Sinking Fund together, amount to above *three Millions* yearly, I muſt reckon, that towards raiſing this net Sum, the People pay yearly *four Millions*; ſo that if by reducing the Intereſt upon all our publick Funds to 3 *per Cent.* and continuing all our Taxes till the Whole be paid off, the Nation do get entirely rid of Debt *three* Years ſooner than we can do if the Intereſt be continued at *four*, our People will ſave the Value of this Annuity for *three* Years; and as an Annuity of *four Millions* for *three* Years at 4 *per Cent.* Compound Intereſt

tereſt amounts to 12,486,400*l.* we muſt reckon, that by this Reduction, the People of this Nation will ſave that whole Sum; a Saving which, I hope, will not appear inconſiderable, however trifling the *three* Years Difference, as to the Time of getting entirely rid of our Debts may appear.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, that upon the Reduction of Intereſt, we ſhould aboliſh Taxes equal in yearly Amount to that annual Saving. As the Amount or yearly Produce of the Taxes upon *Soap* and *Candles* comes neareſt to this Saving, I ſhall ſuppoſe them to be aboliſhed. Theſe two Taxes produced in the Year ending at *Midſummer* laſt, about 365000*l.* net; ſo that, including the Expences of Management, I reckon there was about 400,000*l.* raiſed upon the People; and as the advanced Price upon both theſe Commodities is reckoned near double the Value of the Tax laid upon them, I am ſure, I may reckon, the People pay at leaſt 600,000*l.* a Year, on Account of theſe two Taxes; which is an Annuity they are to get free from by this Reduction 25 Years ſooner than they can do, if Intereſt be continued at 4 *per Cent.* But an Annuity of 600,000*l.* a Year for 25 Years, at 4 *per Cent.* Compound Intereſt, amounts to 24,987,540*l.* In this Caſe, as the Nation will continue in Debt *two Years and a half* longer than if Things ſhould continue upon their preſent Footing, we muſt deduct from this Sum the Annuity, which the People are to pay for that Time; which Annuity will conſiſt of the preſent Sinking Fund, being about 1,150,000*l.* and the Intereſt upon our preſent Debt, at 3 *per Cent*, being about 1,440,000*l.* ſuppoſing our Debts to amount to 48 *Millions*. Theſe two Sums added together make 2,590,000*l.* to which add a Third more, and it makes above 3,450,000*l.* which is the Annuity the People are to pay for *two Years and a half* longer than they would otherwiſe do; therefore, as I have ſaid, this Annuity for that Time at 3 *per Cent.* Compound Intereſt, being near 8,730,000*l.* muſt be deducted from 24,987,540*l.* and the remaining Sum, which is above 16,250,000*l.* is the Sum our People will ſave by a Reduction of Intereſt, and immediately aboliſhing the Taxes upon *Soap* and *Candles*; and this Saving will, I hope, be looked on as a ſufficient Atonement for our continuing *two Years and a half* longer in Debt.

I beg Pardon, Sir, for making ſo much uſe of Calculation, but upon this Subject it is impoſſible to argue without Figures, and as there is nothing myſterious or uncommon in the Calculations I have made uſe of, I hope Gentlemen will forgive me; for from theſe Calculations the Advantage the Nation will reap from the Reduction only, is made manifeſt beyond Contradiction; and now I ſhall examine the pretended Diſadvantages. In the firſt Place, we are told, our noble Families and Landed Gentlemen muſt ruin their Eſtates, in order to provide for their younger Children; as if it were abſolutely neceſſary the younger Children of all Landed Gentlemen ſhould be bred up to Idleneſs, in order to live like fine Gentlemen and Ladies upon the Intereſt of their Money. Sir, this is ſo far from being neceſſary, that we certainly ought to prevent it, if poſſible; and the only Way of preventing it is, to lower the common Rate of Intereſt: The younger Son of the beſt Nobleman in the Kingdom may make as good a Figure, and, I am ſure may be much more ſerviceable to his Country, by being bred up a Merchant, than by being bred up to follow Plays and Operas in Town, or Fox-hounds and Horſe-matches in the Country. But, ſuppoſe that every Landed Gentleman ſhould be obliged to give his younger Children greater Fortunes; if he is frugal,

frugal, and has a Mind to provide for them by a narrow Way of Living, he will ſave a great deal more yearly in the Expence of his Family, by the Aboliſhing of ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes, by which he will be enabled to give them greater Fortunes. If he has a Mind to leave them a Mortgage upon his Eſtate, a proportionable Addition to their Fortunes will be no additional Burden upon his Eſtate; for as the total Value of his Eſtate muſt increaſe in Proportion, and the yearly Value likewiſe may probably be much improved, a Mortgage of 20,000 *l.* for younger Childrens Portions, when Intereſt is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* and the Price of Lands raiſed to above 33 Years Purchaſe, will be no greater Burden upon an Eſtate, as to the total Value, than 12,000 *l.* is, now that Intereſt is at 5 *per Cent.* and the Price of Lands at 20 Years Purchaſe; and as to the Intereſt Money, ſurely 600 *l.* a Year, the Intereſt of 20,000 *l.* at 3 *per Cent.* can be no greater Charge upon the improved Rent of an Eſtate, than 600 *l.* a Year, the Intereſt of 12,000 *l.* at 5 *per Cent.* upon the preſent Rent of the ſame Eſtate, without any Improvement.

To pretend, Sir, that all Branches of Trade are, or can be overſtock'd, is a very great Miſtake, and a very dangerous Miſtake, if it ſhould ever obtain ſo much Credit as to influence the publick Meaſures of a Country; for no Sort of Trade or Buſineſs relating to the Exports of a Country can be overſtocked; but on the contrary, the more there are of every ſuch Trade or Buſineſs, the cheaper the Commodities they manufacture or deal in will be ſold in foreign Markets, and the cheaper they are ſold the more of them will be ſold, the more certainly will you prevent Foreigners from interfering with you in the Trade; which will always be a Benefit to the Nation in general, tho' not ſo advantageous to the particular Perſons concerned. I ſhall ſuppoſe, for Example's Sake only, that the original Materials of a Hat ſold beyond Seas for *a Guinea*, do not coſt above 7 *s.* and that the other 14 *s.* are divided between the Workmen for their Labour; the Maſter-Manufacturer for his Profit, and his Trouble in employing thoſe Workmen; and the Merchant-Exporter, for his Profit, and Trouble in exporting: If you ſhould, by increaſing the Number of Workmen and Dealers in this Way, bring the Workmen to work for a 4th Part leſs Wages, and the Maſter-Manufacturer, and Merchant-Exporter, to deal for a 4th Part leſs Profit, that Hat would then be ſold in a foreign Market for 17 *s.* 6 *d.* and if by ſelling ſo cheap you ſhould engroſs the Market, you would probably ſell *two* Hats for every *one* you now ſell; ſo that for every *Guinea* now returned to the Nation, there would then be 35 *s.* returned, and double the Workmen employed; with this additional Advantage, that you would much more certainly preſerve that Trade than you can do at preſent. Thus it appears that the Workmen and Dealers in any ſuch Branch of Trade can never be too numerous, and therefore, the Trade can never be overſtocked, unleſs we ſuppoſe it poſſible that one Nation might have more of ſuch Dealers and Workmen than would be ſufficient to ſerve the whole World. 'Tis true, all thoſe Profeſſions and Branches of Trade not any Way concerned in Export, may be overſtocked; but even with reſpect to them, the more there are the better, and the cheaper our People will be ſerved; and when they are very much overſtocked, thoſe who cannot live by the Buſineſs they were bred to, will ſeek for Employment in ſome other Way, and few or none of the riſing Generation will be bred to that Sort of Bu-

Buſineſs; therefore the Publick has very little Concern about the Overſtocking of any Branch of Trade; their Care ought to be to force as many of their People into Trade as poſſible, and then, like a good General of an Army, to take ſpecial Care that their Enemies or Rivals ſhall gain no accidental or artful Advantage of them, in any Branch of Trade in which they are or may be employed.

As to Farming, I believe, there is no great Danger that many of our Gentlemens Sons would betake themſelves to that Sort of Buſineſs, let us reduce Intereſt to what we will; but if they ſhould, it would not ſurely be a Diſadvantage to our Landholders to have rich Tenants, or to have more Bidders for the Leaſes of their Farms. The richer the Tenants are, the more able will they be to improve their Farms, and the more punctually will the Rent be paid; and the more Bidders there are the more eaſily may the Landlord raiſe his Rent; ſo that this is one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments for ſhewing that a low Intereſt will naturally improve the yearly Value of our Land Eſtates. Then as to the Widows and Orphans concerned in our Funds, and who have nothing elſe to depend on for a Subſiſtence; a Widow or Orphan who has 500 *l.* Annuity Stock, will after the Reduction have 15 *l.* a Year, and I cannot think any Perſon that has 15 *l.* a Year certain, without Labour or Toil, can be reckoned an Object of Compaſſion, becauſe there are many Places in *England* where a ſingle Perſon may live comfortably upon ſuch an Income. But ſuppoſe 1000 *l.* Stock, which is double the Income, if we examine the Liſts before us, we ſhall find many of the Perſons in thoſe Liſts have ſomething elſe to truſt to; and if there were none ſuch, the Number of them can bear no Proportion to the *Millions* of Poor that will be relieved by aboliſhing any one of our heavy Taxes, nor ought it to be of any Weight in our Deliberations upon an Affair in which the Preſervation of our Trade is ſo eſſentially concerned.

Laſtly, Sir, I muſt take Notice of the great Diſadvantage, which, 'tis pretended, would accrue to the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Counties adjacent, by a Reduction of the Intereſt payable upon the publick Funds. If this Reduction ſhould happen to be general upon all our Funds, it would amount to about 400,000*l.* a Year, let us ſee now how this would affect the Trade of the Retailers, Farmers, Gardeners, and Tradeſmen, in and about the City of *London*. Firſt we muſt obſerve, there is at leaſt one 4th Part of our Funds belongs to Perſons who reſide abroad; ſo that we muſt deduct at leaſt 100,000*l.* from this 400,000*l.* and then there will remain but 300,000*l.* Next we muſt obſerve, that a great Part, by far, I believe, the greateſt Part of our Funds belong to Perſons who do not ſpend $\frac{1}{2}$, ſome not $\frac{1}{10}$ of the Revenue they have from thoſe Funds; and ſome Part of them belongs to Perſons who reſide for the whole or greateſt Part of the Year in diſtant Counties; ſo that upon the whole, I believe, I may reckon there is not above $\frac{1}{3}$ Part of this 300,000*l.* actually ſpent yearly in or about *London*; therefore the moſt we can reckon is, that, by this Reduction, the Inhabitants in and about *London* will loſe the taking of 100,000*l.* a Year, which they now take yearly from our Stockholders for Wares purchaſed out of their Shops, Farms, or Gardens, or for Work done; but as many of the Wares purchaſed in their Shops either come from abroad, or from the diſtant Counties of *Britain*, therefore, I am ſure, we may reckon the Inhabitants in and about *London* will not loſe of real Profit or Wages above 50,000 *l.* a Year. And

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as every Man who retrenches his Expence, begins with that which is the moſt ſuperfluous, we may preſume this Loſs will fall chiefly upon our Plays, Operas, Conſorts, and Maſquerades; in which Caſe, the induſtrious and uſeful Part of the Inhabitants will ſuffer little or no Diminution in their preſent Cuſtom or Buſineſs.

This, Sir, is the Charge, and now let me turn to the other Side of the Account, according as it will ſtand by the Propoſition my worthy Friend has made to us. He propoſes, that if this Reduction ſhould take Place, the Duties upon *Candles*, *Soap*, *Coals* and *Leather* ſhould be taken off, I ſhall ſuppoſe only the two firſt taken off; becauſe theſe two alone will, I am ſure, do much more than balance the Account. I have already ſhewn that the People of *England* pay at leaſt 600,000 *l.* a Year for *Soap* and *Candles*, more than they would pay if there were no ſuch Duties; therefore the taking off theſe Duties will be a yearly Profit of 600,000 *l.* a Year to the whole People of *England*; and as the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, Borough of *Southwark*, and Counties adjacent, conſume more *Soap* and *Candles* than all the reſt of the Kingdom, or at leaſt pay more than half of the yearly Produce of the Duties, we muſt reckon that the taking off of theſe two Duties will be a yearly Saving, and conſequently a yearly Profit, of 300,000 *l.* a Year to the Inhabitants in and about *London*, as an Atonement for the 50,000 *l.* a Year they are to loſe by the Reduction of Intereſt, and thereby leſſening the yearly Revenue, and conſequently the Expence of our Stockholders.

But, Sir, as this Saving may at firſt View appear a little extraordinary, I muſt trouble you with another Computation, to ſhew that it is far from being imaginary. Let me ſuppoſe then, that in *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and the Counties adjacent, there is but *a Million* of People; 300,000*l.* a Year divided among *a Million* of Perſons comes to 6*s.* a Year to every Perſon, for his Share of what is paid on Account of the Duties on *Soap* and *Candles*; ſo that a Man who has *ſix* Perſons in his Family, by this Computation, is preſumed to pay but 36*s.* a Year on Account of theſe two Duties; and conſidering that for every *Pound of Candles* he buys, there is 2 *d.* laid out on Account of the Duty; and for every *Pound of Soap* he buys, or is bought on his Account, there is at leaſt 2 *d.* ½ laid out on Account of the Duty; I believe this Computation will not appear extravagant; for it is ſuppoſing him to conſume but 10 or 12 Dozen of *Candles*, and 6 or 7 Dozen of *Soap*, which I think is the leaſt we can ſuppoſe to be conſumed by our Shopkeepers and Tradeſmen, one with another, in their Shops, Kitchens, Chambers, and working Houſes. From hence it is evident, that the Inhabitants in and about the City of *London* would gain 250,000 *l.* a Year clear Profit by the Propoſition now before us; and if to this we ſhould add the yearly Saving, and conſequently yearly Profit, that would accrue to them, by aboliſhing the Duties upon *Coals* and *Leather*, I am amazed how any Citizen of *London*, not deeply concerned in Stocks, can diſapprove of ſuch a Propoſition; I am ſure the honourable Gentleman who made it, deſerves their Thanks in the moſt publick and the moſt grateful Manner.

The two Ends propoſed by this Scheme are, 'tis true, Sir, either to enable us to pay our Debts off ſooner than we can otherwiſe do, or to give an immediate Relief to our People, by aboliſhing ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes; but theſe two Ends are propoſed ſeparately, or rather disjunctively, and not jointly, as the Gentle-

men of the other Side of the Question have represented; and that it will not be incompatible but necessarily effectual for one or t'other of these Ends, according as we shall chuse, the Gentlemen themselves have acknowledged. When we have approved of the Scheme, in so far as it relates to the Reduction of Interest, it is then Time enough to chuse which of these Ends we shall apply the Saving to; but I cannot help now declaring my Opinion, that we ought to apply that Saving and something more, to the immediate Abolishing of some of our Taxes; not only, because the People will gain more by an immediate Relief from some of our most heavy Taxes, than they can gain by a total Discharge of our Debts 3 or 4 Years sooner or later, but because it is become absolutely necessary, if we have a Mind to preserve our Trade, to abolish some of our Taxes, as well as to reduce the natural Interest of Money.

I have always been, Sir, and still am against applying the Sinking Fund, or any Part of it, to the current Service; because I think such an Application directly contrary to the Intention of its Establishment, as well as inconsistent with that Justice which is due to our publick Creditors. The ultimate End and Intention of its Establishment was, to free the People from some of those Taxes they were then subject to, and which were mortgaged for the Payment of those Debts contracted before *Dec.* 25, 1716, and the only Means of doing this was by paying off by degrees the Debts, for which those Taxes were mortgaged; but when you have paid off those Debts, you have it certainly in your Power, either to apply the Saving made by such Payment, to increase, for the future, the Sinking Fund, or you may apply that Saving to the ultimate End and Intention of the Establishment of that Fund, I mean, the Freeing of the People from some Tax or other, whose yearly Produce does not exceed the Amount of the Saving you have made by such Payment. That this was the Opinion of Parliament appears from the almost unanimous Resolution with respect to abolishing the Salt-Duty; for I do not remember that any Gentleman then insisted upon the Creditors having an indefeasible Right, not only to the Sinking Fund as it then stood, but to all the Savings which might grow by the Payments made to the publick Creditors; and that none of those Taxes mortgaged for the Payment of our publick Debts could be taken off or abolished by Parliament, as long as there was a *Shilling* due of any of those Debts, for which the Taxes were mortgaged.

But suppose, Sir, this had been then, or any Time since, my Opinion, I am sure I have lately found very good Reasons for changing my Opinion; for I am now fully convinced, the Sinking Fund will never be duly and regularly applied, either to the Payment of those Debts contracted before the Year 1716, or to the Abolishing of any of the Taxes mortgaged for that Purpose: I am now by Experience fully convinced, it is a Fund which Ministers in all Time coming will be nibling at; and I do not think I have any great Reason to expect, that Parliaments will be less complaisant to Ministers in Time to come, than they have been in Time past. For this Reason, Sir, I am so far from desiring to see the Sinking Fund increased, that if any other possible Method can be contrived for paying our Debts honourably and fairly, I shall be for having it entirely abolished; because, I am afraid, it may hereafter prove a Fund for running the Nation into needless Expences, oftner than it will prove a Fund for discharging any Part of our

our Debt, or freeing the People from any of the heavy Taxes they now groan under. And as I think the Turning of a great Part of our Debts into Annuities for Life or Years, or the Sale of ſuch Annuities, and applying the Purchaſe Money towards paying off our Debts as far as it will go, is the only Way of paying off our Debts honourably and fairly, and at the ſame Time annihilating the Whole or a great Part of the Sinking Fund; therefore, I moſt heartily join with my worthy Friend in that Part of his Scheme which relates to the opening Books of Subſcription for the Sale of Annuities, upon the Terms he propoſes; becauſe theſe Annuities will ceaſe of courſe, and as ſoon as a ſufficient Number of them are ſold, we may then order it ſo, that the Taxes ſhall ceaſe of courſe, and in Proportion as the Annuities ſhall ceaſe or determine: Whereas, if we continue upon the preſent Footing, I am afraid the Doctrine lately broached will prevail, that the Nation ought always to be kept under its preſent Load of Debts, and the People under their preſent Load of Taxes; and that the Sinking Fund will be generally diverted towards the current Service, or towards diſcharging ſome Debt lately contracted, in order to gain the falſe and empty Applauſe for future Miniſters, that they have not laid any unneceſſary Loads upon the People, or ſubjected them to any new and unheard of Taxes.

As for the Practicability of the Scheme, I believe, Sir, it will ſufficiently appear, by ſetting the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion right, in a Miſtake they have committed, with reſpect to the preſent natural Rate of Intereſt upon publick Securities. They have told us, that if the preſent Rate of Intereſt upon ſuch Securities were at 3 *per Cent.* our Annuities at 4 *per Cent.* ought to ſell at 133 ⅓, *Bank* Stock at 183 ⅓, and *Eaſt-India* at 200*l.* *per Cent.* This Calculation, I ſuppoſe, they take from this Proportion, that if 3 *per Cent.* gives 100*l.* 4 *per Cent.* the preſent Dividend on 4 *per Cent.* Annuities, ought to give 133 ⅓; and ſo for the reſt in Proportion to their reſpective Dividends; but does not every Gentleman ſee the Error in this Method of Calculation? However, to make this Error manifeſt, I muſt obſerve, that the Price of every one of our Stocks at Par, is the Price of an Annuity to continue till the Principal be repaid; becauſe the Publick ſtands obliged to pay them 100*l.* in Money, for every 100*l.* Stock they ſtand poſſeſſed of: But as to the advanced Price upon any of our Stocks, it is the Price of an Annuity to continue for a certain or uncertain Term of Years *à fond Perdu*, as the *French* call it; that is, upon the Ceaſing of the Annuity the Principal is to be entirely loſt; becauſe, let that advanced Price riſe as high as it will, the Publick ſtands obliged to pay them no more than 100*l.* in Money, for every 100*l.* Stock they ſtand poſſeſſed of.

Now, Sir, with reſpect to our Annuities at 4 *per Cent.* does not every one ſuppoſe we ſhall be able in 6 Years to reduce them to 3 *per Cent.* but ſuppoſing it ſhould be 10 Years, then if the natural Intereſt of Money be no lower than 3 *per Cent.* our 4 *per Cent.* Annuities ought not to ſell for above 108 ½ *per Cent.* becauſe in that Caſe, an Annuity of 3 *per Cent.* till the Principal be repaid, can be worth no more, nor can it ſell for any more than 100*l.* and an Annuity of 1 *per Cent.* for 10 Years, at the End of which Time the Principal is to be ſunk, as well as the Annuity to ceaſe, is in preſent Value, at the ſame Rate of Intereſt, worth no more, nor can it ſell for any more, than 8 ½; ſo that according to the preſent Price of our 4 *per Cent.* Annuities, the natural Intereſt

of Money must be under 3 *per Cent.* becauſe they ſell for 113*l. per Cent.* which is 4 ½ *per Cent.* higher than they could ſell for, if the natural Intereſt of Money were not under 3 *per Cent.*

Then as to the *Bank*, 'tis well known they divide but 5 ½ *per Cent.* that their Term expires in 6 Years, and that their Annuity cannot continue any longer than that Time; becauſe if proper Meaſures be taken, they may be paid off in that Time, and if their Term of Banking be continued any longer, they ought to pay a valuable Conſideration for it; from whence we muſt reckon, that their Stock, if the natural Intereſt of Money were no higher than 3 *per Cent.* ought not to ſell for above 113 ½ or 114 *per Cent.* at moſt, which is 100*l.* for the Annuity of 3 *per Cent.* till the Principal be repaid, and 13 ½ or 14 for an Annuity of 2 ½ *per Cent.* for 6 Years, the Principal to be then ſunk. And laſtly, as to *Eaſt-India* Stock, as they are now eſtabliſhed a Company for ever, and their excluſive Privilege to continue till the Year 1769, and as they divide 6 *per Cent.* 2 *per Cent.* whereof is from the Profits of their Trade, ſuppoſe the natural Intereſt of Money no lower than 3 *per Cent.* their Stock ought not to ſell for above 149 ½ *per Cent.* which is 100*l.* for the 3 *per Cent.* to continue till the Principal be repaid, 8 and ſome more than ½ *per Cent.* for the 1 *per Cent.* Annuity, which 'tis ſuppoſed the Government muſt as yet pay for 10 Years, and near 41 *per Cent.* for an Annuity of 2 *per Cent.* to continue for 32 Years, being the Reſidue of the Term of their excluſive Privilege, at the End of which the Dividend of 2 *per Cent.* from the Profits of their Trade will probably ceaſe; and the principal Money now paid for the Annuity proceeding from thoſe Profits will be entirely ſunk; ſo that ſuppoſing the natural Intereſt of Money at 3 *per Cent.* the Premium upon *Bank* Stock, according to the Price it now ſells for, is above 37 *per Cent.* and the Premium upon *Eaſt-India* Stock, is above 30 *per Cent.* both which are much higher than the Premium upon 3 *per Cent.* Securities, and is occaſioned, I believe, by People's being generally of Opinion, that the excluſive Privilege will be continued to each of the Companies reſpectively, perhaps for many Generations, without their being ever obliged to pay a full and adequate Conſideration to the Publick for the Renewal of their Term.

From hence it muſt appear, that the natural Rate of Intereſt upon all publick Securities is under 3 *per Cent.* and to inſinuate, that the Creditors of the Publick are in a worſe Condition than any Pledgee or Mortgagee, is really ſomething very extraordinary, when all Mankind appear ſo evidently to be of a contrary Opinion; for tho' a War ſhould happen, it will, I hope, rather lower than raiſe the natural Intereſt of Money, becauſe, I hope, our Government will never again fall into that dangerous and deluding Method of borrowing Money for the Expences of the War, but will yearly raiſe as much as may be neceſſary for ſupporting the Expences of the War, and anſwering the whole annual publick Expence. And to pretend, that the Scheme may be rendered impracticable, by a Combination among our rich moneyed Men, is ſtill more extraordinary; for a Conſpiracy for diſtreſſing the Publick, in order to prevent us from being able to relieve the People from any of their Taxes, whatever it may be reckoned by our Lawyers, would, I am ſure, be reckoned by the People a Sort of High Treaſon againſt the State, and would conſequently make the People think themſelves juſtified in any Meaſures, they might think proper to take, for relieving themſelves from their Taxes

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in the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual Manner; therefore, I hope, no publick Creditor, nor any moneyed Man in the Kingdom, will be ſo raſh and imprudent as to enter into any ſuch Combination or Conſpiracy.

After what I have ſaid, Sir, I believe the Argumeuts made uſe of for ſhewing the Impracticability of the Scheme, will entirely evaniſh; and the Dangers we are threatened with, either from its ſucceeding or not ſucceeding, will, upon Examination, appear as little ſubſtantial. That the Succeſs of the Scheme, or even the Attempt, will make Foreigners, eſpecially the *Dutch*, draw out their Money all at once, is a Misfortune we have been threatned with upon all intended Reductions; and I am convinced we ſhall now find thoſe Threats as ill grounded as ever they were found upon any former Occaſion. With reſpect to Foreigners, Sir, particularly the *Dutch*, there are two inſurmountable Obſtacles, which will prevent their drawing away their Money; one of which is, that it is impoſſible for them to find Purchaſers at any Thing near the Value, if any great Number of them ſhould reſolve to ſell; and the other is, that it is impoſſible for them to get 3 *per Cent.* for their Money any where elſe, upon any Security equally good; for the higheſt Intereſt at preſent in their own Country is but 3 *per Cent.* and the loweſt in many Caſes under 2; ſo that *one Million Sterling* only brought from *England* to be lent in *Holland*, would very probably run the natural Intereſt of Money down to 2, or perhaps to 1 *per Cent.* And as to our own People, ſome of them might probably draw out their Money, in order to lend it on Mortgages at 3 ½ *per Cent.* on good perſonal Security at 4, or on indifferent perſonal Security at 5; which is one of the great Advantages to be expected from the Scheme; but the Sum to be drawn out for theſe Purpoſes could have no great Influence upon our publick Securities; becauſe the Drawing out of any great Sum would bring the natural Intereſt of Money upon private Securities below the natural Intereſt upon publick; which can never happen as long as the Generality of Mankind have a much better Opinion of the latter, than they have of the former. And as to the preſent Fall of Stocks, we know it proceeds from the Practices in *'Change-Alley*, where, we know, ſome People have been mighty induſtrious. I wiſh they had not been ſo; I wiſh their Behaviour at this Time may never be made uſe of as an Argument againſt all our publick Creditors in general; for when the Behaviour of ſome becomes a publick Nuiſance, it may be made uſe of againſt the whole Body; as was lately the Caſe, with reſpect to the Diſtillers and Retailers of Spirituous Liquors.

I ſhall grant, Sir, the Reduction of Intereſt might very probably diminiſh the advanced Price upon our Funds; but I am convinced it would not bring them under Par, nor any Thing near to it; nay I do not know but the Benefit of not being obliged to receive any Part of their Principal, nor to have their Intereſt leſſened for 14 Years to come, would raiſe the Price of all our Annuities above what they now ſell for; I think I have good Reaſon to believe it would. However the advanced Price is what the Publick neither has, nor ought to have any Concern about; for to ſay we ought not to do or attempt any Thing that may tend to diminiſh the advanced Price our Stocks ſell for, would be an Argument againſt ever paying them any Part of their Principal, as well as againſt reducing the Intereſt now payable to them; and now it is made uſe of againſt attempting to reduce their Intereſt, I hope it will have juſt as much Weight, and no more, than if it had

had been made use of for our coming to a Resolution never to pay *a Shilling* more of the Principal of any of our Debts, but to turn the Sinking Fund to some other Use yearly, and continue to pay the same Annuity we now pay, forever: Which Resolution many Persons without Doors would be glad of, tho' I am certain no Gentleman within these Walls would ever agree to it.

There is, therefore, Sir, no Danger to be apprehended, either from the Success or Disappointment of the Scheme. To attempt it, is not climbing up a Precipice; it is only attempting to do that which we are in Duty bound to attempt, as often as there is the least Prospect of Success; and at present we shall most certainly meet with some. This the declared Enemies of the Scheme are sufficiently aware of; they would not have been so industrious in their Opposition, if they had not known it would certainly meet with great Success; and I am surprized to hear it said, the present loud and general Complaints are nothing but Vapours: Every Man in the Kingdom, who has not great and superfluous Sums coming in yearly from our Funds, or from some Post or Pension, is fully sensible of the National Distemper we are under; and I am sure no State Physician in the Kingdom can prescribe a better, or at least a more honourable Remedy, than that now in our Offer; if we do not apply it, I shall despair of ever seeing a Remedy applied, till we change both our Physicians and Nurses.

Has any Man said, has any Man pretended, Sir, that the Loss an Annuitant or Stockholder is to sustain by the Reduction, will be made good to him by abolishing the Duty upon *Candles?* This is treating the Subject more ludicrously than it deserves, or ought to be treated; but I will say, it is better for every Annuitant and Stockholder to take that which is the natural Interest of Money in his Country, than to run the Risk of being soon deemed an Usurer, whereby he may come to lose both Principal and Interest. The Reducing of the Interest payable upon publick Securities to that, which we find to be the natural Interest upon such Securities, or paying those off who are not willing to take that Interest, is not laying any Tax upon our publick Creditors; but the continuing to pay them 4 *per Cent.* when the natural Interest of Money is under 3, is really making them a Present of 400,000 *l. Sterling* a Year; and I am sure the Publick is in no Condition to make, nor can they pretend Merit enough to deserve, such a considerable Present. To pretend therefore, that the *Reduction* proposed would be laying a Tax of 5 *s. in the Pound* upon them, must appear to be a very great Mistake; and to say, that in the present Case, there is no Distinction to be made between the publick Creditors and the Publick, because they are a Part of our own People, must appear to be as great a Mistake, if we consider that in all Cases, where the private Advantage of any Set of our own People comes to be inconsistent with the good of the Publick, a Distinction not only then may, but must be made, between that Set of our own People, and the Publick; and in all such Cases, I hope the good of the Publick will, I am sure it ought to be preferred. Is not this the Case now before us? It is for the private Advantage of our publick Creditors, to receive from the Publick yearly a Present of 400,000 *l.* but I am sure it is inconsistent with the Good of the Publick to continue making them any such Present.

But of all the Arguments that have been made Use of against this Reduction, I think the hardest and most extraordinary is, to say, that, because our People have long paid,

and

and been accuſtomed to the paying of heavy Taxes, therefore there can be no Compaſſion in relieving them from any of thoſe Taxes. This, I ſay, I muſt think very hard as well as extraordinary; and I am ſure it is as extraordinary to ſay, we have no Taxes upon the Neceſſaries of Life. For my Part, I do not know any one Neceſſary of Life, upon which we have not ſome Tax or another, except Water; and we can put no Ingredient, I know of, into Water, in order to make it palatable and chearful, without paying a Tax. We pay a Tax for Air, and for the Light and Heat of the Sun in the Day Time, by Means of our Tax upon Windows; and for Light and Heat in the Night Time by Means of our Duties upon *Coals* and *Candles*; we pay a Tax upon Bread, Meat, Roots, and Herbs, of all Kinds, by Means of our Salt-Duty; we pay a Tax upon ſmall Beer, by Means of the Malt Tax, and a heavy additional Tax upon ſtrong Beer, by Way of Exciſe; nay we cannot have any clean Thing to put upon our Backs, either of Woollen or Linen, without paying a Tax, by Means of the Duty upon Soap: And tho' moſt of theſe Taxes may ſeem to be ſmall and eaſy to a rich Stockholder, who has *Thouſands* a Year coming in, yet to a poor Labourer or Manufacturer, who has not perhaps above 8*d.* or 1*s.* a Day, and himſelf and Family to maintain out of it, every one of them muſt ſeem grievous, and always will be ſeverely felt; till he can prevail with his Maſter, on account of theſe Taxes, to raiſe his Wages; and then, by the Loſs of Employment, he is brought into a worſe Condition than he was before. Therefore, from the great Diſtreſs many ſuch poor Families are in, and the infinite Multitude there are of ſuch in the Kingdom, Compaſſion may be ſtrongly pleaded in Favour of the Reduction, and can, in my Opinion, have little or no Weight on the other Side of the Scale; for Gentlemen may talk what they will about Orphans, Widows, and other Ladies, but I believe the Reduction will bring few or none of them into pitiful Circumſtances; it will only oblige ſome of them to betake themſelves to Buſineſs inſtead of living idly, or to retire to the Country inſtead of living at *London*; and for this very Reaſon I am for the Reduction, becauſe I love to ſee People employed; and as I am a Country Gentleman, and love the Company of the Ladies, I deſire to have a few more of them in the Country with us.

I do not remember, Sir, any one Argument made uſe of againſt the Reduction, but what I have now either fully anſwered, or ſhewn to be an Argument in its Favour; and I hope what I have ſaid upon this Subject will have the greater Weight, becauſe every one that knows me, knows I have a very conſiderable Share in the publick Funds, and that therefore it is as much my immediate Intereſt to oppoſe a Reduction, as it can be the immediate Intereſt of moſt Men in the Kingdom; but I ſhall always conſider my future Intereſt as well as my immediate Intereſt, and I hope I ſhall always be ſo wiſe as to preſer the publick Intereſt to both. I would not perhaps have been at ſo much Pains to ſhew my Zeal in Favour of the Queſtion, if it had not been for the contrary Behaviour of ſome, who are in the ſame Circumſtances with me; but when I obſerved ſome Practices made uſe of without Doors againſt the Queſtion, which I do not think altogether juſtifiable, I thought it incumbent upon me to declare my Approbation of the Queſtion in the moſt remarkable Manner; in order to convince Poſterity, as much as lies in my Power, that ſuch Practices ought not to be imputed to the publick Creditors in general; and I wiſh the Time may

may never come, when the publick Creditors will have Reason to thank me for the Record I have left in their Favour.

Thus we have given the Substance of what was said in the two Days Debate upon the Motion made by Sir *J—n B——d*; for some Gentlemen in the 1st Day's Debate, who seemed to speak against the Motion, having declared, they thought the Motion of such Consequence, that they could not freely give their Opinion upon it without further Time to consider of it, therefore the further Consideration of the Affair was put off till that Day Sevennight, as before mentioned; and towards the End of the Debate, the second Day, *T—s W——s* Esq; stood up and made a short Speech, the Substance whereof we shall give in our next, because it produced an Alteration in the Motion, as our Readers will then see.

[*This Journal to be continued in our next.*]

LETTERS, in the Original, with the Translations, and MESSAGES, that passed between the King, Queen, Prince, and Princess of *Wales*; on Occasion of the Birth of the young Princess.

The Prince *to the* Queen *at* Richmond, *by Lord* North.

MADAME, Kew, le 5 Juill. 1737.

LE Docteur Hollings *et Mrs.* Cannons *viennent de me dire, qu'il n'y a plus à douter de la grossesse de la Princesse. D'abord que j'ai eu leur autorité, je n'ai pas voulu manquer d'en faire part à vôtre Majesté, et de La supplier d'en informer le Roi en même tems. Je suis avec tout le respect possible, Madame,*

de Vôtre Majesté le trés humble et trés obeïssant fils et serviteur,

FREDERICK.

MADAM, Kew, July 5, 1737.

DR. *Hollings* and Mrs. *Cannon* have just told me, that there is no longer any Doubt of the Princess's being with Child. As soon as I had their Authority, I would not fail to acquaint your Majesty therewith, and to beg you to inform the King of it at the same Time. I am with all possible Respect,

Madam, Your Majesty's most humble, And most obedient Son and Servant,

FREDERICK.

August 1, 1737. Lord *Harrington* and Sir *Robert Walpole* arriving at St. *James's* soon after the Delivery of the Princess, his Royal Highness was pleased to send for them to his Bed-side about 5 a-Clock in the Morning: When, among other Things, he said he did not know whether the Princess was come before her Time or not; that she had felt great Pains the *Monday* before, which being apprehended might prove her Labour (of which Opinion Lady *Archibald Hamilton* and Mrs. *Payne* declared themselves to be,) he brought her from *Hampton-Court* to St. *James's*; but the Physicians were then of another Opinion, and the Pains ceasing and going off, they returned to *Hampton-Court* again.

That on the *Friday* following, the Princess's Pains returning, the Prince carried her again to St. *James's*, when the Physicians, Dr. *Hollings* and Dr. *Broxholme*, and Mrs. *Cannon* were of Opinion it might prove her Labour, but those Pains likewise going off, they returned again to *Hampton Court* on *Saturday*: That he should not have been at *Hampton-Court* on *Sunday*, but it being the publick Day, he feared it might be liable to some Constructions; that the Princess growing ill again on *Sunday*, he brought her away immediately, that she might be where proper Help and Assistance could be had.

N. B. The Prince of *Wales* had that Morning made Declarations to the same Effect, with some other Particulars, to the Queen and the two Princesses who were with her.

Message from the King *at* Hampton-Court, *to the* Prince *at St.* James's, *by Lord* Essex, August 3, 1737.

THE King has commanded me to acquaint your Royal Highness, That his Majesty most heartily rejoices at the safe Delivery of the Princess; but that your carrying away her Royal Highness from *Hampton-Court*, the then Residence of the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, under the Pains and certain Indication of immediate Labour, to the imminent Danger and Hazard both of the Princess and her Child, and after sufficient Warnings for a Week before, to have made the necessary Preparations for this happy Event; without acquainting his Majesty, or the Queen with the Circumstances the Princess was in, or giving them the least Notice of your Departure; is looked upon by the King to be such a deliberate Indignity, offered to himself, and to the Queen, that he has commanded me to acquaint your Royal Highness, that he resents it to the highest Degree.

From

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From the Prince *at St.* James's, *to the* King *at* Hampton-Court, *by Lord* Jerſey, Aug. 3, 1737.

SIRE,

C'eſt avec toute la mortification poſſible, que je vois par le Meſſage, que my Lord Eſſex m'a porté, que ma venuë en ville, avec la Princeſſe, a eu le malheur de déplaire à Vôtre Majeſté. Permettez moi, Sire, de Vous repreſenter, que dans le cas preſſant, ou je me trouvai Dimanche, ſans Sage-Femme ni aucune aſſiſtance, il m'étoit impoſſible, de m'arrêter un moment; Sans cela je n'aurois jamais manqué de venir moi-même, en faire part à Vôtre Majeſté; outre que la plus grande expedition du monde n'auroit jamais pû amener Mrs. Cannons, *que deux ou trois heures aprés la Naiſſance de l'Enfant. Comme la Princeſſe avoit eu la Colique, pendant quelques jours, Mrs.* Cannons, *et les Docteurs* Hollings *et* Broxhom *furent conſultez pluſieurs fois, qui m'aſſurerent tous qu'Elle n'étoit pas ſi procbe encore de ſon terme, ce que les deux Medecins étoient d'opinion encore le Dimanche à Midi; mais qu'en cas qu'Elleût des peines differentes de la Colique, on Lui eût donner un Cordial, et l'amener en ville, auſſi-tôt qu'on pouroit. J'ai ſuivi ceci en tout point, et ſuis tres affligé, qu'il eſt arrivé un cas, où ma tendreſſe pour la Princeſſe, pouvoit paroître d'écarter un moment, la premiere penſée, que j'ai ſans cela toûjours, de montrer mon dévouement envers Vôtre Majeſté. D'ailleurs, ſi j'oſe dire, la Princeſſe m'a le plus inſtamment deſiré dans ce moment de l'amener à Londres, où toute aſſiſtance Lui etoit plus procbe, que je n'y pus réſiſter; car je n'aurois jamais pû me pardonner, ſi en conſequence de mon refus, aucun malheur Lui fût arrivé. J'eſpere que tout ceci touchera Vôtre Majeſté, & qu'Elle me permettra de me mettre à ſes piez demain à ſon lever; ce que je n'aurois pas manqué de faire Lundi paſſé, ſi la Reine ne m'avoit ordonné de ne le faire, que comme aujourd'hui. La ſeule choſe qui m'en a empêché, eſt la peur que j'ai eu, depuis que j'ai vû my Lord* Eſſex, *de déplaire à Vôtre Majeſté, en me preſentant devant Elle, avant d'avoir pris la liberté de Lui expliquer avec toute Soûmiſſion, l'unique & veritable motif, de la demarche, dont Elle m'a parû offenſée. Je ſuis avec tout le reſpect imaginable,*

Sire, de Vôtre Majeſté, le tres humble

& trés obeiſſant fils, ſerviteur, & ſujet,

FREDERICK.

SIR,

IT is with all the Mortification imaginable, that I ſee by the Meſſage my Lord *Eſſex* has brought me, that my coming to Town with the Princeſs has had the Misfortune to diſpleaſe your Majeſty. Permit me, Sir, to repreſent to you, that in the preſſing Situation I was in on *Sunday*, without a Midwife or any Aſſiſtance, it was impoſſible for me to delay one Moment; otherwiſe I ſhould not have failed to have come myſelf to acquaint your Majeſty with it. Beſides which, the greateſt Expedition in the World could never have brought Mrs. *Cannon* in leſs than two or three Hours after the Birth of the Child. As the Princeſs had had the Cholick for ſome Days, Mrs. *Cannon*, Dr. *Hollings*, and Dr. *Broxbolme*, who were often conſulted, all aſſured me ſhe was not yet ſo near her Time, of which Opinion theſe two Phyſicians ſtill were on *Sunday* at Noon; but in Caſe ſhe had Pains different from the Cholick, that a Cordial ſhould be given her, and that ſhe ſhould be brought to Town as ſoon as poſſible. This Advice I followed in every Point, and am very much concerned that a Caſe ſhould happen, in which my Tenderneſs for the Princeſs might ſeem one Moment to remove, what is otherwiſe firſt in my Thoughts, the Deſire of ſhewing my Devotion to your Majeſty. Beſides this, if I may take the Liberty to ſay ſo, the Princeſs deſired me ſo earneſtly at that Time to carry her to *London*, where all Aſſiſtance was nearer at Hand, that I could not reſiſt it: For I could never have forgiven myſelf, if in Conſequence of my Refuſal, any Accident had happened to her. I hope all this will move your Majeſty, and that you will give me Leave to lay myſelf at your Feet To-morrow at your *Levee*, which I ſhould not have failed to have done laſt *Monday*, if the Queen had not ordered me to defer it till this Day. The only Thing that has hindered me to Day, is the Fear I have had, ſince I have ſeen my Lord *Eſſex*, of diſpleaſing your Majeſty, in Caſe I ſhould come into your Preſence before I took the Liberty to explain to you, with all Submiſſion, the true and only Motive of the Step with which you ſeem offended. I am with the greateſt Reſpect imaginable,

Sir, Your Majeſty's moſt humble,

And moſt obedient Son, Servant and Subject,

FREDERICK.

From the Prince *at St.* James's, *to the* Queen *at* Hampton-Court, *by Lord* Jerſey, Aug. 3, 1737.

MADAME,

VOUS ne l'auriez croire, comme le Meſſage que my Lord Eſſex *m'a aporté, m'a affligé. Je me flattois, que les raiſons, que j'ai pris la liberté de donner à Vôtre Majeſté, quand Elle a eu la bonté de venir voir la Princeſſe, auroit juſtifié mon depart de* Hampton-

cour

MADAM,

YOU cannot imagine how much the Meſſage my Lord *Eſſex* brought me has afflicted me. I flatter'd myſelf that the Reaſons I took the Liberty to give your Majeſty, when you had the Goodneſs to come and ſee the Princeſs, would have juſtify'd my Depar-

ture

cour *auprès du Roi. Je prens la liberté de les recapituler dans ma Lettre, que je me suis donné l'honneur de Lui écrire sur ce sujet, me flattant que Vôtre Majesté aura la bonté de les apuier. Je suis avec beaucoup de respect,*

Madame, Vôtre très humble
& très obeïssant fils & serviteur.
FREDERICK.

ture from *Hampton-Court* to the King. I have taken the Liberty to recapitulate those Reasons in the Letter I have done myself the Honour to write to him upon that Subject, flattering myself, your Majesty will be so good to lend them your Assistance. I am with great Respect,

Madam, Your most humble
And most obedient Son and Servant,
FREDERICK.

The Prince *to the* King, Auguſt 4, 1737, *by Lord* Carnarvon.

SIRE,

ME permettrez Vous de mettre ma douleur devant Vos piez, du refus que j'ai eu hier au ſoir, de vous faire ma Cour aujourd'hui. Je ne ſaurois exprimer, combien je ſouffre d'être privé de cet honneur, & de me voir hors des bonnes graces de Vôtre Majeſté. Si quelque choſe pouvoit me conſoler dans mon malheur, c'eſt l'innocence de mes intentions, leſquels je ſuplie Vôtre Majeſté de croire, ne pouvent jamais être de vous offenſer. Je ne prens pas la liberté de recapituler les raiſons, qui m'ont induits à quitter Hamptoncour *ſi ſubitement, mais je me flatte que Vôtre Majeſté m'accordera plus facilement le pardon, que je Lui demande, quand Elle reflechira à l'etat, ou je me trouvai alors, avec la pauvre Princeſſe, dans un temps, qui ne m'étoit pas permis de m'arrêter un moment. J'auſe donc conjurer inſtamment Vôtre Majeſté de me rétablir dans Vos bonnes graces, & de me permettre de Vous faire ma Cour demain à Vôtre levé, juſqu' à quel tems je ne ſaurois être en repos. Je ſuis avec tout le reſpect imaginable,*

Sire,
De Vôtre Majeſté le trés humble
& trés obeïſſant fils, ſerviteur & ſujet.
St. James's, le 4 Août. 1737. FREDERICK.

SIR,

WILL you permit me to lay at your Feet, my Grief for the Refuſal I received laſt Night to make my Court to you to Day; I cannot expreſs how much I ſuffer from being deprived of that Honour; and ſeeing myſelf out of your Majeſty's Favour. If any Thing could comfort me in that Misfortune, it would be the Innocence of my Intentions, which I beg your Majeſty to believe can never be to offend you. I do not take the Liberty to recapitulate the Reaſons which induced me to leave *Hampton-Court* ſo ſuddenly, but I flatter myſelf your Majeſty will more eaſily grant me that Pardon which I aſk, when you reflect on the Condition in which I found myſelf with the poor Princeſs, at a Time, when it was not fit for me to delay a Moment. I take the Liberty then moſt earneſtly to conjure your Majeſty to reſtore me to your Favour, and to permit me to make my Court to you To-morrow at your *Levee*, till which Time I cannot be at Eaſe. I am with all the Reſpect imaginable,

Sir, Your Majeſty's moſt humble,
And moſt obedient Son, Servant and Subject,
FREDERICK.

Meſſage from the King *at* Hampton-Court, *to the* Prince *at St.* James's, *by Lord* Dunmore, Auguſt 20, 1737.

IT being now near three Weeks ſince the Princeſs was brought to Bed, his Majeſty hopes there can be no Inconvenience to the Princeſs, if *Monday* the 29th Inſtant be appointed for baptizing the Princeſs his Grand-daughter; and having determined, that his Majeſty, the Queen, and the Dutcheſs-Dowager of *Saxe-Gotha* ſhall be Godfather; and Godmothers, he will ſend his Lord Chamberlain to repreſent himſelf, and the Queen's Lady of the Bed Chamber to repreſent the Queen, and deſires the Princeſs will order one of the Ladies of her Bed-Chamber to ſtand for the Dutcheſs-Dowager of *Saxe-Gotha*, and the King will ſend to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to attend and perform the Ceremony.

The Prince *to the* King, Auguſt 20, 1737, *by Lord* Carnarvon.

SIRE,

LA Princeſſe & moi prenons la liberté de remercier très humblement Vôtre Majeſté de l'honneur qu' Elle veut bien faire à nôtre fille d'en être Parain. Les ordres que my Lord Dunmore *m'a aporté ſur ce ſujet, ſeront executez point par point. Je me conterois bien heureux ſi à cette occaſion j'oſois venir moi même, me mettre à vos piez, rien me m'en pouroit empêcher que la ſeule deffenſe de Vôtre Majeſté. D'être privé de Vos bonnes graces, eſt la choſe du monde la plus affligeante pour moi, qui non ſeulement Vous reſpectie, mais, ſi j'oſe me ſervir de*

SIR,

THE Princeſs and I take the Liberty to thank your Majeſty moſt humbly for the Honour you intend to do our Daughter in ſtanding Godfather to her; the Orders my Lord *Dunmore* has brought ſhall be punctually executed. I ſhould think myſelf very happy if upon that Occaſion I might take the Liberty to come and throw myſelf at your Feet. Nothing could prevent me but the Prohibition I have received from your Majeſty. To be deprived of your Favour is the Thing in the World the moſt mortifying to me, who not

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de ce terme, Vous aime trés tendrement. Me permettrez vous encore une fois de vous ſuplier trés humblement de me pardonner une faute, dans laquelle du moins l'intention n'avoit pas de part, & de me permettre de Vous refaire ma cour à Vôtre lever? J'oſe Vous en conjurer inſtamment, comme d'une choſe qui me rendra le repos. Je ſuis avec toute la ſoûmiſſion poſſible,

Sire, de Vôtre Majeſté le trés humble
& trés obeïſſant fils, ſujet, & ſerviteur,
FREDERICK.

not only reſpect you, but (if I may make uſe of that Expreſſion) moſt tenderly love you. Will you permit me once again humbly to beſeech you to pardon a Fault in which at leaſt the Intention had no Share, and to permit me again to make my Court to you at your Levee? I take the Liberty to conjure you to grant this Requeſt as a Thing that will reſtore my Quiet. I am with all poſſible Submiſſion,

Sir, Your Majeſty's moſt humble,
And moſt obedient Son, Subject and Servant,
FREDERICK.

From the Prince *at St.* James's, *to the* Queen *at* Hampton-Court, *by Lord* Carnarvon, Auguſt 20, 1737.

MADAME,

PErmettez moi de Vous remercier trés humblement de l'honneur que Vous voulez bien faire à la Princeſſe & à moi d'être Marraine de nôtre fille. J'ai pris la liberté d'en faire mes remercimens au Roi par écrit. J'y ai ajouté mes douleurs, de la ſituation, où je me trouve. Je vous ſuplie encore une fois, Madame, de m'y aſſiſter de Vos bons offices, qui ne puvent jamais être emploïé dans un cas plus eſſentiel à Vôtre fils, qu' à le remettre dans les bonnes graces de ſon Pere. Je ſuis avec tout le reſpect poſſible,

Madame, Vôtre trés humble,
& trés obeïſſant fils & ſerviteur,
FREDERICK.

MADAM,

PERMIT me to thank you moſt humbly for the Honour you think fit to do the Princeſs and me in being Godmother to our Daughter. I have taken the Liberty to return the King my Thanks in Writing, I have added likewiſe my Grief for the Situation I am in. I beſeech you once again, Madam, to aſſiſt me with your good Offices, which can never be employ'd for your Son in a more eſſential Point than in reſtoring him to his Father's Favour. I am with all poſſible Reſpect, Madam,

Your moſt humble,
And moſt obedient Son and Servant,
FREDERICK.

From the Prince *at St.* James's, *to the* King *at* Hampton-Court, *by Lord* North, Auguſt 30, 1737.

SIRE,

CEST avec tout le reſpect poſſible que j'oſe remercier encore une fois Vôtre Majeſté de l'honneur qu' Elle a bien voulû faire à la Princeſſe & à moi d'être Parain de nôtre fille. Je ne ſaurois laiſſer paſſer cette occaſion ſans reïterer ma demande du pardon, que Je Lui ai demandé ſi ſouvent. Je ſoubaiterois trouver des paroles qui puſſent flêchir le coeur Paternel de Vôtre Majeſté, s'il y en avoient qui puſſent marquer davantage ma douleur, & mon reſpect envers Vous, Je puis aſſûrer trés humblement Vôtre Majeſté que je m'en ſervirois. Il ne me reſte donc plus rien à dire, que de Vous conjurer encore une fois de me rétablir dans Vos bonnes Graces, & de Vous aſſûrer que rien au monde ne changera le tendre reſpect que Je Vous dois, étant avec beaucoup de ſoûmiſſion

Sire, de Vôtre Majeſté le trés humble,
& trés obeïſſant fils, ſujet, & ſerviteur.
St James's le 30 Août 1737. FREDERICK.

SIR,

IT is with all poſſible Reſpect that I take the Liberty to thank your Majeſty once more, for the Honour you have thought fit to do the Princeſs and me in being Godfather to our Daughter. I cannot let this Opportunity paſs, without repeating my Petition for that Pardon which I have ſo often ask'd. I ſhould be glad to find Words that could ſoften the paternal Heart of your Majeſty; if there were any that could ſtronger mark my Grief and my Reſpect, I aſſure your Majeſty I would make uſe of them. There remains then nothing more for me to ſay, but to conjure you once again to re-eſtabliſh me in your Favour; and to aſſure you, that nothing in the World ſhall change the tender Reſpect I owe you, being with great Submiſſion,

Sir, Your Majeſty's moſt humble,
And moſt obedient Son, Subject and Servant,
FREDERICK.

From the Prince *at St.* James's, *to the* Queen *at* Hampton-Court, *by Lord* North, Auguſt 30, 1737.

MADAME,

JE crois être de mon devoir de Vous remercier encore une fois trés humblement, de l'honneur que vous avez fait à la Princeſſe & à moi d'être Marraine de nôtre fille. Je ſuis trés mortifié, que la défenſe du Roi m'empêche de le faire

MADAM,

I Think it my Duty to thank you once more moſt humbly for the Honour you have done the Princeſs and me in being Godmother to our Daughter. I am extremely mortified that the King's Prohibition hinders me

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faire de bouche. Rien ne m'arrêteroit sans cela. Je me flatte que la continuation de Vos bons Offices, joints à la Lettre que je me suis donné l'honneur d'écrire au Roi sur ce sujet, m'en procureront la permission, & que j'aurai bientôt la satisfaction de reparoître devant Vous. Je suis avec tout le respect imaginable,

Madame, Vôtre très humble,
& très obeïssant fils & serviteur,

St. James's le 30 *Août* 1737. FREDERICK.

me from doing it by Word of Mouth; nothing else should stop me. I flatter myself that the Continuation of your good Offices, join'd to the Letter I have done myself the Honour to write to the King upon that Subject, will procure me that Permission; and that I shall soon have the Satisfaction to appear before you again. I am with all imaginable Respect, Madam, Your most humble,

And most obedient Son and Servant,
FREDERICK.

Message from the King *at* Hampton-Court, *to the* Prince *at St.* James's, *by the Duke of* Grafton, *Duke of* Richmond, *and Lord* Pembroke, *Saturday Sept.* 10, 1737.

GEORGE R.

THE Professions you have lately made in your Letters, of your particular Regard to me, are so contradictory to all your Actions, that I cannot suffer myself to be imposed upon by them.

You know very well you did not give the least Intimation to me or to the Queen, that the Princess was with Child or Breeding, until within less than a Month of the Birth of the young Princess: You removed the Princess twice in the Week immediately preceding the Day of her Delivery, from the Place of my Residence, in Expectation, as you have voluntarily declared, of her Labour; and both Times upon your Return, you industriously concealed from the Knowledge of me, and the Queen, every Circumstance relating to this important Affair: And you at last, without giving any Notice to me, or to the Queen, precipitately hurried the Princess from *Hampton-Court* in a Condition not to be named. After having thus, in Execution of your own determin'd Measures, exposed both the Princess and her Child to the greatest Perils, you now plead Surprize, and Tenderness for the Princess, as the only Motives that occasioned these repeated Indignities offered to me and to the Queen your Mother.

This extravagant and undutiful Behaviour, in so essential a Point as the Birth of an Heir to my Crown, is such an Evidence of your premeditated Defiance of me, and such a Contempt of my Authority, and of the natural Right belonging to your Parents, as cannot be excused by the pretended Innocence of your Intentions, nor palliated or disguised by specious Words only.

But the whole Tenour of your Conduct for a considerable Time has been so intirely void of all real Duty to me, that I have long had Reason to be highly offended with you.

And until you withdraw your Regard and Confidence from those by whose Instigation and Advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable Behaviour to me and to the Queen, and until you return to your Duty, you shall not reside in my Palace; which I will not suffer to be made the Resort of them, who under the Appearance of an Attachment to you, foment the Division which you have made in my Family, and thereby weaken the common Interest of the Whole.

In this Situation I will receive no Reply: But when your Actions manifest a just Sense of your Duty and Submission, *That* may induce me to pardon, what at present I most justly resent.

In the mean Time, it is my Pleasure that you leave St. *James*'s with all your Family, when it can be done without Prejudice or Inconvenience to the Princess. I shall for the present leave to the Princess the Care of my Grand-daughter, until a proper Time calls upon me to consider of her Education. Sign'd G. R.

Lord Baltimore *to Lord* Grantham.

My Lord, *London, Sept.* 13, 1737.

I Have in my Hands a Letter from his Royal Highness to the Queen, which I am commanded to give or transmit to your Lordship; and as I am afraid it might be improper for me to wait on you at *Hampton-Court*, I must beg you will be so good as to let me know how, and in what Manner I may deliver, or send it to you. If I may presume to judge of my Royal Master's Sentiments, he does not conceive himself precluded by the King's Message from taking this, the only Means, of endeavouring, as far as he is able, to remove his Majesty's Displeasure. I am, Your Lordship's very humble Servant, *Baltimore.*

Lord Grantham *to Lord* Baltimore.

My Lord, *September* 15, 1737.

I Have laid your Lordship's Letter before the Queen, who has commanded me to return your Lordship the following Answer.

The Queen is very sorry, that the Prince's Behaviour has given the King such just Cause of Offence: But thinks herself restrained by the King's last Message to the Prince, from receiving any Application from the Prince upon that Subject. I am,

My Lord, Your Lordship's, *&c.* *Grantham.*

The Princeſs *from* Kew, *to the* King *at* Hampton-Court. *Sent by Sir* William Irby *to Lord* Pembroke, *and by Lord* Pembroke *delivered to the* King, *September* 15, 1737.

SIRE,

C'EST avec tout le reſpect poſſible que je prens la liberté de remercier trés humblement Vôtre Majeſté de l'honneur qu'Elle a bien voulu me faire d'etre Parain de ma Fille. Je n'aurois pas manqué de venir moyméme Vous rendre mes devoirs à Hampton Court *pour vous en remercier de bouche, mais comme j'ai le malheur d'etre privés de cet honneur à preſent, J'eſpere que Vôtre Majeſté ne trouvera pas mauvais que je prenne la liberté de le faire par écrit. Ma Douleur eſt d'autant plus grande, que par la Tendreſſe du Prince je me trouve la Cauſe innocente de ſa Diſgrace; et je me flatte que ſi j'avois eu la permiſſion de me mettre aux pieds de Vôtre Majeſté, j'aurois pu expliquer la Demarche du Prince d'une maniere à adoucir le reſentiment de Vôtre Majeſté. Que je ſuis à plaindre, Sire, quand une circonſtance ſi flatteuſe pour moy, et en méme tems ſi agreable au Publique, eſt malheureuſement devenue le triſte ſujet d'une Diviſion dans la Famille! Je n'importunerai pas davantage Vôtre Majeſté que pour vous aſſurer que, comme je vous dois tout mon Bonheur, je me flatte que je vous devrai auſſi bientôt le Repos de ma vie. Je ſuis avec tout le reſpect imaginable,*

Sire, de Vôtre Majeſté, la trés humble et trés obeïſſante fille, ſujette, et ſervante,

AUGUSTE.

SIR,

IT is with all poſſible Reſpect that I take the Liberty to thank your Majeſty moſt humbly for the Honour you were pleaſed to do me in being Godfather to my Daughter. I ſhould not have fail'd to come myſelf and pay my Duty to you at *Hampton-Court* to thank you by Word of Mouth, but as I have at preſent the Misfortune to be debarr'd that Honour, I hope your Majeſty will not be diſpleaſed that I take the Liberty of doing it in Writing. It is a great Aggravation of my Sorrow upon this Occaſion, to find, that by the Prince's Tenderneſs for me, I am the innocent Cauſe of his Diſgrace; and I flatter myſelf, if I had had leave to throw myſelf at your Majeſty's Feet, I could have explained the Prince's Conduct in a Manner that would have ſoftened your Majeſty's Reſentment. How much am I to be pity'd, Sir, that an Incident ſo grateful to me, and at the ſame Time ſo agreeable to the Publick, ſhould unfortunately become the unhappy Cauſe of a Diviſion in the Family! I ſhall trouble your Majeſty no farther than to aſſure you, that as it is to you I owe all my Happineſs, ſo to you, I flatter myſelf, I ſhall likewiſe ſoon owe the Quiet of my Life. I am with all the Reſpect imaginable,

Sir, your Majeſty's moſt humble, And moſt obedient Daughter, Subject and Servant,

AUGUSTA.

From the King *at* Hampton-Court *to the* Princeſs *at* Kew. September 18, 1737. *Sent by Lord* Pembroke *to Sir* William Irby, *for the* Princeſs.

JE ſuis fachè, Madame, qu'il ſoit arrivé aucune choſe à vous donner la moindre Inquietude. C'eſt un malheur pour Vous, mais qui ne vient pas de moy, que vous etes impliquée dans les Conſequences de la Conduite inexcuſable de vôtre Mari. Je vous plains d'avoir été premierement expoſée au plus grand danger, en execution de ſes Deſſeins, et puis d'avoir ſervie de pretexte pour un ſuite d'Indignitiés reiterées qui m'ont été faites. Je ſouhaitterois que quelques Inſinuations dans votre Lettre euſſent été omiſes, leſquelles cependant Je ne vous impute pas, etant convaincû qu'elles ne viennent pas de vous.

G. R.

I Am ſorry, Madam, that any Thing ſhould happen to give you the leaſt Uneaſineſs. It is a Misfortune to you, but not owing to me, that you are involved in the Conſequences of your Huſband's inexcuſable Conduct: I pity you, to ſee you firſt expoſed to the utmoſt Danger, in the Execution of his Deſigns, and then made the Plea for a Series of repeated Indignities offered to me. I wiſh ſome Inſinuations in your Letter had been omitted, which however I do not impute to you, as I am convinced it is not from you they proceed.

G. R.

From the Princeſs *at* Kew, *to the* Queen *at* Hampton-Court, Sept. 17, 1737.

MADAME,

JE prens la liberté de remercier trés humblement votre Majeſté de l'honneur qu'Elle m'a fait deux fois de me venir voir, et auſſi d'avoir bien voulu être Maraine de ma fille. Je ſuis trés mortifiée de ne pouvoir le faire en perſonne, comme j'aurois certainement fait, ſi par les Ordres du Roy, il ne m'eût été défendu. Je ſuis trés affligée de la maniere dont la conduite du Prince a été repreſentée à vos Majeſtez, & ſur tout dans l'Article de deux Voiages que nous fimes

MADAM,

I Take the Liberty moſt humbly to thank your Majeſty for the Honour you did me in coming twice to ſee me, and alſo for having been pleaſed to be Godmother to my Daughter. I am extremely mortify'd that I could not do it in Perſon, as I certainly ſhould have done, if the King's Orders had not put it out of my Power. I am extreamly concern'd at the Manner in which the Conduct of the Prince has been repreſented to your Majeſties,

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fumes de Hampton-Court *à* Londres *la Semaine avant mes Couches. J'ose assûrer votre Majesté, que les Medecins et la Sage-Femme furent alors de l'opinion, que je n'accoucherois pas avant le mois de* Septembre, *et que le Mal dont je me plaignois etoit seulement la Colique; et en effet, Madame, eſt il croiable que ſi j'étois allée deux fois à* Londres, *dans le deſſein et l'atterte d'accoucher, je ſerois retournée à* Hampton-Court? *Je me flatte que le tems, et les bons offices de votre Majeſté, apporteront un heureux changement, à une ſituation d'affaires d'autant plus douloureuſe pour moi, que j'en ſuis la cauſe innocente. Je ſuis avec tout le reſpect imaginable,*

Madame, Vôtre trés humble, et trés obeiſſante Fille et Servante,

Kew le 17 *Sept.* 1737. *AUGUSTE.*

Majeſties, and eſpecially in the Article relating to our two Journeys from *Hampton-Court* to *London* the Week before I was brought to Bed. I can venture to aſſure your Majeſty, that the Phyſicians and the Midwife were then of Opinion, that I ſhould not lie in before the Month of *September*, and that the Pain I complained of was only the Cholick; and indeed, Madam, is it credible, that if I had gone twice to *London* with the Deſign and Expectation of being brought to Bed, I ſhould have returned to *Hampton-Court?* I flatter myſelf, that Time and your Majeſty's good Offices will procure a happy Change to the preſent Situation of Affairs, which muſt affect me ſo much more ſenſibly, as I look upon myſelf to be the innocent Cauſe of it. I am with all imaginable Reſpect, Madam, Your moſt humble,

And moſt obedient Daughter and Servant,

AUGUSTA.

From the Queen *at* Hampton-Court, *to the* Princeſs *at* Kew, Sept. 20, 1737.

JE ſuis ravie, ma chere Princeſſe, de vous ſçavoir parfaitement remiſe ayprés vos Couches. Vous pouvez être aſſurée, comme vous n'avez jamais offenſée ny le Roy ny moy, Je ne marqueray jamais de vous donner des Marques de mon Egard et de mon Affection. Je crois qu'il nous ſeroit mal ſeant à toutes les deux, que j'entraſſe en diſcuſſion avec vous ſur les malheureux Differends entre le Roy et mon Fils. Quand vous ſerez informée au juſte, des differentes Declarations qui ont étés faites au ſujet de vos Voyages de Hampton-Court, *et par qui, et à qui, vous ſerez convaincue que la Conduite de votre Mary n'a été nullement miſe dans un faux jour. J'eſpere que le tems et une meure Conſideration porteront mon Fils à des juſtes Sentiments de ſon devoir envers ſon Pere. C'eſt la le ſeul moyen de procurer cet heureux changement, lequel vous ne ſçauriez ſouhaiter plus ſincerement que je le fais.*

CAROLINE.

I Am very glad, my dear Princeſs, to hear you are perfectly recovered of your Lying-in; you may aſſure yourſelf, as you have never offended either the King or me, I ſhall never fail to give you every Mark of my Regard and Affection. I think it would be unbecoming either of us to enter into a Diſcuſſion of the unhappy Diviſion between the King and my Son; and when you are truly informed of the ſeveral Declarations that have been made relating to your Journeys from *Hampton-Court*, by whom, and to whom, they were made, you will be convinced, that the Conduct of your Huſband has no Way been miſrepreſented. I hope Time and due Conſideration will bring my Son to a juſt Senſe of his Duty to his Father; which will be the only Means of procuring that happy Change, which you cannot more ſincerely wiſh than I do.

CAROLINE.

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Univerſal Spectator, Oct. 29. N° 473.

Of Mothers ſuckling their Children.

AS I was riding out lately, I met with as agreeable a Sight as moſt I have ſeen; it was that of a Lady in a Chariot and Four, with a Child at her Breaſt: This was a Thing ſo unexpected, to ſee one of her Figure acting this indulgent and tender Part of a Mother, that I can ſcarce ſay whether my Surprize or my Pleaſure was greater upon this Occaſion.

If one was to enquire nicely into the Cauſes of the monſtrous and deteſtable Cuſtom which makes the Ladies neglect nurſing their own Children, I cannot help thinking, whatever was the Reaſon of beginning it, that Vanity and Pride are now the chief Supporters of it. It is now look'd upon as a Sign of Genteelneſs and fine Breeding not to nurſe and ſuckle one's own Child, and it is almoſt Death to a modern Lady not to be in a Faſhion, however ridiculous or unreaſonable.

I am ſo far from thinking that ſuckling a Child does any Harm in general to the Conſtitution of the Mother, that I believe it contributes vaſtly to her Health. So vain is the general Pretence of Weakneſs and Inability for this Office, that I dare affirm that there is not one Woman in a hundred, upon a fair Calculation, but is either perfectly able to undertake

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undertake it, or would be better in her Health for undertaking it.

I have heard of a Gentleman marry'd to one of these modish Creatures, that are of too fine a Frame and Texture to be Nurses, who, upon his Wife's refusing to nurse her first Child, swore he would never go to Bed to her again until she did it; he was one pretty resolute and positive in his Way, and the Lady thought better of it than to stand it out with him: She soon comply'd with his Desire, or his Threatning rather, and has since often own'd herself obliged to him for thus forcing her into the Province of being a nursing Mother to her own Children, whom she now loves with all the Tenderness and Affection imaginable, and thinks both herself and them much the better for the Care and Pains she has took in nursing them. I heartily wish this Gentleman's Argument was often us'd in this Case, and doubt not but it would be more effectual than any other that could be thought of.

There can be nothing more unnatural than to deny a Child that proper alimentary Provision it was intended to be supply'd with from the Body of its Mother. That Woman who has not the Heart to resist the natural Tenderness there is in a Mother to her new-born Child, will find that Tenderness every Day increas'd by her being a Nurse to that Child she has brought into the World. Many other Considerations might be made use of to expose the shameful Custom I am now writing against; particularly, the Danger of a Child's contracting vicious and bad Tempers, as well as bodily Diseases, from the Person who is hir'd to nurse it; and the Want of a proper Care and Affection in many Nurses, by whose Negligence both the Healths and Lives of many Children are much endanger'd.

Craftsman, Oct. 29. N° 590.

Queries relating to Q. ELIZABETH.

THOSE, who gave themselves the Trouble of reading that learned and elaborate Discourse, publish'd by Piece-meal in the *Gazetteer*, and intitled the *Memoirs of* William Cecil *Lord Burghley*, were at a Loss to guess for what Use it could be intended; but at length one Mr. *R. C.* of *Berry-street*, who takes the Credit of it to himself, hath given us the Key, and tells us that it was design'd as a Parallel between Lord *Burghley* and Sir *R*——— *W*———.

He is not content with drawing a Parallel between these *two great Men*, but hath likewise compared the *Times*, in which they lived, and undertakes to prove, if any *Secretary of Faction* will call upon him for it, that the *present Reign* is at least equal to that of Q. *Elizabeth*, both as to our Prosperity at home, and our Honour abroad; nay, that the *present Administration have borne less from* our Neighbours, *than that of* Q. Elizabeth.

I just now received the following *Queries*, concerning Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, address'd to Mr. *R. C.* my Correspondent being very desirous, as he expresses himself, to see the Reign of *R. C*'s Q. *Elizabeth*, and the Administration of *his* Lord *Burghley* vindicated from such gross Calumnies as have been fix'd upon them by some Writers. ——— The *Queries* are as follows.

1. Was it not Q. *Elizabeth*'s Maxim to keep her *Neighbours* engaged in War, in order to preserve the Peace, and improve the Trade of her *own Subjects*?

2. Was ever Q. *Elizabeth* accused of having left her *chief* and *best Ally* in the Lurch?

3. Did *France*, or *Spain*, conquer any *considerable Provinces* in her Reign?

4. Was there ever any *Officer* punish'd, in her Reign, for vindicating the Honour of the *English Flag*?

5. Were any of her *Ambassadors*, or *Envoys*, reprimanded, for insisting too strenuously on the *Rights of their Countrymen*, at a foreign Court?

6. Were any of *her Dominions* ever attack'd, in Time of *Peace*, without a *proper Resentment*?

7. Was there ever any *English Ship* plunder'd, or any *Englishman's Ears* cut off and sent to *her*, in Derision, without *due Vengeance* taken?

8. Did she ever send out a powerful Fleet, at a vast publick Expence, to *persuade* her Enemies to do her Justice?

9. Were her Measures at home supported by a numerous *standing Army*, in Time of *Peace*, against the loud and general Complaints of the whole Nation?

10. Did her *Civil-List* ever amount to *eleven* or *twelve hundred thousand Pounds a Year*?

11. Was it ever found necessary to employ Regiments of *Horse*, or *Dragoons*, to enforce any of the *Laws* made in her Reign?

12. Were there any *Laws* pass'd, or attempted to be pass'd, in her Reign, for rendering the greatest Part of the People almost absolute Slaves to her *Custom-House Officers* and *Excisemen*?

13. Did she ever give *her Minister* Power to corrupt the *Fountain of all Law and Justice*, by *Bribery* without Doors, and *Places* and *Pensions* within?

When Mr. *R. C.* or any of his *ingenious Associates*, have answer'd *these Queries*, to the Satisfaction of any reasonable Man, I may condescend to bestow another Paper upon them; but till then, *adieu Messieurs Gazetteers!*

Daily Gazetteer, Nov. 5. N° 730.

IN this *Paper R. C.* answers the above *Queries*, but we shall take Notice of only one of them.—The 10th Query is, (says he) *Whether* Q. Elizabeth's *Civil List did ever a-*

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mount to 11 *or* 1200000 *l. a Year?* I answer, that I do not believe either her's, or any other Prince's Civil List ever came near that Sum. I have before me an Account of Q. *Elizabeth*'s annual Expence, Civil and Military, and I find it is as proportionable to her Revenue, as the ſtated Expence of the Crown at preſent to the Civil Liſt Revenue granted by Parliament. In Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign there were 24 Men of War, ſome of which carried but 80, and others fewer Men. All the Ships belonging to *England* of upwards of 100 Tuns, were but 135, and all between 100 Tuns and 40 Tuns, were but 656. Will any reaſonable Man ſay, that conſidering the mighty Growth of Wealth and Trade in *England* ſince then, the Expence of the Government ought not to be expected to riſe in like Proportion? Or would any Man pretending to the Name of a Patriot, be willing to ſee the Power and Wealth of the Nation ſink, in order to produce an Abatement in the Civil Liſt Revenue. In political Parallels, all Circumſtances are to be conſidered, otherwiſe no juſt Concluſion can be made; which ſhews how idle this Query is, wherein the preſent Revenue of the Crown is ſet ſeveral Hundred thouſand Pounds above its juſt Value, and then compar'd with Q. *Elizabeth*'s, when the Nation was in quite another Condition, and when all the Shipping belonging to it did not exceed what now belongs to ſome of our third-Rate Ports.

Univerſal Spectator, Nov. 5. N° 474.

A Correſpondent, in this Paper, which is upon the Subject of receiving Advice, ſays: I know not but I may offend ſome of your marry'd Readers, in recommending to them a good Nature and ready Diſpoſition to receive that Kind of Advice which goes under the Name of a *Curtain Lecture*; but I hope I ſhall be the more readily forgiven when I would not confine my Advice to any particular Sex, but have it mutually made uſe of by Ladies and Gentlemen as neceſſary Occaſions may require.

If the receiving Matrimonial Advice, with any tolerable Temper and Reaſon, could be once made practicable, above half the Families in *Great Britain* would have much more Eaſe and Content than they at preſent enjoy; therefore it is, that I think it prudent for every marry'd Couple to give one another a mutual *Curtain Lecture* before they riſe; the Ladies I am pretty confident will not be at a Loſs what to ſay on ſuch Occaſions, nor will the Gentlemen in their Turn want Opportunities to convey their goodly Admonitions. Bad Hours, ill Temper, Drinking, Neglect in Love, will be a very copious Theme for the fair Admoniſtors; while their Spouſes will return the Charge with ſerious Invectives againſt Expences, Intrigues, Finery, Plays, Maſquerades and Quadrille: Such a Courſe of Lectures, if attended to with Candour and good Manners, would keep Maſters and Miſtreſſes of Families under a proper Regulation; the Men would all become indulgent Huſbands and grave Philoſophers; the Women all frugal loving Wives, and notable Houſewives.

Craftſman, Nov. 5. N° 591.

Of the Spaniſh *Depredations.*

THE *Craftſman*, ſpeaking of the myſterious and profound State of foreign Affairs at this Time, ſays: — But there is one Point, which I think full clear enough at preſent, and not above the Comprehenſion of any rational Man in the whole Kingdom; I mean the Depredations, Seizures, and Captures of our Ships, by the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas*, in the *Weſt Indies* and other Seas; as well as their Cruelty towards the *Mariners*, and even Inſolence to the *Government* itſelf. This, indeed, is a Complaint of long ſtanding, and we have had Warning enough what to expect from them, if ſome proper *Methods* were not taken to curb them in their Violence; but inſtead of receiving any Reparation, they have been preſidiouſly treated by *ſome of their own Countrymen*, as a lawleſs Band of *Robbers* and *Pyrates*; whilſt the *Spaniards* have been ſuffer'd, I know not how, to go on with Impunity, and proceed to ſuch Enormities at laſt, that it hath raiſed a general Alarm not only amongſt the *immediate Sufferers*, but all the *mercantile Part of the Kingdom*; and even thoſe, who have ſo long endeavour'd to depreciate their Loſſes and Sufferings, are obliged to own that *ſomething ought to be done.*

It cannot be ſo much as pretended, that this Flame hath been ſecretly blown up, with any *factious* or *ſiniſter Deſign*; for whoever puts his Head into the City, or enquires into the preſent Rate of *Inſurance* upon Ships bound from any Part of the *Weſt-Indies*, will find they have too much Reaſon for their Complaints, and very far from wanting any other Inſtigation. In ſhort, if ſome Stop be not immediately put to theſe *Depredations* and *Ravages*, we may as well give up all our *Plantation-Trade*, and Right of Navigation in thoſe Seas.

It is upon this Account that the *Merchants* lately preſented an humble Petition to his Majeſty for Redreſs; which his Majeſty was pleaſed to receive very graciouſly, and appointed a Committee of his chief *Cabinet Counſellors* to hear the particular Matters of their Complaint. The *Merchants* have attended theſe *great Perſons* ſeveral Times, and given ſuch inconteſtable Evidence of their *Loſſes* and *Grievances*, that we cannot doubt of their ſoon receiving *ample Satisfaction* and *Security for the future.* (See p. 576.)

Country

Common Sense, Nov. 12. N° 41.
The poor Comedian's Case.

SIR,

YOU must know, I have been of late in a great deal of Trouble: I wanted to consult the Lawyers; but my Friends adviſed me to ſave my Money to pay my Landlady, and to take Advice of *Common Senſe*.

I therefore apply to you in *Forma Pauperis*, hoping you will be ſo kind to give your Advice, *gratis*, to a poor Brother Artiſt in Diſtreſs. I call you Brother, becauſe you and I follow the ſame Trade, that is to ſay, we live by diverting the Publick.

I am Maſter of a little Company of Comedians, and I am doubtful whether I may venture to follow my Trade without Fear of being perſecuted by thoſe Blood-ſuckers call'd Informers, becauſe of an Act paſs'd the latter End of laſt Seſſions. I hope you will be ſo good to ſet me right, for if I am ſo unfortunate to be diſabled by this Act, this is the fourth Time I have been undone according to Law; firſt as a Coffee Roaſter, next as a Chocolate-Maker, then as a Gin-Seller, and now as a Comedian, with my two Comrades, my Bear and Monkey.

What adds to our Mortification, is, that we hear that Punch, with his Company, are to have a Licenſe. I am at a Loſs how to account for this Partiality; every Body knows that Punch is a moſt notorious Corruptor of Youth, that he has been put into the Stocks a hundred Times, and that he is ſuch an ungrateful Raſcal he would abuſe the very Workman that made him.

Is there any Compariſon betwixt his Company and ours, either for the Juſtneſs of acting, or for Appearance? I went once to his Theatre, and happening to go in before the Play began, I found Punch and his whole Company hanging upon Pegs behind the Scenes; and when you are near them by Day-light, you would ſay, they are ſuch a Pack of Ragamuffins as are not fit to come into any civil Company.

What makes this Partiality the more ſevere in, that Punch and his Company may get their Living another Way; the ſame Workmen who made them, may turn them into ſeveral Utenſils; the Queen of *Sheba* may make a very good Handle for a Coffee-Pot; and King *Solomon* be turn'd into the Head of a Broomſtick; Punch himſelf will be entertain'd by any Gardener as a Scare-Crow; his Wife and Son, with the reſt of the Comedians of that Company, may be ſent to adorn *Merlin*'s Cave; or, laſtly, they may be manufactured into very good Wooden Spoons; and let me tell you, Sir, if the Taxes hold, and the C—l L—t ſhould encreaſe a little more, Wooden Spoons may become a Faſhion every where, except at Court.

I cannot think it very politick in a certain great Man to make new Enemies; he has more already than any wiſe Man would deſire; and how is he ſure that all the Bears, Bulls, Monkeys, Man-Tygers, Elephants, that are exhibited to the Publick, may not enter into an Alliance againſt him? nor is it impoſſible but they may draw in the Aſſes too, and ſo take from him the only Party that has hitherto been his Support.

If it be reſolved that there ſhall be no more than two Companies of Comedians, we muſt ſubmit. Yet as we ſhould be proud to live in the Favour of the M——, we ſhould be very glad that the next Trade we venture upon, may be ſuch, as it may be neither his Intereſt nor Inclination to deſtroy; for which Reaſons, and becauſe neither the Bear, the Monkey, or myſelf have ever miſrepreſented either him or his B——, we hope he will be ſo good to make us Exciſemen.

VAN BRUIN.

Common Senſe, Nov. 19. N° 42.
Of Leaſing-Making.

I Have always admired the Sagacity of the *North Britains*, in their Law againſt *Leaſing-making*; by which they underſtood miſrepreſenting the whole People, or any one Subject, to the King; or the King to the People. And theſe were ſeparate Crimes; for they did not imagine that any Man could at the ſame Time be guilty of both. Neither do I find any Inſtance of this kind in their Hiſtory, before the Union.

We have nothing among our Laws ſo well contrived to prevent a Breach between a King and his People. This lays the Ax to the Root of all Treaſon, and by puniſhing it in one ſecures Thouſands from the Slander of it. But then it bears ſo very hard upon the Sheet-Anchor the Court-Whiſper, that I have often wonder'd how the Miniſters in that Country could carry on Buſineſs with it. For altho' *Leaſing-Making* be the Source of all Treaſon, it is frequently the Foundation of a Miniſter's Authority: Since no Prince will place abſolute Confidence in one Man, until he is brought to believe, that he can no longer confide in his People.

There are few Hiſtories where we do not meet with frequent Inſtances of Miniſters raiſing themſelves by *Leaſing-Making*; and we may therefore conclude, that the *North Britiſh* Miniſters might practiſe the ſame Arts to ſerve the ſame Purpoſes. But as few even of the greateſt Stateſmen can be ſuppoſed to arrive at that Pitch of Security, as to boaſt of their own Guilt; the Legiſlators in that Country might obtain the King's Conſent to this Law, for puniſhing an Artifice which his Miniſter durſt not avow, ſince it could be practiſed only upon the weakeſt Princes. Nay, it is not impoſſible but, as the Law made it criminal to miſrepreſent any the Subject, it might become an uſeful Tool in the Hands of

a Minister to destroy those who should presume to expose his Artifices; and the Legislature might be the less careful to provide against a Thing of this Nature, that the first Subject in their Country was above the reach of Ministerial Calumny.

By their Constitution which was *Gothick*, as ours once was, the Prince of *Scotland* enjoyed great Prerogatives, and an independent Revenue. As a Subject he shared the Privileges and the Grievances of the People; and as Prince he had a Right to inform the King of them. No Minister could remove him from the King's Presence; nor no Corruption induce him to abett the plundering a People, whose Riches were one Day to constitute his Power. As the Nation might therefore think themselves safe in the Constitutional Security of such a Subject, they had no Reason to suppose that the most sanguine Whisperer could hope to succeed in an Attempt of this Nature. The Father must look upon him as his most determined Enemy.——To make a Breach between him and his Son!——Lord have Mercy upon us!——a Victory to either must be a Destruction to both. Neither could he expect any Assistance from those who might otherwise support his Power by their Influence on the King. They must reject, with Detestation, the very Thought of persecuting a Brother or a Son.

Craftsman, Nov. 19. N° 593.

THE Treaty of 1667 not only establishes a free Trade between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, in all Places where it was at any Time allow'd, but likewise stipulates that in Case of any Injury, on either Side, *Letters of Reprizal* shall not be granted, until Justice hath been demanded in the *ordinary Course of Law*; but if Satisfaction is not made within *six Months* after it is so demanded, then the Party injured is to be allow'd *Letters of Reprizal*.

It is farther declared, in the *same Treaty*, that no *British* Ships, or other Vessels, shall be *visited* or *molested*, in the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, by the *Judges of Contraband*, or any other Persons, except *two* or *three Custom-House Officers*, until the said Ships or Vessels are unladen, but shall only be obliged to shew their *Pass-ports*, or *Sea-Letters*; and if any *prohibited Goods* should be detected, the *said Goods* only are to be forfeited, and not the *other Goods*; neither is the *Party offending* to incur any other Punishment, unless he carries out of *Great Britain* the *proper Coin*, *Wool*, or *Fuller's Earth*, or any *Gold* and *Silver* out of the *Spanish* Dominions.

This Treaty is confirm'd by the *American Treaty*, in the Year 1670, with several considerable Improvements; particularly the Article, which acknowledges our Right to all Places in the *West Indies*, or in any Part of *America*, which were then in our Possession; and in *both these Treaties* the Nature of *contraband Goods* is particularly explain'd, *viz.* all Sorts of *Ammunition*, and *warlike Stores*, bound to an *Enemy's Port*, as well as *Gold*, *Silver*, *Fuller's Earth*, and *Wool*. But I do not meet with one Word about *Logwood*, which grows in *Jamaica*, as well as in several other Parts of the *West Indies*, not belonging to the Crown of *Spain*; and though *Gold* and *Silver*, both wrought and unwrought, are specifically excepted in the *Treaties before-mention'd*, they were afterwards allow'd by the *Assiento Contract*; so that if the *South-Sea Company* bring any of *these Goods* to *Jamaica*, or any of our other Colonies, and our *Merchant-Men* can prove they came laden from thence, with *proper Pass-ports* and *Sea-Letters*, as I am inform'd most of them can, the *Spaniards* have not the least Pretence for making Prize of them.

Neither can I see any Right, which *these Treaties* give the *Spaniards* to what they call their *Latitude*; or for prohibiting the *British* Subjects from trading in any Part of the *American Seas*. On the contrary, it is expressly stipulated, that the *Freedom of Navigation* ought not to be in any Manner interrupted; and that whoever shall be guilty of any *Depredations* whatsoever, shall not only be *punished criminally*, but compell'd to make ample Restitution to the *Party injured*, requiring the same.

These Treaties were again confirm'd and renew'd, not only by the Treaty of *Utrecht* (with a particular Saving of all our *former Privileges in Trade*, whether by *Right*, *Sufferance*, or *Indulgence*) but likewise by two or three other Treaties, in the Years 1715 and 1721.

It is therefore incumbent upon the *Spaniards* to prove some Derogation from *these Treaties*, since that Time; unless they will openly justify all their numberless Captures, Depredations, and Insults by *Right of Arms*, in Defiance of the most solemn *Treaties*.

Daily Gazetteer, Nov. 21. N° 743.

THIS *Paper* contains a Vindication of the Conduct of the Ministers, in Relation to the *Spanish* Depredations; and concludes thus. — Is it right to take care of the *South Sea* Company's Effects, as well as of the *West India* Merchants? It is proper before any Thing is done, which may put a Stop to the whole *Spanish*, as well as embarrass the *Turky* and other *Mediterranean* Trades, most deliberately to consider the Consequence? Is it right, before we take a military Satisfaction, that we should be able to justify it to the whole World, and shew the indispensable Necessity of it? Ought we not to be guarded against any Affistance the *Spaniards* may have? And ought not that to be first diligently sifted out and enquired after? Is it right to be pre-

prepar'd and fortify'd againſt all Events, by Alliances, and acting in concert with another powerful Nation in the ſame Circumſtances? Have the States of *Holland* acted otherwiſe than our Government has done? Or conſidering the Whole and every Part of the Caſe, have our Miniſters acted as other wiſe and prudent People have acted or ought to act?

This is bringing a Matter to the Teſt of *Common Senſe*; and tho' I ſhall not ſay thoſe Gentlemen of the Paper ſo called, want *Common Senſe*, yet I muſt ſay, that I never ſaw them in that Paper, bring any Thing ſo to the Trial of it; but on the contrary, Things dreſs'd up, to common *Paſſions*, common *Weakneſſes*, and *Vulgar* Senſe.

Common Senſe, Nov. 26. N° 43.

Extracts from an Oration of Demoſthenes *againſt Philip King of* Macedon.

ATHENIANS,

WHILE on one Side I take a View of the State of your Affairs, and on the other liſten to the Diſcourſes which are every Day deliver'd to you, I am not able to reconcile what I ſee with what I hear; for it has long been the Diſcourſe in every Man's Mouth, that *Philip* ought to be chaſtiſed; and yet your Affairs are reduced to ſuch a Point, by neglecting to put this in Execution, that all we can do now is to think of Methods to defend ourſelves againſt new Inſults.

As to our preſent State, you are ſenſible, that the Management of ſome very complaiſant Orators amongſt us has ruined our Affairs both Abroad and at Home. In order to put ourſelves into a State of mending Matters, I ſhall propoſe ſomething which perhaps may be treated as a Paradox, by many, yet I would not have you aſtoniſh'd at it;—appoint new Magiſtrates to inſpect and examine the Laws, but ſuffer them not to make any new; you have too many already; abridge and repeal thoſe which are found a Grievance to you.

When you begin to reform theſe Abuſes, and open a Way for better Counſels, you may then ſearch for ſome Orator, who may, in Farm, propoſe ſomething that by the general Voice may be agreed upon, as conducing to the Publick Good:—And indeed I think you ſhould exact it of the ſame Perſons who made thoſe Laws, to repeal them.

I know it is not only poſſible, but eaſy, for People to deceive themſelves, becauſe we are apt to believe what we like; but I ſhould look upon it to be no leſs than a Prodigy, if he who had waſted his Revenues in frivolous, idle, and unneceſſary Expences, ſhould be able to ſupply Expences that are abſolutely neceſſary out of Funds that are exhauſted. In fine, O *Athenians!* it would be no leſs than Madneſs to expect that thoſe who had ruin'd you by their Waſte of the Publick Treaſure in Time of Peace, ſhould offer any Advice to ſupport you in Time of War.

Conſider, therefore, what your preſent Situation demands;—does it become a People who have any Pretence to the Character of wiſe or brave, to ſuffer the laſt Indignities for Fear of going into a War? What will the World think, if thoſe who were once ſo quick and ready to fly to Arms, upon the leaſt Menace of Violence on the Part of the *Corinthians*, or *Megarians*, ſhould ſuffer *Philip* to run on for Years?

Craftſman, Nov. 26. N° 594.

Of Miniſters, and Court-Flatterers.

MY Lord *Coke* obſerves, that more Kings and Kingdoms have been overthrown by Means of *Flattery*, than by *publick Hoſtility*. He then enumerates the *Flatterers* and *Seducers* of *Princes*, for ſome Ages paſt, and the terrible Ends they met with, from our *Parliament-Rolls*, *Records*, and *Hiſtories*, viz.

1. *Hubert de Burgo*, Chief Juſtice and Earl of *Kent*, who adviſed King *Henry* III. to burn *Magna Charta*.

2. *Pierce de Gaveſton*, the *Spencers* and others, who carried on the ſame Deſign, in the Reign of *Edward* II.

3. Sir *Robert Treſilian*, Chief Juſtice, and *Robert Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*, the Miniſters and Favourites of *Richard* II.

4. *William de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and others, who plotted the Deſtruction of *Humphrey*, the good Duke of *Glouceſter*, and Uncle of *Henry* VI. whom they deluded and govern'd.

5. *William* Lord *Haſtings*, Chamberlain to *Edward* IV. and Captain of *Calais*.

6. Sir *John Catesby*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, and *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham*, Privy-Plotters and Counſellors with *Richard* III. for the moſt execrable Murder of his *Nephews*.

7. Sir *Richard Empſon* and *Edmund Dudley*, thoſe infamous Pillagers and Oppreſſors of the People, under *Henry* VII. in order to gratify his inſatiable Luſt of Riches.

8. *Cardinal Wolſey*, the inſolent Favourite and Prime-Miniſter of *Henry* VIII.

All theſe, as my Lord *Coke* obſerves, came to *fearful* and *untimely Ends*. He then adds; 'We will for *ſome Cauſes* deſcend no lower. '*Qui eorum veſtigiis inſiſtunt, eorum exitus* 'perhorreſcant; *let thoſe, who walk in their* 'Paths, *dread their Ends*.'—This ſeems to be pointed againſt *Villars*, Duke of *Buckingham*, the evil Counſellor and Flatterer of K. *James* and *Charles* I. whoſe Meaſures my Lord *Coke* oppoſed, and whoſe tragical End is well known. I wiſh I could ſay that even my Lord *Coke* himſelf was entirely free from this Guilt, of flattering the *Court*, and being ſometimes the Inſtrument of their *unjuſt Deſigns*; particularly in the ſcandalous Proſecution of the brave and unfortunate Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

ADVICE *to* CHLOE.

I.

DEAR *Chloe*, while thus beyond measure,
You treat me with doubts and disdain,
You rob all your youth of its pleasure,
And hoard up an old age of pain.
Your maxim, that love is still founded
On charms that will quickly decay;
You'll find to be very ill grounded,
When once you its dictates obey.

II.

The love that from beauty is drawn,
By kindness you ought to improve;
Soft looks and gay smiles are the dawn,
Fruition's the sun-shine of love:
And tho' the bright beams of your eyes
Should be clouded, that now are so gay,
And darkness possess all the skies,
We ne'er can forget it was day.

III.

Old *Darby*, with *Joan* by his side,
You've often regarded with wonder,
He's dropsical, she is sore-ey'd,
Yet they're ever uneasy asunder.
Together they totter about,
Or sit in the sun at the door,
And at night, when old *Darby*'s pot's out,
His *Joan* will not smoke a whiff more.

IV.

No beauty nor wit they possess,
Their several failings to smother;
Then, what are the charms, can you guess,
That make them so fond of each other?
'Tis the pleasing remembrance of youth,
The endearments which youth did bestow;
The thoughts of past pleasure and truth,
The best of our blessings below.

V.

These traces for ever will last;
No sickness, or time can remove;
For when youth and beauty are past,
And age brings the winter of love:
A friendship insensibly grows,
By reviews of such raptures as these;
The current of fondness still flows,
Which decrepit old age cannot freeze.

CHLOE MONITA.

I.

DUM fastu me, chara Chloe, fas præter & æquum,
Subruis, & reficis spe, cruciasque metu,
Deperdis, lætæ quod amænum est omne Juventæ,
Inque senectutem triste reponis opus.
Forma brevis, dicis, flos est ætatis, amorque
Rebus, quæ pereunt, ortus, & ipse perit:
Hoc tibi persuades: sed re modo dicta probâris,
Quam male persuades, experiendo scies.

II.

Ut sit perpetuus, formâ qui nascitur, ut sit
Mutuus, officiis crescere debet amor.
Sunt blandi risus primordia lucis; amore,
Tum modo, cùm fruimur, fulget aperta dies.
Si tibi nox tenebris illos obvelat ocellos,
Qui tam jucundum nunc rutilumque nitent;
Si totum eripitur cœlum caligine, quanta,
Dicemus memores, lux aliquando fuit!

III.

Darbæum *en vetulum vetulâ cum conjuge! vitam*
Quam placide infirmum par, & amanter agunt!
Blæsa illa est oculis, & crura hydropicus ille
Vix trahit; at neutri neuter abesse potest.
Gressibus invalidis reptat cum conjuge conjux:
Aut simul apricans considet ante fores;
Cùmque ille extremum cyathi desumpserit haustum,
Deponit, certâ lege, Joanna tubum.

IV.

Cùm nulla utrivis, quicquid delinquit utervis,
Corporis excusent ingeniive bona;
Quas esse aut illi veneres aut conjicis illi?
Unde fit, alterius tam sit ut alter amans?
Dulce recordari est actos feliciter annos,
Quàm sensim ad canam consenuere fidem;
Inde sacrum fœdus, firmoque est copula nexu;
Quâ melius terris Dii tribuere nihil.

V.

Longum illa, in longum, quæ nulla aboleverit ætas,
Nullaque morborum vis, monumenta manent:
Namque decor simul omnis abest & gratia formæ;
Fitque, quod ætatis restat, amoris hyems:
Crescit amicitiæ suavis reputantibus usus,
Quàm vel adhuc grati præteriere dies.
Quæque retardari possunt per nulla senectæ
Frigora, perpetuo gaudia fonte flaunt.

AY *and* NO. *A* TALE *from* Dublin, *done into Verse.*

AT *Dublin*'s high feast sat primate and dean,
Both dress'd like divines, with band and face clean.
Quoth *Hugh* of *Armagh*, the mob is grown bold.
Ay, ay, quoth the dean, the cause is old gold.
No, no, quoth the prime—if causes we sift,
This mischief arises from witty dean *Swift*.
The smart one replied, there's no wit in the case;
And nothing of that e'er troubl'd your grace.
Tho' with your state-sieve your own notions you split,
A Bolter by name is no bolter of wit.
'Tis matter of weight, and a mere money job;
But the lower the coin, the higher the mob.
Go tell your friend *Bob*, and other great folk,
That sinking the coin is a dangerous joke.
The *Irish* dear joys have enough common sense
To treat gold reduc'd like *Wood*'s copper-pence.
'Tis pity a prelate should die without law;
But if I say the word—take care of *Armagh*.

Punsibi Hipponensis.

The

The PROGRESS *of* LEARNING.

PHOEBUS, approach! and bring
The vocal lyre,
And warm my breaſt with thy poetic fire;
Thy ſacred gift I ſing:
And ſee, the godhead comes; new ardours roll [ſcious ſoul:
Thro' ev'ry throbbing vein, and ſwell my con-
By him inſpir'd I dare the theme,
With ſtrength augmented upwards riſe,
And like a youthful eaglet ſeem
Already tow'ring in the ſkies:
Far down on earth I view
The paths th' unthinking multitudes purſue:
Lo! how they grovel on the ground,
Reſign'd to ſenſe alone, and in ſoft pleaſures drown'd.

When the creating Pow'r had breath'd a ſoul
Into the lifeleſs clay,
To animate the whole,
Man roſe, and bleſt his God, and hail'd the happy day:
In paradiſe he reign'd, and all around
Eternal pleaſures bloom'd, and bliſsful *Eden* crown'd.
Yet not alone the ſenſual ſweets
Are that which his felicity compleats:
No bounds his underſtanding knew;
All nature open'd to his view:
'Twas his delight the Deity to trace
O'er the creation's ample face;
The ſublunary world he left, and up to heav'n he flew.
Yet ah! tremendous fall!
Whilſt he with wild ambition fir'd,
To be a god aſpir'd, [all.
At once his knowledge loſt and innocence and
Dire ignorance then rais'd her head,
And with her gloomy veil the mind o'erſpread:
Then thou, bright ſcience! fled,
Leaving reluctant this terraqueous ball.
Thee, goddeſs! thee mankind
Since to regain have ſought,
And by long tedious train of thought
Loſt knowledge ſtrove to find,
And the great prize with mighty labour bought:
'Tis thou alone that can'ſt in part reſtore
What our primæval father loſt before.
Hail! ſacred ſcience, hail!
What muſe thy worth can fully ſing?
My ſtrength unequal I bewail,
Ev'n the bold *Theban* ſwan, whoſe tow'ring wing
Exalted many a hero to the ſkies,
Would ſink beneath the taſk, and ſtrive in vain to riſe.
Thy vaſt extenſive pow'r
Does ev'ry age, and ev'ry land adore,
In the firſt times, enthron'd,
Thou ſat'ſt in *Paleſtine*:
The *Hebrew* race rever'd thy ſhrine,
And thy bleſt influence own'd.
Illuſtrious *Solomon*,
Philoſopher and monarch too!
High in the orb of learning ſhone,
Nature's receſſes ſearch'd, and ev'n her eſſence knew.
Th' *Egyptians* thence of old
Their learning ſought; [brought;
Thence deep philoſophy *Chaldæan* magi
And myſtic truths in myſtic numbers told.
Next thou to *Greece* diſt wing thy flight,
There thy reſplendent ſeat to place,
And o'er the happy land diffuſe thy genial light;
The happy land did thee embrace:
To thee ten thouſand altars ſmoak'd;
Thy pow'r ten thouſand votaries invok'd;
Whilſt thou their genius diſt refine,
And arts and eloquence around them ſhine.
The *Romans*, *Mars*' bold progeny,
Fierce like their dreadful fire, ſubmit to thee:
Nor war's dire clangors, nor alarms
Could interrupt the muſe's charms;
But thy ſoft arts they join'd with their victorious arms:
Where-e'er their conq'ring eagles flew,
Barbarity they did ſubdue,
And introduce thy bliſsful ſtate,
While vanquiſh'd nations bleſt the proſp'rous turn of fate.
The golden times thus roll'd along,
Times worthy an immortal ſong!
Till from the frozen north
A barb'rous people iſſu'd forth;
Ruſh'd o'er the earth, ſwift like the rapid wind:
Horrid deſtruction ſtalk'd behind!
Lands once polite, alas! became their prey,
Borne by the torrent down with unreſiſted ſway:
Arts baniſh'd fled, and univerſal night
Drove from th' horizon thy all-chearing light.
Immers'd in ignorance thus *Europe* lay,
Till circling time nine centuries had run;
At laſt a balmy ray begun
Thy dawning to diſplay,
Gladd'ning the world with hopes of ſweet returning day.
To thy deſerted fanes they bring
Perpetual incenſe, and loud pæans ſing;
The neighb'ring hills with joyous echoes ring.
Then native *Albion*'s iſle
Sought thee, nor ſought in vain:
Her tuneful vows thou diſdſt not then diſdain,
But ſoon on her ſerenely ſmile;
On her thy beamy glories ſhed;
All o'er her happy ſoil thy wings incumbent ſpread.
Her grateful ſons, by thee belov'd,
And high enroll'd in fame,
Have ev'ry uſeful art improv'd,
And to ſucceeding times tranſmitted down thy name.

Here,

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Here, ſcience! fix thy throne, and hence
With hand profuſe diſpenſe
Thy ſacred influence
To all who thy tranſcendent virtues own,
And let this realm thy genial preſence crown.
Touch, goddeſs! touch my breaſt;
Teach me to ſcorn all vain deluſive toys,
Mankind's imaginary joys,
Sufficiently in thy fruition bleſt.
Then ſolely to thy praiſe
I'll dedicate my grateful lays,
And whilſt thy bright ecſtatic fire
Does my dilated ſoul inſpire,
The world ſhall thy perfections view, and
viewing ſhall admire.

Upon the Earl of Carliſle's PICTURE, *done by Mr.* Phillips. *By the Rev. Mr.* Pindar *of* Yorkſhire.

PHILLIPS! with wonder all allow,
Thy hand has ſhown what art can do;
Great *Carliſle*'s form, by thee expreſt,
Lives in thy finiſh'd lines confeſt;
There light and ſhade ſo juſtly ſtrike,
The more we view, the more we like.
Thy mimick paint aſſumes each grace,
That ſits in triumph on his face;
Thy pencil's magick power calls forth
His inmoſt ſoul's diſtinguiſh'd worth;
And all that's great, and good, and wiſe
Flow from thy ſtrokes, as from his eyes.
There juſtice ſhines, and honour clear,
The ſmile indulgent and ſincere;
Here breathes his great exalted mind,
And there his bounty unconfin'd.
Let others boaſt the ſkill to trace
Some faint reſemblance of a face;
'Tis thine, rare artiſt, to impart
The beauties, that adorn the heart!
Oh! might my colours glow like thine,
And equal thus the great deſign!
Then would my grateful muſe aſpire
To ſing thoſe virtues all admire;
But who, alas! can vainly hope
To rival thee, or ſing like *Pope*.

Upon Lady Mary Howard's PICTURE, *done by Mr.* Phillips. *By the ſame Hand.*

TO furniſh graces for a piece compleat,
Each *Grecian* beauty to *Apelles* ſate;
In this one face more perfect charms we view
Than *Greece* e'er boaſted, or *Apelles* drew.

Upon Lady Irwin's PICTURE, *done by Mr.* Phillips. *By the ſame Hand.*

PALLAS in wiſdom, *Juno* in her mien,
In beauty ſhone ſupreme the *Paphian* queen:
The diff'rent charms, that did each goddeſs grace,
Are here united in a ſingle face:
Bright *Irwin* whilſt ſhe reigns with *Juno*'s air,
Is wiſe as *Pallas*, and as *Venus* fair.

Theſe Verſes were occaſioned by a Gentleman's being aſk'd how he liked Miſs B——bb.

HAD *Venus* only deck'd her face,
With earth bewitching air and grace,
Guarded perhaps againſt thoſe charms
My heart had ne'er felt love's alarms.
But when with *Venus Pallas* join'd
And equally adorn'd her mind,
Nay when *Apollo* lent his aid,
To finiſh and compleat the maid;
Taught her to touch the trembling ſtring,
And with the ſofteſt notes to ſing,
Could I withſtand ſuch heav'nly power,
And not their fav'rite maid adore?

To a Lady with ſome Tickets in the PLATE LOTTERY.

Detur digniori.

POETS and *painters* all agree
In repeſenting fortune blind;
For once (methinks) I'd have her ſee
And be to MERIT only kind.
My expectations may be leſs,
As well as others that adore her,
They might not meet with much ſucceſs,
Nor I, if we appear'd before her:
But could ſhe ſee my *Cælia* bow
Off'ring theſe numbers at her ſhrine,
Thy claim the *goddeſs* would allow
And ſay the *ſilver ciſtern*'s thine.

Birmingham, Nov. 26, 1737.

Modern Life, *or the* Coquet *in Perfection.*

Nulla fere cauſa eſt in qua non Fœmina litem
Moverit —— Virgil.

ELATED with her charms, *miſs* takes her
rout, [about:
And throws her random ſlights of ſpleen,
But, on her ſupple train ſhe darts a glance,
To lead the powder'd *dupes* an ambling dance;
By oglings brib'd, the mimick apes eſſay,
Their modiſh ſcenes of foppery to play;
One taps his ſnuff-box with reſiſtleſs grace,
Another heightens chat with fine grimace;
A third diſplays the gold *repeater*'s charms,
And vows a diamond ring, in winter, warms,
Harrangues on mottl'd ſkains of ſlender ſtick,
And ſwears, at ſight of clumſey cane, he's ſick.
But while the fops, on folly's wings, aſcend,
The *jilt*, with eaſe, buffoons them in the end,
By one gallanting air of active fan,
Her ſtutt'ring engine domfounds ev'ry man.
'Ye fair, ſhe cry's, behold the cringing crew!
'Theſe are the gewgaws, that *coquets* ſubdue;
'Their ſenſeleſs prate has harraſs'd ev'ry ear,
'Tis novelty alone, ſhall conquer here;
'I own, I hate a batter'd threadbare cant,
'Tis gay variety I chiefly want.

But

But ſtay, preſumptive creature, take advice,
And, in thy trifling choice, be not ſo nice;
Thou knowſt, what ſin'ries can trapan the throng,
Art ſkill'd in all the frauds of eyes and tongue.
Deceit's the buſineſs of each *coquet's* heart,
And thine, in artifice, has got the ſtart,
Exert its force, let female cunning riſe,
Above all triflers, wear the toaſting prize;
At balls take place, be rank'd among the *Belles*,
And tow'r it o'er a tribe of *Begatelles*.
For who would act the *prude* in all her ways,
Muſt be well vers'd in calumny and praiſe,
To fallacy and ſhew bend all her thoughts,
And ſcreen her own, by cens'ring other's faults;
Whole floods of arrogance and ſelf-conceit
Muſt drown her reaſon to enhance her wit;
Know, when affected ſmiles or frowns, to feign,
And vary all the caſts of ſhy diſdain;
The damn'd *coqueting* fleer, in private, ſhew,
In publick, by a nod, diſcar'd a *beau*;
Ne'er crouch beneath an overweening look,
Nor be abaſh'd, at any harſh rebuke;
With ev'ry new chimera, muſt be full,
To pleaſe th' infipid and provoke the dull,
And have the veering of a female ſoul
Made without byaſs, like a ninepin bowl.
Since whim and caprice ſway the gadding ſex,
Let affectation here ſome ſtandard fix.
Myra, with gifts ſuperior, we behold,
Foremoſt, among the dizzy crew, enroll'd;
Myra, in whom all frailties jointly meet;
Myra, who ſcorns to be eſteem'd diſcreet.
The whirligig of each fantaſtick air,
Was form'd a modiſh pattern for the fair;
Profuſely trifling life and wealth away,
Still broaching follies, as her charms decay.

BOLUS.

The ENGLISH OAK, *or the* SPANIARDS SCOURGE.

FROM a ſmall *acorn* ſee the *Oak* ariſe
Supremely tall, and tow'ring in the ſkies!
Queen of the groves her ſtately head ſhe rears,
Her bulk increaſing with the length of years;
Now ploughs the ſeas, a warlike gallant ſhip,
While in her womb deſtructive thunders ſleep:
Hence *Britain* boaſts her wide extenſive reign,
And by th' expanded *acorn* rules the *main*.

On the Operation perform'd on her late Majeſty. An Epigram. By Mr. Phillips. *In Imitation of* Martial.

WHILE *Caroline*, with ſoul ſerenely great, [her fate;
Waits for the wound, and from the wound
While all her looks, and words, and actions prove,
Maternal fondneſs, and connubial love:
She ſees th' indulgent *King* oppreſs'd with care,
Heave the fond ſigh, and ſhed the ſilent tear;
'For *me*, ſhe cries, Oh! ceaſe for *me* to grieve,
'Nor let me *torture* from thy *love* receive;
'*Wounds* I with eaſe, with eaſe can *death* ſuſtain,
'Of thy *fond grief* yet cannot bear the *pain*;
'But for thy grief, I would not breathe a ſigh,
'Alike reſign'd to live, prepar'd to die:
'If then through all the future ſcene of woe,
'Through the laſt trial *nature* e'er can know,
'If I one ſign of anguiſh ſhould reveal,
'Tis not for what *I* bear, but what *you* feel.'

The TIPPLING PHILOSOPHER.

TO M, *ſtudious*, all the morning thinks,
And all the afternoon he drinks:
A dry way ſure is his of thinking,
Which can require ſuch after drinking.

An EPIGRAM.

A Rev'rend ſage eſteem'd for knowledge,
By all the fellows of the college,
To gaping clowns blabb'd out his notion,
That nothing's in perpetual motion:
Says *Will*, an honeſt heart, alack!
Sir, you ne'er heard our *Jenny's* clack.

RUSTICUS.

On the DEATH *of the* QUEEN.

IF that one moment's ſhort ſuſpence can be,
From the pure joys of immortality;
If the triumphant *ſainted ſouls* can know,
Or what we ſay, or what we act below,
Hear all their glorious race of life approv'd,
Their death bemoan'd, their memory belov'd:
O *Carolina!* from thy heav'nly throne,
On *Britain's* empire look with pleaſure down;
Wide as thy empire did extend, ſurvey
The grateful tribute that thy people pay;
Love without flattery, *ſorrow* without art,
Each tongue impartial, and ſincere each heart:
Amidſt their grief they with fond pride proclaim,
How clear thy honour, and how juſt thy fame;
With glory how diſtinguiſh'd was thy *youth*,
Nobly to ſcorn imperial crowns for truth;
And when, as heav'n's gift, a crown you wore,
That none deſerv'd it, none adorn'd it more:
Belov'd and honour'd thro' each various ſcene,
As friend, as wife, as mother, and as queen:
Thy *life*, of all the *learned* the *eſteem*,
The maid's *example*, and the matron's *theme*:
Thy *death* the *wiſh* and *comfort* of the *wiſe*,
Religion's *honour*, and great virtue's *prize*.
Thus while, O royal ſhade! thy *Britons* tell,
How much you did in life and death excel;
How fair the circle of your fame compleat,
With the ſame luſtre that you roſe you ſet:
While they with unfeign'd grief your loſs deplore,
No age, nor empire e'er cou'd boaſt of more;
For never yet in any age was ſeen
More *true a people*, or more *lov'd a queen*.

N. B. *We have ſeveral Pieces from our Correſpondents by us: But as our* Magazine *for this Month is ſo taken up with Affairs of great Importance, we hope they will excuſe our deferring thoſe Pieces to another Time. The* Requeſt *never came to Hand.*

THE

THE *Monthly Chronologer.*

TUESDAY, Nov. 1.

R. Secretary *Walpole* inform'd the *Irish* House of Commons, that he was commanded, by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, to acquaint the House, that his Majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious Answer to the Address of this House. Which he read in his Place, and after delivered at the Table, and the same was again read by Mr. Speaker, and is as followeth,

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty receiv'd with great Pleasure the Address of the House of Commons, and the repeated Assurances of their Zeal and Attachment to his Person and Government. His Majesty is fully persuaded, that his faithful Commons will chearfully grant the necessary Supplies for the Support of his Government: And they may be assured of the Continuance of his Majesty's Favour and Protection, and of the Concern which he has always shewn'd for the Welfare and Happiness of his People of Ireland.

WEDNESDAY, 9.

This Day the Poll began for the Election of an Alderman for the Ward of *Farringdon Within*, and ended the next Day, when *Henry Marshall*, Esq; was declar'd to have a Majority of 56; whereupon a Scrutiny was demanded in Favour of Mr. *Selwyn*, and granted; but before the Day appointed for it came, he gave it up.

MONDAY, 14.

This Day the Bridge Lottery began to be drawn at *Stationers Hall*.

SUNDAY, 20.

This Night at Eleven o'Clock died of a Mortification of the Bowels, Her Majesty WILHELMINA CAROLINA, Queen Consort of *Great Britain*, &c. aged 54 Years, 8 Months, and 20 Days. She was Daughter of *John Frederick*, Marquis of *Brandenburg-Anspach*, by *Eleanor Erdmuth-Louisa*, his second Wife, (Daughter to *John George*, Duke of *Saxe-Eysenach.*) This most excellent Princess was born *March* 1, 1682-3, and was married at *Hanover*, *Aug.* 22, 1705. She was Crowned with his Majesty *Oct.* 11, 1727, had Issue by his Majesty 4 Sons, and 5 Daughters; *viz. Frederick Lewis*, Prince of *Wales*, born *Jan.* 20, 1706; *Anne*, Princess of *Orange*, born *Oct.* 22, 1709; the Princess *Amelia Sophia*, born *May* 30, 1711; the Princess *Carolina Elizabeth*, born *May* 30, 1713; *William Augustus*, Duke of *Cumberland*, born *April* 15, 1721; the Princess *Mary*, born *Feb.* 22, 1723; the Princess *Louisa*, born *Dec.* 7, 1724; which are all living: A Prince, dead born, *Nov.* 5, 1716; and *George William*, Duke of *Gloucester*, born *Nov.* 2, 1717, who died *Feb.* 6. following. Her Majesty was taken ill on *Wednesday* the 9th Instant, after she had breakfasted at her Library in the *Park*. The following Character was given of her in the *General Evening Post*.

The World has not *at any Time* produc'd an *Example* of greater Distinction in the several Relations of Life, whether we consider HER MAJESTY as a Queen, a Wife, a Mother, a Mistress, or a Friend.

Tho' her Illness was severe and afflicting above Measure, and attended with great Pain to herself, it has been the Means of giving us the most exalted Idea of her Virtues, which enabled her to go thro' such a Trial, not only with Submission to the Divine Will; but with a Composedness of Temper, and Magnanimity of Spirit, which amazed *All* that were about her. *Every* Interval of Ease from her Sufferings, was employed in Acts of Devotion; in giving new Proofs of her Tenderness to *Those* that were most dear to her; in shewing her kindest Regards to her *Servants*, and manifesting her Zeal for the Welfare of the *Publick*.

Her Manner of Thinking and Speaking on the many interesting Subjects that possess'd her Soul, and her *whole* Behaviour from the beginning of her Illness to the *fatal* Moment in which she expired, was so full of Dignity and Innocence, and withal so natural and unaffected, that 'tis hard to say whether her great Abilities, and all the amiable Qualities which adorned her Life, have done more Honour to her Character, than the Circumstances which preceded her Death.

Many Particulars might here be added with the *strictest Truth*, which would give our Readers the most lively Sense of the irreparable Loss these Kingdoms have sustained by her Death. But we choose to avoid any Thing that may heighten the real Concern, which appears in *all* Ranks of People, on this affecting Occasion.

His Majesty a few Days after was graciously pleased to sign an Order, that all such Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ladies, as well as Domesticks, that held any Place of Honour or Profit under her late Majesty, should enjoy their respective Salaries, &c. as formerly.

THURSDAY, 24.

Orders were issued from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, for all Peers and Peeresses to appear in Mourning on *Sunday*, *Dec.* 4. the Ladies to wear Black Bombasines, plain Cambrick Linen, Crape Hoods, Shamey Shoes and

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and Gloves, and Crape Fans; and for their Undreſs dark *Norwich* Crape. The Men to wear Black Cloth, without Buttons on the Sleeves and Pockets, plain Cambrick Cravats and Weepers, Shamey Shoes and Gloves, Crape Hatbands, and black Swords and Buckles.

The Lord Marſhal alſo gave Notice, that it is expected, that all Perſons, upon the preſent Occaſion of the Death of her late Majeſty, do put themſelves into the deepeſt Mourning (long Cloaks only excepted) and that as well all Lords as Privy Counſellors, and Officers of his Majeſty's and her late Majeſty's Houſhold, do cover their Coaches, Chariots, and Chairs, and cloath their Livery Servants with Black Cloth.

MONDAY, 28.

Henry Marſhall, Eſq; was declared Alderman of the Ward of *Farringdon Within*.

MARRIAGES.

SIR *Cordell Firebrace*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for *Suffolk*, to Mrs. *Ewers*, of *Ipſwich*, a Widow Lady.

Edward Trelawny, Eſq; Governor of *Jamaica*, to Miſs *Crawford*, Niece to the Counteſs of *Dartmouth*.

Lord *Cornbury*, to the Hon. Miſs *Lee*, Daughter to the Earl of *Litchfield*.

William Forteſcue, of *Althorpe*, *Northamptonſhire*. Eſq; to Miſs *Shirley*.

William Tyley, of the *Devizes*, *Wilts*, Eſq; to Miſs *Chriſtian Arbuthnot*, Niece to the Lord *Arbuthnot*, of *Scotland*.

DEATHS.

CAPT. *Richard Bolton*, formerly one of the Directors of the *Eaſt India* Company, and Commander of one of their Ships.

Rev. Mr. *Waſhburne*, Sub-Dean of St. *Paul's*.

Lewis Barlow, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Orford* in *Suffolk*.

In the *Weſt Indies*, *July* 12. the Hon. *John Foreſter*, Captain of the *Kingſale* Man of War, ſtat oned there.

At *Cheſter*, *John Williams*, ſen. Eſq;

At *Briſtol*, *Henry Walter*, Eſq; Alderman of that City.

Robert Yate, Eſq; Colonel of the Militia, and Senior Alderman of the ſaid City.

Colonel *John Allen*, of *Barbadoes*.

Edward Chaloner of *Giſborough*, *Yorkſhire*, Eſq;

At *Geneva*, *John Bagſhaw*, Eſq; the *Britiſh* Conſul there.

Rev. Mr. *Lamplugh*, Rector of *Alton* and *Sutton Mandeville*, *Wilts*, and Prebendary of *York* and *Lincoln*.

Robert Briſcow, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Winchelſea*, and Clerk Comptroller to his Majeſty's Board of Green-Cloth.

The Lady of Sir *Iſaac Shard*, Knt.

Mr. *Joſeph Boſley*, Senior General Surveyer of the Exciſe.

William Clarke, Eſq; one of the Chief Clerks of the Crown Office in the Court of *King's-Bench*.

William Eaſt, Eſq; Member in the laſt Parliament for St. *Maw's* in *Cornwall*.

Sir *Richard Brocas*, Knt. and Alderman of *Farringdon Within*; who was Lord Mayor in 1729.—Captain *Peter Douglas*, formerly Commander of the *Deal-Caſtle* Man of War. —*Joſiah Diſton*, Eſq; formerly Member of Parliament for the *Devizes*, *Wilts*, and a Director of the *Bank* and *Eaſt India* Company. —In *Jamaica*, Captain *James Cornwall*, Commander of a Man of War on the *Guiney* Station, and Member of Parliament for *Weobly*, *Herefordſhire*.—Rev. Mr. *Scrivent*, Rector of *Church-Lawford* in *Warwickſhire*. — At his Seat at *Milner* in *Suffolk*, *Jacob Bryant*, Eſq; — At *Oxford*, the Rev. Mr. *Hodges*, of *Oriel College*, Rector of *Shipton-Mallet* in *Glouceſterſhire*. — Rev. Mr. *Aldridge*, of *Henley* upon *Thames*. — Rev. Mr. *Edward de Auvergne*, Rector of Great *Hallingbury* in *Eſſex*.—Mr. *Willdey*, Maſter of the great Toyſhop near St. *Paul's* Church. —In *Cheapſide*, Mr. *Needham*, Linen-Draper to his Majeſty. — Mr. *Foſter*, an eminent Linen-Draper in *Newgate-Street*. — At his Seat near *Ringwood*, in *Hants*, *John Kennet Herbert*, Eſq; — Right Hon. the Counteſs of *Bradford*, Relict of *Richard* Earl of *Bradford*, and Mother of the preſent Earl.—In *Red-Lion-Street*, *Clerkenwell*, Mr. *Graves*, a noted Builder. — Rev. Mr. *Frampton*, Fellow of *Clare-Hall*, *Cambridge*. — The Relict of the Lord *William Poulett*. — Capt. *William Watſon*, formerly in the Service of the *South-Sea* Company.—Colonel *Broadrep*, one of the Principal Regiſters of the Prerogative Court, *Canterbury*, Son-in Law of the late Archbiſhop. — At his Seat near *Croydon*, Sir *John Leigh*, Knt. — Capt. *Richard Harle*, an eminent *Italian* Merchant. — At *Plymouth*, Sir *Nicholas Trevanion*, Commiſſioner of the *Navy* —at *Cheſterton*, in *Oxfordſhire*, *George Trevor*, Eſq; — Rev. Mr. *Lavington*, Vicar of *Muckwell*, *Eſſex*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Thomas Gibſon* preſented to the Vicarage of *Dover Court*, with the Chapel of *Harwich*, *Eſſex*. — Mr. *Richard Roberts*, to the Rectory of *Fenchurch*, *Herefordſhire*.—Mr. *Joſeph Key*, to the Vicarage of *Auſtrey*, in the Diocele of *Litchfield*. — Mr. *Bourdillon*, to the Rectory of *Pitleſden* in the Diocele of *Briſtol*. — Mr. *Charles Clarke*, to the Rectory of *Bramfield*, *Suffolk*.—Mr. *Edward Lye*, to the Rectory of *Yardley Haſtings*, *Northamptonſhire*.—Mr. *Edward Ward*, to the Living of *Bradfield*, *Suffolk*.—Mr. *Bonney*, appointed Afternoon Preacher at *Berwick-Street* Chapel. — Mr. *William Nichols*, preſented to the Vicarage of *Swindon*, *Wilts*.—Mr. *John Head*, to the Rectory of *Burmarch*, *Kent*. — Mr. *Richard Clinton*, to the Vicarage of *Bawdſey*, *Suffolk*. — Mr.

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Hawkins, appointed Rector of St. *Mary Hill*, on the Resignation of the Rev. Dr. *Snape*. — Mr. *John Upton*, presented to the Living of *Woodnesborough*, near *Sandwich*. — Mr. *John Billingsley*, to the Living of *Newington*, near *Oxford*.—Mr. *John Smith*, to the Vicarage of *Sutterton*, *Lincolnshire* — Mr. *George Barnard*, to the Rectory of *Nibbuth*, *Hertfordshire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

GEORGE *Jackson*, Esq; made Consul at *Geneva*, in the room of the late *John Bagshaw*, Esq;—Rev. Mr. *Patrick Comming*, appointed King's Professor of Divinity and Church-History in the University of *Edinburgh*, in the room of the late Mr. *Matthew Crawford*. — *William Sands*, Esq; appointed a Captain in the Royal Regiment of Horse, Red, commanded by the Right Hon. the Earl of *Pembroke*. — Dr. *Richardson*, chosen Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*.—*Thomas Wilson*, Esq; appointed one of the chief Clerks of the Privy-Seal, and Court of Requests. — Monsr. *Bilderbeck*, appointed chief Secretary of State for *Hanover*, in the room of the late Baron *Hartoff*.—And Monsr. *Meyer* also appointed Secretary of War, in the room of the said Baron.—The Lord *Onslow*, appointed Custos Rotulorum for *Surrey*, in the room of the late Earl of *Berkeley*.—Hon. *Charles Fane*, Esq; appointed to succeed the Earl of *Essex*, as Ambassador to the Court of *Turin*.—Hon. Mr. *Trevor*, appointed his Majesty's Minister at the Court of *Vienna*. — Captain *Fawes* made a Captain in the Royal Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel *St. Clare*.—Lieut. *William Cole* made a Captain in Brigadier General *Anstruther*'s Regiment of Foot.—Sir *Seymour Pile*, Bart. made Captain of a Troop in the Royal Regiment of Dragoons.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *Carr*, of St. *Clement Danes*, *Middlesex*, Druggist.—*Josiah Jetson*, of St. *Anne's Lime house*, Dealer in Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine.—*Welles Curtoys*, of *Old Southampton* Buildings, Broker and Chapman. — *Joseph Crefier* the Elder, of *Water-Lane*, *London*, Victualler and Chapman.—*Edward Davies*, late of *Abinbury*, *Flintshire*, Iron-master.—*David Brown*, of *London*, Merchant.—*William Newland* and *William Clack*, of *Deptford*, Malt Distillers and Partners.—*Joseph Greening*, of *Bourton on the Hill*, in the County of *Gloucester*, Chapman. — *Abraham Lindbergh*, of *Goodman's* Fields, Merchant.—*Edward Butt*, of *Whitechapel*, Greaseman and Chapman.—*James Penny*, late of St. *James Westminster*, Brandy-Merchant.—*John Dickenson*, of *Piccadilly*, Linendraper. — *Thomas Thorogood*, of *Bedford street* in *Covent-Garden*, Laceman.—*John Beete*, late of *Whitehall*, Vintner.—*Anthony Kibblewhite*, late of *Bristol*, Merchant.—*Robert Hamond*, of *East Greenwich*, Lime-Merchant and Chapman.

Prices of Stocks, &c. *towards the End of the* Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	101 ¾	*Afric.*	14
—*Bonds*	3 10	*Royal Aff.*	110 ½
—*Annu.*	111 ⅜ a ½	*Lon. ditto*	14 ¾ a ⅞
Bank	142 ¼ a 3	3 *per C. An.*	106 ½ a ⅝
—*Circ.*	10 a 12 6	*Eng. Copper*	
Mil. Bank	121 ½	*Salt Tallies*	1 a 4
India	176 ¼ a ½	*Emp. Loan*	110 ½
—*Bonds*	6 17 a 7	*Equiv.*	112

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst.	35 2 ½	*Bilboa*	40 ⅛ a 39
D. Sight	34 9 ½	*Legborn*	49 ⅞ a ¼
Rotter.	35 1	*Genoa*	52 ¼
Hamb.	34 2 ½	*Venice*	50 ⅞ a ¼
P. Sight	32 ¼	*Lisb.*	5s 5d ⅜ a ½
Bourdx.	32	*Oport.*	5s 5d ½ a ⅝
Cadiz	39 ⅜ ¼ a ⅜	*Antev.*	35 3
Madrid	39 ¼ a ½	*Dublin*	8 ¼ a ⅜

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	29 32	*Oates*	12 14
Rye	13 17	*Tares*	20 24
Barley	14 18	*Peafe*	20 28
H. Beans	20 24	*H. Peafe*	16 17
P. Malt	20 24	*B. Malt*	17 18

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Oct.* 25. to *Nov.* 22.

Christned	Males 606	Females 603	1209
Buried	Males 1150	Females 1250	2400
Died under 2 Years old			790
Between 2 and 5			166
5	10		84
10	20		65
20	30		220
30	40		253
40	50		272
50	60		219
60	70		156
70	80		114
80	90		54
90 and upwards			7
			2400

Hay 48 to 54*l*. a Load.

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ON the 6th of *Auguſt* laſt the *Grand Seignor's* Maſter of the Horſe, arrived in the Camp of the Grand *Ottoman* Army near *Iſachia* on the North Side of the *Danube*; and ſoon after his Arrival, he delivered to the *Prime Vizier* the *Grand Seignor's* Order for diveſting him of his Office; after which he went and ſummoned the *Diwan*, conſiſting of the *Aga* of the *Janiſſaries* and the *Baſhaws* who were then with the Army. About 5 o' Clock in the Evening the *Kieja* was ſent for; and upon his Arrival the Maſter of the Horſe pulled another Order out of his Boſom, whereby the *Grand Seignor* appointed the *Aga* of the *Janiſſaries*, *Kaimacan*, and committed all Affairs to his Diſcretion, till the Arrival of a new *Prime Vizier*. Then addreſſing himſelf to the *Kieja*, aſk'd him ſeveral Queſtions, the laſt of which was, whether he had always obeyed the *Grand Seignor's* Orders? To which the other anſwering, yes. Very well, replied the Maſter of the Horſe, and taking a Paper out of his Boſom, ſaid, obey then this Order alſo, which I now deliver to you. The *Kieja* received it with Reſpect, and kiſſed it after the Manner of the *Turks*, then reading it, found it to be an Order from the *Grand Seignor* for his Execution in the moſt reproachful Manner, *viz.* To have his Head cut off without his being firſt Strangled, and in open View before the Executioner's Tent where the common Criminals are uſually executed. The *Kieja* could not diſpute his being put to Death, but as he was a *Janiſſary*, he inſiſted upon their Privileges, which were granted; and accordingly he was carried under a Tent, where he fell upon his Knees, took his furred Coat off himſelf, and put the Bowſtring about his Neck with his own Hands, which two Men pulled at each End till he was ſtrangled: After he was dead, the Skin of his Head was ſtripped off, in order to be pickled and ſtuffed with Cotton, and then to be ſent to *Conſtantinople* and put up over the *Seraglio*. All his Domeſticks were immediately ſeized and impriſoned, and all his Eſtate and Effects confiſcated for the Uſe of the *Grand Seignor*; ſo that this Man who was in the Morning one of the greateſt and happieſt Men in the *Ottoman* Empire, was before Night tryed, condemned, executed, and his Eſtate forfeited; and all this perhaps, without his having been guilty of any extraordinary Crime; except that of having diſobliged an extraordinary Favourite at Court; for in abſolute Monarchies, this is the only Crime for which a great Man can be puniſhed.

About the Beginning of laſt Month we had Accounts from *Santa Cruz* in *Barbary*, that a bloody Battle has been lately fought between *Muley Abdalla* and *Muley Laribba*, the two contending Emperors of *Morocco*, in which the former obtained a compleat Victory, and has thereby, 'tis thought, eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Throne of that Empire, which has been for ſeveral Years expoſed to all the Misfortunes and Cruelties of a Civil War; the uſual and almoſt never failing Conſequence of the Demiſe of every Sovereign, in thoſe Monarchies where no fixed Rule of Succeſſion is eſtabliſhed.

Since our laſt we have had Accounts of ſeveral Advantages gained by the *Turks* over the *Germans* in *Hungary*; the moſt conſiderable of which are, that a Battalion of *Wolfembuttle*, which was in Garriſon in a Fort near *Orſova*, has been cut in Pieces by the *Turks*, after having bravely ſuſtained three ſucceſſive Attacks; that another Body of near 2000 *Germans* in *Wallachia*, were intercepted upon their March, and defeated by a Body of 5000 *Turks*, and that *Niſſa* has been retaken by the *Turks* as eaſily as it was taken from them the Beginning of this Summer by the *Germans*. Theſe Succeſſes have raiſed the Courage of the *Ottomans* ſo much, that they have recalled their Plenipotentiaries from *Nimirow*; ſo that the Congreſs at that Place is entirely broke up; and the *Muſcovite* Army being retired to Winter Quarters, the *Turks* begin to talk of laying Siege to *Ochzakow*, notwithſtanding its being now the Winter Seaſon; for which Purpoſe a Body of 30,000 Men, 20,000 whereof are *Janiſſaries*, began their March the 30th. of *September* from *Bender* towards *Oczakow*; and on *Oct.* 4, Count *Bonneval*, who is to command the Siege, arrived at *Bender*, where he was received with great Marks of Honour by the *Baſhaw*, and with the general Acclamations of the People and Army, who ſeem to put a great Confidence in his Conduct, which is generally a ſure Step towards Victory; for this Confidence generally makes an Army deſpiſe their Enemy; and ſuch an Army, commanded by a General who never does ſo, ſeldom fails of Succeſs.

A few Days after Count *Seckendorf* arrived at *Vienna*, from the *Imperial* Army he had commanded laſt Summer in *Hungary*. Certain Articles of Miſconduct were exhibited againſt him, to which his Anſwer not having been thought ſufficient, he was confined to his Houſe; and a grand Council of War, at which the Emperor was preſent, having been held *Oct.* 23, it was therein reſolved to lay the Count under a more ſtrict and ſecure Confinement; whereupon a Guard of Soldiers was put into his Houſe, an Officer ordered to be always in the Room with him, and three Centries with their Bayonets ſcrewed placed in the Antichamber; with Orders not to allow him to ſpeak to any Perſon but in the Preſence of the Officer; only his Lady is allowed to keep him Company, on Condition ſhe ſhall not ſtir out of the Room, or converſe with any other Perſon.

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HISTORICAL.

1. THE Hiſtory and Antiquities of the *Jews* in *England*. By *D. Tovey*, L. L. D. *Oxford*, Printed for *J. Fletcher*; and ſold by *C. Rivington*, 4to, pr. 12*s*. ſew'd.

2. An Hiſtorio-Geographical Deſcription of the North and Eaſtern Part of *Europe* and *Aſia*. With an entire new Polyglot Table of the Dialects of 32 *Tartarian* Nations. Adorn'd with Variety of Cuts. Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, *Brotherton*, *Hazard*, *Meadows*, *Cox*, *Aſtley*, *Auſten*, *Gulliver*, and *Corbet*, 4to, price 15*s*.

3. The antient Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*, &c. By M. *Rollin*. Vol. XI. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

* 4. The Preſent State of the Cape of *Good Hope*. The 2d Edition. Printed for Meſſ. *Innys* and *Manby*, price 10*s*.

LAW.

5. Caſes adjudg'd in the Court of *King's-Bench*, from the 2d Year of K. *William* III. to the End of his Reign. Printed for *H. Lintot*, Folio, price 1*l*. 10*s*.

* 6. Ld. C. J. *Coke*'s Commentary upon *Littleton*. Printed for *R. Goſling* and *H. Lintot*, Folio, price 1*l*. 10*s*.

7. An Hiſtorical View of the *Exchequer*. Printed for *T. Waller*, 8vo, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

* 8. The New Returna Brevium. The 3d Edition. Printed for *T. Waller*, 8vo, pr. 5*s*.

* 9. City Liberties. The ſecond Edition. Printed for Meſſ. *Fox*, 8vo, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

10. The Law and Practice of Fines and Recoveries. By *R. Manby*, Gent. Printed for *J. Worrall*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

* 11. The Civil Law in its natural Order. Written in *French* by M. *Domat*, and tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *W. Straban*, L. L. D. The 2d Edition, with large Additions. In two Vols. Folio, price 2*l*. 10*s*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

12. A compleat Concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament. In two Parts. By *A. Cruden*, M. A. 4to, pr. 18*s*.

13. The Art of Painting, in all its Branches. Tranſlated by *J. P. Fritſch*. N° I. Sold by *J. Huggonſon*, 4to, price 1*s*.

14. The Army's Regulator. By *J. Railton*. Sold by *W. Shropſhire*, pr. 2*s*. 6*d*. ſtitch'd.

15. An Introduction of the antient *Greek* and *Latin* Meaſures into *Britiſh* Poetry. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

16. *Muſcovian* Letters. Tranſlated from the *French*, by *W. Muſgrave*, Eſq; Printed for *E. Curll*, 8vo, price 5*s*. ſew'd.

17. Meaſuring compleated. By *J. Woodcock*. Sold by *J. Brindley* and *J. Oſwald*, 12mo, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

18. The Philoſophy of Love. Tranſlated into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Lockman*. Printed for *J. Hawkins*, price 6*d*.

* 19. *Burnet*'s Travels. By *G. Burnet*, D. D. Sold by *G. Anderſon*, 12mo, pr. 3*s*.

* 20. The Young Man's beſt Companion. By *G. Fiſher*. The 4th Edition. Printed for Meſſ. *Bettesworth*, *Hitch*, *Ware*, *Clarke*, *Birt*, and *Hodges*, 12mo, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

* 21. *Dyche*'s Guide to the *Engliſh* Tongue. The 23d Edition. Printed for *R. Ware*, pr. 1*s*.

* 22. Familiar Letters. By *J. Howel*, Eſq; The 10th Edition, 8vo, price 6*s*.

* 23. The *Engliſh* Spelling-Book. By *J. Collyer*. The 5th Ed. Printed for *S. Birt*, pr. 1*s*.

PLAYS *and* POETRY.

24. The City Farce. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

25. The Miſer's Feaſt. By *G. Ogle*, Eſq; Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 1*s*.

26. The Tears of the Muſes. Printed for *T. Ward*, price 1*s*.

27. The Dragon of *Wantley*. Printed for *J. Shuckburgh*, price 6*d*.

28. Georgii Buchanani, Poetarum ſui ſæculi facilè Principis, Paraphraſis Pſalmorum Davidis poetica. Venales proſtant apud J. Davidſon, 8vo, price 7*s*. 6*d*.

SERMONS.

* 29. The Union and Harmony of Reaſon, Morality, and revealed Religion: A Sermon preached before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, at St. *Mary*'s on *Sunday*, *Feb.* 27, 1736-7. The 4th Edition. By *W. Harte*, M. A. of St. *Mary Hall* in *Oxford*. Printed for *L. Gilliver* and *J. Clarke*, price 6*d*. *N. B.* The Demand for this Edition occaſioned its being printed off without the Author's correcting the Preſs; however, it is hoped there are few or no literal Errors.

30. A Sermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy within the Diocеſe of *Durham*. By *E. Tew*, D. D. Printed for *J. Clarke*, pr. 6*d*.

31. A Sermon occaſion'd by the Death of Mrs. *Wood*. By *W. Langford*. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, price 6*d*.

32. A Sermon preached at the *Old Jewry*, *March* 2, 1736-7. By *S. Wright*, D. D. Printed for *R. Hett*, price 6*d*.

33. An Ordination Sermon preached at *Wiſbeach*. By *P. Doddridge*, D. D. Printed for *R. Hett* and *J. Oſwald*, price 1*s*.

34. An Ordination Sermon preached in *Nightingale-Lane*. By Dr. *Hadſield*. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, price 6*d*.

ERRAT. In our laſt, Page 521, Col. 1. the Liſt of Speakers in the Debate upon the Army, read as follows, *viz.* The Motion which introduced this Debate was made by Sir *W*——*m T*——*e*, ſeconded by *T*——*d A*——*n*, Eſq; and ſupported chiefly by Sir *R*——*t W*——*le*, *St*——*n F*——*x*, Eſq; *H*——*y F*——*x*, Eſq; the L——d *Gl*——*y*, *G*——*ge S*——*ke*, Eſq; and *H*——*y P*——*m*, Eſq; The Motion was oppoſed firſt by the L——d *M*——*th*, and afterwards chiefly by *W*——*m P*——*y*, Eſq; *W*——*r P*——*r*, Eſq; *Th*——*s L*——*n*, Eſq; *J*——*n P*——*t*, Eſq; the L——d *C*——*y*, the L——d *P*——*b*, and the *M*——*r* of the R——lls. As this *Errat.* is, we ſuppoſe, copied in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for *this* Month, we deſire he will give his Readers Notice of it in his *Magazine* for *next* Month.——P. 579, Col. 2, l. 40, read 40,000. l. 46. read 5,000,000. In this Month, p. 604, Col. 2, l. 14 and 17. r. Pledgee. l. 15 and 18. r. Mortgagee, l. 43, r. Pledgee or Mortgagee.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES of the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT, *continued from Page* 628.

IN our laſt we gave the Subſtance of the Debate on Sir *J—n B——d*'s Motion for enabling his Majeſty to open Books for taking in Subſcriptions in *South-Sea* Annuities or Money at 3 *per Cent.* in order to redeem ſuch of the ſaid *South-Sea* Annuitants, as ſhould not agree to accept of that Intereſt; towards the End of which Debate *T——s W——n*, Eſq; ſtood up, as we then mentioned, *(ſee Page* 628) and ſpoke to the Effect, as follows, *viz.*

Sir, Whether a further Reduction of Intereſt, natural or legal, may tend towards the Benefit or the Diſadvantage of the Nation in general, or whether the natural Intereſt of Money, lent upon publick Securities, be below 3 *per Cent.* are Queſtions which I ſhall not at preſent give you the Trouble of enquiring into; but if both be reſolved in the Affirmative, which every Gentleman muſt do, who is for agreeing to what is now propoſed, I can ſee no Reaſon for our confining our Reſolution, or the Scheme depending thereon, to *South-Sea* Annuities only. For if a further Reduction of Intereſt muſt prove a Benefit to the Nation in general, we ought to extend that Benefit as far as we can ſuppoſe it will go; and if the natural Intereſt of Money upon publick Securities, be below 3 *per Cent.* it is not, in my Opinion, to be queſtioned, but the other Creditors of the Publick will be as ready to accept of 3 *per Cent.* irredeemable for 14 Years, as the *South-Sea* Annuitants.

For this Reaſon, Sir, if we come to any Reſolution for enabling his Majeſty to open ſuch Books of Subſcription as have been mentioned, that Reſolution ought, I think, to be general; it ought to comprehend all the other publick Creditors, as well as the *South-Sea* Annuitants: But, Sir, there is another very ſtrong Reaſon for making our Reſolution general, which is, that a particular Reſolution with reſpect to the *South-Sea* Annuitants only, will, in my Opinion, be partial, and conſequently unjuſt, let us conſider it in what View we pleaſe; for that Reſolution muſt be advantageous, or it muſt be diſadvantageous to the *South-Sea* Annuitants: If we look upon it as a Reſolution that may be advantageous to them, it will be ſhewing a Partiality in their Favour, and will conſequent-

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ly be doing an Injuſtice to the reſt of our Creditors; and on the other Hand, if we look upon it as a Reſolution that may be diſadvantageous for them, it will then be ſhewing a Partiality to our other Creditors, and will conſequently be a Piece of Injuſtice done towards the *South-Sea* Annuitants.

From theſe Conſiderations, Sir, I think, if we come to any Reſolution or Reſolutions for redeeming any of our publick Funds, and for enabling his Majeſty to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* for that Purpoſe, we ought to come to a Reſolution, to redeem all the publick Funds redeemable by Law, that now carry an Intereſt at 4 *per Cent. per Annum*; and then we may come to another Reſolution for enabling his Majeſty to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* for that Purpoſe.

Theſe, Sir, are my Sentiments with reſpect to the Affair now under our Conſideration; and if the Houſe ſeems to approve of them, I ſhall then riſe up and move for ſuch Reſolutions, as, I think, we ought to come to, agreeable to theſe Sentiments.

To this it was anſwered by Sir J—n B——d *and others, in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

Sir, There are two Methods of defeating any Scheme or Propoſition offered to this Houſe, both of which have been often practiſed with Succeſs. One is the plain, blunt Way of putting a Negative upon it at once; and the other, which has likewiſe been practiſed in former Parliaments, is what we may call a Sort of parliamentary Play, which is, by making ſuch Improvements upon it as muſt neceſſarily render it abortive. I am far from thinking the Hon. Gentleman has any ſuch Intention with reſpect to the Improvement he has now offered; but there is an old and a true Proverb, *Graſp at all, loſe all.* We have been told by ſeveral Gentlemen in this Debate, that the Scheme as firſt propoſed would certainly prove impracticable in the Execution; and if there was the leaſt Foundation for ſuch Apprehenſions, ſurely that Foundation muſt be very much widened, and rendered at the ſame Time more ſolid, by the Improvement that has been now offered. Our *South-Sea* Annuities both old and new amount to about 24 *Millions*, only; all our redeemable Funds bearing an Intereſt of 4 *per Cent.* amount to above 44 *Millions*; and will any Gentleman ſay, but that it may be eaſy for the Government to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* ſufficient for paying off ſuch of the Proprietors of 24 *Millions*, as are not willing to accept of that Intereſt, and yet it may be found very difficult for them to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* ſufficient for paying off ſuch of the Proprietors of 44 *Millions* as may not be willing to accept of that Intereſt?

If you reſolve, Sir, to apply all the Money you can borrow at 3 *per Cent.* only to the redeeming of ſuch of the *South Sea* Annuitants, as will not accept of that Intereſt, all the Annuitants may be of Opinion, you can borrow as much Money as will be ſufficient for that Purpoſe, which will of Courſe make all or moſt of them come in and ſubſcribe their Annuities at that Intereſt; ſo that you will have no Occaſion for applying any or but very little of the Money you borrow, towards redeeming any of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, and may therefore apply almoſt the whole Money you borrow, towards redeeming the Proprietors of your other Funds, who will not accept of 3 *per Cent.* upon any Terms you pleaſe to offer; whereas if you make that Reſolution general, if you reſolve to apply the Money you can borrow at 3 *per Cent.* towards redeeming the Proprietors of all your Funds which now bear an Intereſt of 4 *per Cent.* who will not accept of 3; not only the Proprietors of your other Funds, but even moſt of

of the *South-Sea* Annuitants may be of Opinion, it will not be in your Power to borrow ſo much Money at 3 *per Cent.* as will be near ſufficient for that Purpoſe; and thus the Fear of being redeemed being confined to a very few, you can expect but few Subſcriptions in Stock or Annuities at an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* Thus it appears evident, in my Opinion, that the farther you extend your Scheme, the leſs Benefit you can expect from it; the more you confine it, the more general and the more certain will your Succeſs be.

However, Sir, as it has been made appear in this Debate, that all our Funds are at an Intereſt below 3 *per Cent.* as our 3 *per Cent.* publick Securities now bear a Premium in *'Change-Alley*; and as the Intention of the Scheme at firſt was only to afford an Opportunity to thoſe who are willing to lend at 3 *per Cent.* of having a publick Security for their Money at Par, inſtead of being obliged to pay a Premium for it in *'Change-Alley*, and to afford an Opportunity to ſuch of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, as are willing to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for their Money, inſtead of having 4, and being ſubjected to the Trouble and Loſs of receiving and replacing ſo much of their Capital yearly, or every other Year; the ſmall Succeſs of the Scheme can be of no Prejudice to the Nation, but on the contrary, the leaſt Succeſs that can be ſuppoſed, will be a Benefit; for if but 1 *Million* in Stock and Money ſhould be ſubſcribed, the Nation will thereby ſave 10000 *l.* a Year; therefore rather than not have the Aſſiſtance of the Hon. Gentleman who has made you this Propoſition, and of his Friends, I ſhall be for agreeing to the Improvement he has been pleaſed to propoſe; but I hope the Hon. Gentleman and his Friends will remember, that the Scheme thus amended becomes properly their own Scheme, and that they will not afterwards endeavour to put a Negative upon the Scheme they have thus made their own.

The Scheme, even as thus amended, Sir, may turn out to be of ſignal Advantage to the Nation; but if that be true which has been hinted in this Debate, by ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who oppoſed the firſt Motion, I muſt confeſs, the Amendment would be dangerous. It has been inſinuated, that all the publick Creditors will join in concerting Meaſures for defeating the Scheme, that is to ſay, they will join in concerting Meaſures for diſtreſſing their Country, in order that they may extort a higher Intereſt from her, than ſhe would otherwiſe be obliged to pay. This, Sir, is, 'tis true, a Practice too frequent among petty, private Uſurers; but I hope none of the Creditors of the Publick will ever deſerve ſuch a Name; for if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe them devoid of all Love for their Country, their own Intereſt muſt ſuggeſt a contrary Behaviour: Their own Proſperity depends upon the Proſperity of their Country; even the Security of their Principal, as well as Intereſt, depends upon the Proſperity of their Debtor, which can ſeldom or ever be the Caſe of private Borrowers and Lenders; therefore, we cannot ſuppoſe the Creditors of the Publick will ever join unanimouſly in concerting any ſuch Meaſures. But if any ſuch Thing were to be dreaded, they will ſurely join more unanimouſly againſt the Scheme as thus amended, than it can be ſuppoſed they would have done againſt the Scheme as firſt propoſed. When a Nation has been offended by ſeveral of her Neighbours, if ſhe declares War againſt them all at once, ſhe will certainly unite them all together againſt her, and may probably involve herſelf in Ruin, inſtead of obtaining that Reparation which ſhe might eaſily have obtained, if ſhe had attacked them one after another. The Caſe is the ſame: If we reſolve to

reduce only a Part of our publick Funds to a lower Intereſt, the Proprietors of the other Funds not being in the ſame Circumſtances, will never join with them in the ſame Meaſures; but if we reſolve ro reduce them all at once, it brings them all into the ſame Circumſtances, and will, conſequently, make them all join in the ſame Meaſures. This, I ſay, Sir, would be the Caſe, if it could be ſuppoſed the Creditors of the Publick would ever join in any Meaſures for diſtreſſing their Country: In that Caſe we ought to look on them as publick Enemies, and then we ought in good Policy to take all poſſible Care not to unite them, by attacking them all at once; but I ſhall never look upon the publick Creditors as publick Enemies, nor ſhall I ever look upon an Endeavour to borrow Money at a low Intereſt as an Attack, even upon that Part of them who are by means of that Money to be paid off. Quite otherwiſe, I ſhall always look upon the publick Creditors as publick Friends; therefore, I muſt ſuppoſe they will join in Meaſures for rendering effectual, a Scheme calculated for giving an Eaſe to their Country, and that the more general the Intention of that Scheme is, the more generally, and the more unanimouſly, they will contribute towards its Succeſs. This, we ought in Charity to ſuppoſe, with regard to the publick Creditors in general, whatever may be the Behaviour of ſome few of them; and upon this Suppoſition, I can apprehend no Danger from the Improvement, or rather Enlargement, propoſed.

With regard to the Juſtice and Impartiality of the Scheme, I am ſurprized, Sir, to hear it queſtioned by any Gentleman who conſiders the publick Good, or the different Circumſtances of our ſeveral publick Creditors. The Scheme, as firſt propoſed, will, in my Opinion, be of great Advantage to all the *South-Sea* Annuitants. An Annuity of 3 *per Cent.* for their Money, irredeemable for 14 Years, is a Situation which, I am ſure, is highly preferable to their preſent; but this is an Advantage we ought not, for the Sake of publick Good, to grant to any of the other publick Creditors, if we can avoid it; it is an Advantage the *South-Sea* Annuitants deſerve more than the Generality of our other Creditors; and it is an Advantage which can breed no Confuſion among thoſe Annuitants; whereas the granting it to any other Set of publick Creditors might breed great Confuſion among them. As to the publick Good, we muſt conſider, that moſt of our other Creditors enjoy great excluſive Privileges in Trade, by Means of the Debt due to them; and as it may, in a few Years, be found neceſſary for the publick Good, to deſtroy, or put an End to that excluſive Privilege, therefore we ought not, for the Sake of publick Good, to grant them an irredeemable Term of 14 Years, if we can poſſibly avoid it; which we may do, if all the *South-Sea* Annuitants ſhould agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* and great Sums in ready Money ſhould likewiſe be ſubſcribed at that Intereſt. From hence every Man muſt ſee a good Reaſon for not granting this Advantage to the other publick Creditors in general; but with reſpect to the *Bank* in particular, it would be Madneſs and very great Partiality to grant it to them; becauſe their Term expires in 6 Years, ſo that it would be granting them a Continuance of their Term for 8 Years, which is worth above 800,000*l.* in preſent Money, and that for no particular Conſideration at all; for the Reduction of Intereſt from 4, to 3 *per Cent.* is a Conſideration granted by the other Creditors, as well as by them, tho' none of the other Creditors are to receive any ſuch Advantage.

Then, Sir, as to the particular Circumſtances

cumſtances of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, every one knows they enjoy no Advantage or Profit from the Money they have lent to the Publick, but merely that Annuity or yearly Intereſt paid them by the Publick; whereas the Proprietors of our *three* great Companies have all along enjoyed, and do ſtill enjoy, the Advantage of an excluſive Trade, by which all of them have made, and *two* of them do ſtill make a large annual Profit, beſides that Annuity or yearly Intereſt paid them by the Publick; therefore, if any new Advantage is to be granted to any of our publick Creditors, which ought not to be granted to all, if it can be avoided, ſurely the *South-Sea* Annuitants have the beſt Title to that new Advantage. And ſuppoſe *one Half* of the *South Sea* Annuitants ſhould agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* and the other *Half* ſhould not; and that the Money Subſcriptions ſhould amount to no more than 2, or 3 *Millions*; in that Caſe it would be impoſſible for the Publick to pay off at once, all the Annuitants ſo ſtanding out; the only Thing that could be done, would be to pay them their 4 *per Cent.* yearly, and to apply the Sinking Fund towards them only, till they ſhould all be paid off: With reſpect to the *South-Sea* Annuitants, this might be eaſily done, by dividing them into *four* Claſſes, *two* of old and new Annuities at 3 *per Cent.* or if you pleaſe you might make but *one* of both theſe, and *two* of old and new Annuities at 4 *per Cent.* in which Caſe all future Payments might be applied to the *two* latter, without breeding any Confuſion or cauſing any Diſputes: But, ſuppoſe this to be the Caſe of the Stockholders of our Trading Companies; it would breed great Confuſion among them, with regard to the Method of dividing the future Profits of their Trade, and it would cauſe great Diſputes; for the Proprietors of Stock at 4 *per Cent.* might inſiſt, they had a Right to a greater Share of the Profits of their Trade, than thoſe at 3 *per Cent.* eſpecially if it be true that the Annuity paid to theſe Companies by the Publick, enables them to increaſe their Trade; and even after the 4 *per Cents.* were all paid off, they might inſiſt upon their Share of the Profits by Trade, as long as the Company continued; in the ſame Manner as the preſent Proprietors of *Eaſt-India* Stock might inſiſt upon having their Profits by Trade divided among them, proportionably to their reſpective Shares, tho' the Debt due to them by the Publick ſhould be all immediately paid off.

From theſe Obſervations, Sir, it will appear, that the Favour deſigned by the Scheme, as firſt offered, to be ſhewn particularly to the *South-Sea* Annuitants, proceeds from a Regard for the publick Good, from a Regard for their ſuperior Merit, and from a proper Caution not to breed any Confuſion, or Diſpute among our other publick Creditors; and can any Gentleman ſay, that a Favour founded upon ſuch ſubſtantial Reaſons, is either partial or unjuſt? Therefore, if we ſuppoſe the Scheme advantageous for the *South-Sea* Annuitants, we cannot accuſe it of any Partiality or Injuſtice; and we cannot ſuppoſe it diſadvantageous to any ſuch Annuitant, becauſe, if he does not like the Terms propoſed, he may continue in the ſame Condition he is in at preſent; he may continue to enjoy his 4 *per Cent.* till his Capital be paid off, and I hope no Annuitant expects to enjoy it any longer, or imagines it is doing Injuſtice to him, to put the Publick in a Way of paying him off ſooner.

After what I have ſaid, Sir, it may be ſuppoſed, that I am againſt agreeing to the Amendment or Enlargement propoſed; and if I were, it would not be without good Reaſons; for

for it is certainly inconſiſtent with the publick Good to grant a Term of 14 Years irredeemable to any of our Trading Companies, if we could any way avoid it; and, I am ſure, it is inconſiſtent with the publick Good, to make a Preſent to the *Bank* of above 800,000*l.* which will be the Caſe, if we grant them a Prolongation of their Term for *eight* Years without any Conſideration; and, laſtly, I cannnot think it very conſiſtent with the publick Good to run the Risk of breeding a Confuſion and Diſpute among any of our publick Creditors: But as my Hopes of Succeſs depend entirely upon the hearty Concurrence of the honourable Gentleman and his Friends, I am for agreeing to what he has been pleaſed to propoſe; becauſe the firſt two Diſadvantages muſt, I find, be ſubmitted to, and the laſt will, I hope, be prevented, by each of our Companies coming to a Reſolution in their reſpective general Courts, to accept of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Terms offered, by which all Confuſion and Diſpute among their Proprietors will be prevented; therefore I hope the Hon. Gentleman will again riſe up, and move for ſuch Reſolutions as may be agreeable to what he has propoſed.

This was the Subſtance of what was ſaid upon this new Topick, and there being no Occaſion for any Reply, the following Reſolution was moved for and agreed to, *viz.*

'That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that *all* the publick Funds redeemable by Law, which carry an Intereſt of 4 *per Cent. per Annum*, be redeemed according to the reſpective Proviſoes or Clauſes of Redemption contained in the Acts of Parliament for that Purpoſe, or *(with Conſent of the Proprietors)* be converted into an Intereſt or Annuity not exceeding 3 *per Cent. per Annum*, not redeemable till after 14 Years.'

In Conſequence of this, the following Reſolution was moved for and likewiſe agreed to, *viz.*

'That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that his Majeſty be enabled to borrow from any Perſon or Perſons, Bodies politick or corporate, any Sum or Sums of Money at an Intereſt not exceeding 3 *per Cent.* to be applied towards redeeming the national Debt.'

On *Wedneſday, March* 30, theſe Reſolutions were reported by Sir *Charles Turner* to the Houſe; and the firſt Reſolution being read a ſecond Time, and a new Debate ariſing, a Motion was made for adjourning the further Conſideration of the ſaid Report till *Thurſday, April* 14; but upon the Queſtion's being put, it was carried in the Negative.

Then an Amendment to the Reſolution was propoſed by G——l *W——de*, and ſeconded by *W——r P——r*, Eſq; *viz.* That inſtead of the Words, *not exceeding* 3 *per Cent. per Annum*, the Words, *not exceeding* 3 *and* ½ *per Cent. per Annum*, ſhould be inſerted. Upon which *S——l S——s*, Eſq; took Notice, That the Amendment propoſed was ſuch a one as could not be made upon a Report; becauſe it was for a larger Sum annually than what they had agreed to in the Committee; and that therefore, if they had a Mind to allow a higher Intereſt than 3 *per Cent.* they muſt recommit the Reſolution. Whereupon Mr. *P——r* ſaid, That, as had before been taken Notice of *, the Affair's depending in that Houſe had, he found, occaſioned ſo much Gaming in *'Change-Alley*, that if the Amendment he had ſeconded, could not be agreed to upon the Report, he would be againſt recommitting; becauſe he was for having the Affair determined ſome way or other with as great Expedition as poſſible, in order to put

* *By* T——t G—te, *Eſq; upon the Motion for Adjourning.*

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a Stop to that infamous Practice of Stockjobbing.

Nevertheleſs, a Motion was made for recommitting; but upon the Queſtion's being put, it was, upon a Diviſion, carried in the Negative by 220 to 157.

After which, both the Reſolutions were agreed to, and Sir *John Barnard*, Mr. *Wortley*, and the *Maſter of the Rolls*, were ordered to prepare and bring in a Bill upon the Reſolutions ſo agreed to.

The chief Speakers in theſe Debates in the Committee and upon the Report, for the Reduction, were, Sir *J—n B——d*, the M—r of the R—lls, *E——d W——y M——gu*, Eſq; *J—n H—we*, Eſq; *T——s G—re*, Eſq; *S——l S——ys*, Eſq; &c. and the chief Speakers againſt the Reduction were Mr. A——n *H——te*, *P—r B——l*, Eſq; *S——l H——n*, Eſq; Sir *C—les W—r*, G—l *W——de*, *J—s O——pe*, Eſq; *R—t K——t*, Eſq; &c. and Sir *R—t W——le*, who ſpoke not ſo much againſt the Reduction, as againſt its being then a proper Time for undertaking ſuch a Scheme.

As ſoon as this Bill was ordered to be brought in, Sir *J—n B——d* ſtood up, and after making a ſhort Speech, moved, 'That that Houſe would, as ſoon as the Intereſt of all the national redeemable Debt ſhould be reduced to 3 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, take off ſome of the heavy Taxes, which oppreſs the Poor and the Manufacturers.'

Upon this Motion there enſued a Debate, in which the Arguments for the Motion were to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

Sir, As the Increaſe, or rather the Revival of our Trade, is one of the chief Ends intended by the Reſolutions we have now agreed to, and as the Proſperity of Trade depends as much upon the low Rate of Wages as upon the low Rate of Intereſt, I ſhall beg Leave to make you a Motion for another Reſolution, which I take to be a natural Conſequence of the two Reſolutions we have now agreed to; but before I make you the Motion I intend, I ſhall take the Liberty to make ſome Obſervations upon the Nature of Trade in general; and in the firſt Place, I muſt obſerve, that natural Commodities, however valuable, by which I mean ſuch as are produced without any great Art or Induſtry of the People, are never of any great Service to a Country, becauſe they maintain no great Number of Subjects, nor enrich many Individuals. The Gold and Silver of the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* Settlements in *America* are Commodities of great Value; but as they are produced by the Labour of Slaves, and enrich only the King and a few great Lords, they have rather diminiſhed than increaſed the Power and the Riches of both thoſe Kingdoms; the Reaſon of which is, becauſe they maintain no great Number of induſtrious Subjects, in which the Power of a Country conſiſts; and the Riches that belong entirely to the King, or to a few great Men, are generally waſted in Luxury and Extravagance, or employed in ambitious Projects, which no way tend to the publick Good of the Country. This prevents the Increaſe of natural born Subjects, and renders ſuch as they have lazy, idle, and extravagant; ſo that thoſe very Riches, which are brought in by the Labour of their Slaves, they are every Year obliged to ſend out, for purchaſing the Neceſſaries of Life, or ſuch Things as are proper for ſupporting their Luxury.

From hence we may ſee, Sir, that the only Commodities proper for increaſing or ſupporting the Power and the Riches of a Country, are thoſe which are produced by the Art and Induſtry of the Inhabitants. The Production or Manufacture, and Sale or Exchange, of ſuch Commodities

is that only which can properly be called Trade; and of ſuch Commodities no Country can have any great Quantity, unleſs they can ſell them cheaper than any of their Neighbours can ſell Commodities of the ſame Kind and Goodneſs. Now as the original Materials of all ſuch Commodities are to be got by the People of all Countries, at pretty near the ſame Price, the Difference between the Price of ſuch Commodities when work'd up in one Country, and the Price of them when work'd up in another, muſt always depend upon the Price of Labour; that is to ſay, the Wages given to Workmen and Servants; for no ſuch Commodities can be ſold ſo cheap by the People of a Country where the Wages given to Workmen and Servants are high, as Commodities of the ſame Kind and Goodneſs may be ſold by the People of a Country where the Wages given to Workmen and Servants are low; but in all Countries the Price of Labour, or the Wages given to Workmen and Servants, muſt depend upon the Price of thoſe Proviſions which are neceſſary for their convenient Support; I ſay, Sir, their convenient Support; for even the pooreſt Workman muſt and will have ſome of the Conveniencies of Life; and that Country where the uſual Price of Labour can afford the Labourers moſt of the Conveniencies of Life, will always at laſt come to have the greateſt Number of Workmen, in all Sorts of Trade and Manufacture. A Glut of Buſineſs, or a Scarcity of Workmen, may ſometimes occaſion the Wages of Workmen and Servants to be higher in one Country than another; but if the Price of the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life be equal in both, the Workmen will by Degrees leave the Country where Wages are low, and repair to that Country where Wages are high; by which Means the Price of Labour in both Countries will at laſt be brought upon a Par: This will always be the Caſe where the Price of the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life is the ſame in both Countries; but if the Price of the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life, by Accident or bad Meaſures, become dearer in one Country than in another, and continue ſo for ſome Time, in that Country where ſuch Neceſſaries and Conveniencies are deareſt, the Price of Labour muſt riſe, or their Workmen and Servants will all leave them; for tho' the Deſire to live in their native Country may keep them at home for ſome Time, and may make them chuſe to live much more ſparingly by their Labour at home, than they could do by the ſame Labour in another Country, *yet ſome will be every Year deſerting, and the more that have deſerted, the greater Encouragement will thoſe that remain have to deſert*; ſo that the Deſertion muſt neceſſarily and inevitably at laſt become general.

This, I ſay, Sir, will certainly be the Event, if the Price of Labour, or the Wages of Workmen, are not raiſed in Proportion as the Price of the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life riſes in any Country; and if the Price of Labour be raiſed higher in one Country than it is in another, we may eaſily ſee what will be the neceſſary Conſequence. As the Price of the original Materials of all Sorts of Commodities produced by the Art and Induſtry of the People, is pretty much the ſame in all Countries, thoſe Commodities may be ſold cheaper by the People of that Country where the Price of Labour is cheap, than they can be by the People of that Country where the Price of Labour is dear; the neceſſary Conſequence of which muſt be, that the former, by underſelling, will firſt beat the latter out of all foreign Markets, and at laſt even out of their own home Market; for tho' a Country may by ſevere

ſevere Laws and high Penalties, for ſome Time, prevent the Importation of thoſe foreign Commodities which are of the ſame Nature with their own, yet the Execution of ſuch Laws will at laſt become ſo grievous to the People, that it muſt either be neglected or the Laws repealed; becauſe the People can never be perſuaded it is a Crime to buy at the cheapeſt Hand, nor can they bear to ſee their fellow Countrymen puniſhed for what they think no Crime: They neither will nor can enquire into the Cauſes of the Dearneſs of ſuch Commodities in their own Country, but will think it proceeds from the Covetouſneſs of thoſe concerned in the Trade; therefore ſuch Laws always have produced, and always will at laſt produce Murmurings and Inſurrections among the People; ſo that the Government at laſt will be obliged, for the Sake of Quiet, to let the People buy where they beſt can; and this Liberty will put a full Stop to any Manufactures that may then be remaining among them.

There are many other Conſiderations, Sir, which contribute towards rendering Trade more flouriſhing in one Country than another; ſuch as a happy Conſtitution of Government, and good Laws and Cuſtoms for ſecuring the Liberty and Property of the Subject; a Regard and Eſteem ſhewn by the Laws for Merchants and Tradeſmen; a low Rate of the natural Intereſt of Money; and many others; but this I will ſay, that of two Countries alike in all other Circumſtances, the Trade of that Country will flouriſh moſt where the Price of Labour is cheapeſt, and where they may have the original Materials of thoſe Commodities which are produced by the Art and Induſtry of the People, at the cheapeſt Rate. Nay, if there be a Rivalſhip between them, as to the Production of any ſuch Commodity, we may depend on it the former will at laſt beat the other entirely out of the Buſineſs. From hence we may ſee, how ruinous it muſt be to the Trade of any Country, to lay Taxes upon any Proviſions that are neceſſary for the convenient Support of their Labourers, Manufacturers, or Tradeſmen; or upon any of the original Materials of thoſe Commodities, which are produced by the Art and Induſtry of their People: From hence we muſt ſee that the Trade of any ſuch Country muſt neceſſarily at laſt be undone, if their Neighbours be in any Sort of Condition to take Advantage of the Slip they have made: And from hence we muſt ſee, how neceſſary it is for us to take the moſt effectual and the moſt immediate Meaſures for relieving our People, from thoſe Taxes which lie heavy not only upon almoſt all Sorts of Proviſions, but upon almoſt all Sorts of Materials. We may make Laws againſt Smuggling, we may make Laws againſt exporting our Wool, we may make Laws againſt inveigling our Workmen into foreign Countries: Theſe are but quackiſh Remedies; if we have a Mind to work a thorough Cure, we muſt remove the Cauſe, which certainly proceeds from our many heavy Taxes; for none of our Workmen would go to foreign Countries, if they could live more conveniently by their Labour in this, than they could in any other; none of our Wool would be exported, if it could be wrought up in this Country cheaper than in any other, eſpecially, if by our Treaties we took care to have a free Entry for our Manufactures into every Country; and no foreign Manufacture would be imported upon us, if the prime Coſt were higher than the ſame Sort of Manufacture could be bought for, here at home.

I know, Sir, it has been ſaid our Taxes are no Way inſupportable,

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nor heavier in this Country than they are in *Holland* or *France*; but if thoſe Gentlemen would compare the Taxes and the Methods of raiſing them in this Country, with the Taxes and Methods of raiſing them either in *France* or *Holland*, or any other Country of *Europe*, they will find that the Taxes in this Country are more burdenſome upon Trade, and the Methods of raiſing them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any Country of *Europe*; inſomuch that, if it were not for the natural Advantage we enjoy by means of our Situation, and the many flouriſhing Plantations we have in the *Weſt-Indies*, and for that artificial Advantage which has been handed down to us from our wiſe Anceſtors, and which, I hope, we ſhall take care to preſerve, I mean the ſuperior Excellence of our Conſtitution, Laws, and Cuſtoms; I ſay, if it were not for theſe Advantages, I am convinced, our Trade would already have been entirely loſt. Theſe Advantages, eſpecially our Plantations, and the great Exports and Imports we make to and from them, have hitherto preſerved our Trade and our Manufactures; but our Plantations will at laſt fall upon Ways and Means to furniſh themſelves with foriegn Manufactures, or with ſuch as are work'd up among themſelves, if they find they can do it at a much cheaper Rate than they can have any ſuch from us; and with reſpect to our Imports from thence, ſuch as Sugars, Rum, Tobacco, Skins, and the like, we may continue for many Years to ſupply our home Market with ſuch Commodities from our own Plantations, by Means of prohibitory Laws and high Duties upon foreign Commodities of the ſame Kind; but if our preſent high Rate of Intereſt and high Duties continue, and if the *French* continue to improve their Plantations for Years to come, as faſt as they have done for theſe *twenty* Years paſt, I am afraid it may ſoon be put out of our Power to ſupply any foreign Market with any even of thoſe Commodities; and if all foreign Markets ſhould be ſhut up againſt us, both with reſpect to our home Manufactures, and with reſpect to the Produce of our Plantations, our Luxury muſt either greatly diminiſh, or we would ſoon have no Occaſion to be afraid of Foreigners drawing our Money away from us, by the Sale of their Property in our Funds; for if they could ſell that Property for any Price, which is much to be queſtioned, they would find no Money in the Kingdom to draw out of it, they would be obliged to take and export our Corn, Cattle, Tin, Lead, or Wool, in lieu of that Property they had ſo diſpoſed of.

That the Dearneſs of Proviſions, and conſequently of Labour, in this Kingdom, does not proceed from Money being more plenty in this Country than in *France* or *Holland*, is evident, Sir, from the natural Rate of Intereſt between Man and Man being higher in this Country than in either of the other two; and the Dearneſs of Proviſions and Labour, in and about *London*, does not ſo much proceed from a greater Plenty of Money in and about *London*, as from their Taxes being more numerous, and more heavy, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; for all Taxes are more ſtrictly raiſed in and about *London* than in any other Part of the Kingdom; and the Inhabitants in and about *London*, even thoſe of the pooreſt Sort, are ſubject to *two* moſt grievous Taxes, which almoſt every other Part of the Kingdom is free from: I mean the Tax upon Coals, and upon Ale-Houſes by Virtue of the Pot Act, both which fall extreamly heavy upon the poor Labourer and Manufacturer,

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turer, and must necessarily make both Provisions and Labour much dearer in and about *London*, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; therefore, I hope, these *two* Taxes will be among the first to be taken off; for I must think the Manufacturers and Labourers in and about *London*, if they are not put upon an equal Footing with their foreign Neighbours, they ought at least to be put upon an equal Footing with their domestick Neighbours; especially considering that they will be the greatest Sufferers by the Reduction of the Interest payable upon our publick Funds. But there is another strong Reason for making Labour as cheap as possible in and about *London*, because there are many Sorts of Manufactures which cannot so conveniently be carried on in any Part of the Kingdom as in or near *London*, and all Ships which carry out a Cargoe consisting of a great Variety of Sorts of Goods, properly sorted for the foreign Market to which they are bound, must take their Cargoe and Departure generally from *London*; so that a great Part of our foreign Trade, as long as we have any, must always depend upon our Exports from the Port of *London*; and many of our homeward bound Ships must come to unload the Whole or a Part of their Cargoe at *London*, before they can return to the Port from whence they set out: For which Reason we ought, if possible, to render the Price of Provisions, and consequently the Price of Labour, as cheap at *London*, as it is in any Part of this Kingdom, or in any trading Country in *Europe*; at least, I am sure, we ought neither to impose nor continue any Tax, which must necessarily enhance the Price both of the one and the other.

After having thus shewn the necessary and the fatal Consequences of Taxes upon the Necessaries of Life, or upon the original Materials proper for any Manufacture, I am convinced every Gentleman that hears me will be of Opinion that, as soon as the Interest payable upon our publick Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* we ought to annihilate some Part of the Sinking Fund, by abolishing some of the heavy Taxes that oppress our poor Labourers and Manufacturers; for that we have some such cannot I think be questioned, after what his present Majesty was pleased to recommend to us from the Throne but a few Years since. And in order to convince all those without Doors that this is our real Intention, we ought, I think, immediately to come to some such Resolution; because it will not only contribute towards the Success of the Scheme we have just now agreed to, but it will likewise contribute towards preventing some of our Workmen from going abroad, who are now perhaps making Preparations for that Purpose, and towards prevailing with some Masters of Manufactures to continue in their Business, who are now perhaps, through Despair, resolving to give it up. When our moneyed Men and other Stockholders see a solemn Resolution of Parliament for abolishing some of our most heavy Taxes, and when they consider the great Benefit that may accrue therefrom to our Trade, and the great Relief it will afford to our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, if they have the least Regard for their Country, they will certainly contribute with the more Alacrity towards the Success of a Scheme, from which so many publick Benefits may be reasonably expected; and even the most selfish Stockholders will find in such a Resolution this Comfort, that if their Revenue be diminished by the Reduction of Interest, their Loss will be in some Measure compensated by the Diminution of their Expence, which will be the necessary Consequence of abolishing any of our heavy Taxes,

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not only with regard to those Commodities which are discharged of the Tax, but with regard to all other Sorts of Commodities; for a Tax upon any one of the Necessaries of Life must enhance the Price not only of all the other Necessaries of Life, but likewise of all those Things that are proper either for the Conveniency or the Luxury of Life. Therefore, the Abolishing of some of our heavy Taxes must necessarily lessen the future Expence of every Family in the Kingdom, especially about *London*, where all Taxes are most strictly raised, and most severely felt; and consequently a Resolution for that Purpose must naturally tend towards making every Man contribute, with the more Alacrity, to the Success of the Scheme we have now agreed to.

Such a Resolution, Sir, will not only contribute to the Success of the Scheme without Doors, but it will likewise contribute greatly to its Success within Doors; for I must confess, I should myself be very indifferent about its Success, either within Doors or without, if I did not think that the Abolishing of some of our heavy Taxes would be the necessary Consequence of the reducing the Interest payable upon the publick Funds: If the People were to receive no Benefit by such Reduction, if I thought the only Advantage to be reaped thereby, would be the Increase of the Sinking Fund, I should be very little anxious about the Success of the Scheme; because I am now fully convinced, That Fund will never be religiously and regularly applied to the Uses for which it was intended; but will always serve as a Fund for leading the Nation into expensive and unnecessary Projects or Measures; and may hereafter be made use of for rendering successful the most wicked Purposes an ambitious Prince or a guilty Minister can invent or contrive. For this Reason, I am sure, there are many Gentlemen in both Houses of Parliament, who will be much more sanguine for the passing of the Bill now ordered to be brought in, than they would otherwise be, if they are assured that the Reduction of Interest will be attended with a Diminution of Taxes; and nothing can contribute more towards giving Gentlemen such an Assurance, than a previous Resolution of this House, that as soon as the Interest is reduced, some of our most burdensome Taxes will be abolished; therefore, whatever Gentlemen may pretend, whatever their outward Professions may be, I shall not easily believe they are really and in their Hearts for passing the Bill we have ordered to be brought in, if they are against the *Motion* I am now to make.

In the Debate, Sir, upon the Resolutions of the Committee it was, I think, made fully appear, that a Reduction of Interest would be a great Advantage to the Nation in general; and as these Resolutions have been agreed to by the House, I must conclude the Majority are of the same Opinion; yet such is the Selfishness of some Men without Doors, who are great Stockholders, and who consequently will be great Losers by what has been agreed to within Doors, that they will not be, or will pretend they are not convinced of what I think is evident at first View. They not only endeavour to convince themselves, but they endeavour to convince others, that the Nation will be no way benefited by what we have resolved on, but that on the contrary most Tradesmen and Artificers will be Losers; and the chief, nay the only Argument they make use of, or indeed can make use of, is, That we have no Design to abolish any of the Taxes, but only to increase the Sinking Fund: Thus say they to Tradesmen and Artificers, you will be no Gainers by this

this Scheme, becauſe you muſt pay the ſame Taxes you did before; and as our Revenue is to be leſſened, we muſt contract our Expence, we cannot lay out ſo much Money with you as we did before, ſo that you will be Loſers, inſtead of being Gainers by the Reduction of Intereſt. This, Sir, is their Argument, and by Means of this Argument they may raiſe up a Spirit of Diſcontent among the People; for it is not eaſy to perſuade the Generality of Mankind of the Advantages they may reap by the Reduction of Intereſt, unleſs they be made to feel ſome immediate Advantage by the aboliſhing of Taxes; therefore to evade this Argument, and to obviate the pernicious Deſigns of ſuch ſelfiſh Men, we ought now to come to a Reſolution, that as ſoon as the Reduction of Intereſt takes Place, ſome of the moſt heavy Taxes ſhall certainly be taken off. It will then be eaſy for any Man, who is a Friend to the Scheme, or to his Country, to ſhew to every Tradeſman, Shopkeeper, and Labourer, that he muſt neceſſarily be a Gainer by the Reduction of Intereſt; and this will of courſe reconcile great Numbers of People to the intended Reduction of Intereſt, and to his Majeſty's Government; at leaſt it will put it out of the Power of thoſe who, from ſelfiſh Views, are Enemies to both, to raiſe any popular Diſcontent againſt either the one or the other.

From this Obſervation, Sir, I muſt beg Leave to ſay, that no Man, who is a real Friend to the Scheme, and to his Majeſty and his Government, can, in my Opinion, be againſt our agreeing to ſuch a Reſolution as I have mentioned; for, however much the Affections and good Opinion of the Populace may be deſpiſed by ſome Men, and tho' I do not think a Popularity ſhould be courted by unjuſtifiable Means, or by mean and imprudent Compliances, yet I think the Love of the People in general is what every Government, and every private Man, ought to endeavour to obtain; and therefore, when we ſee the People miſled, or attempted to be miſled, we ought to take all poſſible Meaſures to undeceive them, or to prevent their being deceived by ſelfiſh and deſigning Men. However, Sir, when I ſay this, I would not have it thought, that I look upon the Revilings or the Applauſes of a mercenary Mob, a Mob headed by *Clerks* of the —— —— and other ſuch mercenary Creatures, to be any Teſtimony either of the Hatred or the Affections of the People; for ſuch Creatures I muſt always look on as Enemies to the People, and ſhall always be proud of meriting their Reſentment.

I think, Sir, I need not add any Thing further for ſhewing the Reaſonableneſs and the Neceſſity of the Reſolution I have mentioned; therefore I ſhall conclude with making you this Motion, to reſolve, That this Houſe will, as ſoon, &c. (as before mentioned.)

To this it was anſwered in Subſtance as follows, viz.

Sir, I ſhall readily agree with the Honourable Gentleman who has made you this Motion, that Taxes upon the Neceſſaries or Conveniencies of Life muſt increaſe the Price of Labour, and that it would be a great Advantage to the Trade of this Country, and a great Relief to the People, if we could aboliſh ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes; but I cannot agree with him in thinking, that the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdenſome upon Trade, or the Methods of raiſing them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries; and much leſs can I agree with him, that it is either proper or neceſſary for us to come to any immediate Reſolution, to abo-

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liſh ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes, as ſoon as the Intereſt of all the national redeemable Debt ſhall be reduced to 3 *per Cent. per Annum*. I wiſh the Hon. Gentleman had been at ſome more Pains to ſhew us how the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdenſome upon Trade, or the Methods of raiſing them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries; for theſe are Facts which, I think, deſerve ſome Proof, and if any ſuch Thing had been attempted, ſome Methods might have been found for ſhewing wherein he was miſtaken; for to a ſimple Averment of a Fact, without one Proof or one Argument for enforcing the Belief of it, no Anſwer can be made but a contrary Averment; and in this, with reſpect to *France* at leaſt, I am ſure I may be juſtified; for all their Taxes are not only impoſed but raiſed in an arbitrary Manner; and as moſt of their Taxes are farmed by Merchants and Dealers, their People are not only loaded with the Tax, but oppreſſed with a Monopoly, which thoſe Farmers have generally the Addreſs to get into their own Hands, by means of the Privileges they enjoy, as Farmers of that particular Branch of the Revenue. In *Holland*, indeed, the peculiar Nature of their Country makes it more eaſy for them to raiſe their Taxes, than it is poſſible for us to raiſe any Tax we can impoſe; but in the main their Taxes are much heavier upon the Neceſſaries of Life, and conſequently more burdenſome to Trade, than they are in any Part of this Country, not excepting the City of *London* itſelf; where the Taxes, I ſhall grant, are more ſtrictly raiſed, and are more numerous, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; but this does not proceed from any Partiality towards the reſt of the Kingdom: It proceeds from the Nature of Things, which renders it impoſſible to raiſe the Taxes ſo ſtrictly, or to impoſe ſo many, in any other Part of the Kingdom, as in *London*, and within the Bills of Mortality; and this Diſadvantage is fully made good to the Inhabitants in and about *London*, by its being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the Center, as it were, of all the Trade and publick Buſineſs within the *Britiſh* Dominions.

With regard to *France* and *Holland* therefore, I muſt think, Sir, and it has always been the general Opinion, that the Subjects of each are more loaded, and more oppreſſed with Taxes and Exciſes, than the People of this Kingdom; and with regard to any other Country of *Europe*, they may not perhaps have ſo many or ſo large Taxes as we have, becauſe their People in general are not near ſo rich; but in each of them their Taxes are more heavy in Proportion to their Riches than in this Country, and their Method of raiſing Taxes is more arbitrary and more oppreſſive; from whence I muſt conclude, our Taxes can give no Country in *Europe* an Advantage over us in Trade, nor can the Price of Labour, or the Wages of their Servants or Workmen, be cheaper than it is here; at leaſt, if it is, that Cheapneſs muſt proceed from their not having ſo great a Plenty of Money, or from their Workmen and Servants being more frugal and induſtrious, by which they are enabled to live upon leſs Wages. Nevertheleſs, I ſhall grant, the Aboliſhing of ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes would be a great Benefit to the Nation, and a great Encouragement to our Trade, becauſe it would give us a great additional Advantage in Trade, over every one of our Neighbours; therefore I wiſh with all my Heart it could be done, but in our preſent Circumſtances I do not think it poſſible, or at leaſt not conſiſtent with the preſent and future Happineſs of the Nation; for our Government muſt be ſupported, and

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not only the Intereſt of our publick Debts muſt be regularly paid, but a Part of the Principal muſt be yearly diſcharged, in order that we may at laſt get free of our Debt as well as of moſt of our Taxes. If we aboliſh any of our Taxes before our Debts are paid off, we muſt remain longer in Debt, and conſequently muſt remain longer under thoſe Taxes that are left unaboliſhed; ſo that the only Difference is, whether we ſhall remain under *two* Taxes of equal Value for 20 Years, or under *one* of theſe Taxes only, for 40 Years? Which is a Queſtion that in my Opinion is very doubtful, and requires a very mature Conſideration. However, ſuppoſe I were to admit that ſome of our Taxes ought to be taken off, as ſoon as the Intereſt payable upon our publick Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* ſuppoſe I were to admit that it would be better for the Nation to remain 40 Years under a Tax of 100,000*l.* yearly, than to remain but 20 Years under *two* Taxes of 100,000*l.* yearly each; yet I cannot admit that it is either neceſſary or proper for this Houſe, upon the preſent Occaſion, to come to any ſuch Reſolution as has been propoſed.

Every one knows, Sir, and the Gentleman who moved you this Queſtion is very ſenſible, that no Parliament has any Power or Authority over a future Parliament, nor can the Reſolution of one Seſſion be a Tye or Obligation upon any ſucceeding Seſſion. The Event which the Reſolution propoſed relates to, is an Event which cannot poſſibly happen during this Seſſion: It is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that during this Seſſion the Intereſt upon all our publick Funds can be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* therefore our reſolving what ſhall be done when that Event happens, is undertaking for a future Seſſion, which we have no Power over, nor can pretend to preſcribe to. For this Reaſon, if the Intention of the Reſolution be to encourage our publick Creditors to come in and ſubſcribe their reſpective Debts at 3 *per Cent.* I muſt beg Leave to ſay it is in ſome Meaſure a Sort of fraudulent Intention, becauſe it is offering them a Conſideration which we have no Power to offer, it is making them a Promiſe which we cannot fulfil; nor oblige any ſucceeding Seſſion to fulfil; and I hope this Houſe will always be ſo careful of its Honour, as never to come to any Reſolution or Determination, that may bear the leaſt Imputation of being any Way fraudulent or deceitful.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, we had a Power to reſolve or determine what ſhall be done by any future Seſſion, yet upon the preſent Occaſion we ought to avoid coming to any ſuch Reſolution or Determination, as what is now propoſed; becauſe it will be looked on as a Sort of Threatening. It is a Sort of publick Declaration, that the Nation ſhall never be freed from any of its Taxes, till the publick Creditors agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for the Money due to them, but that it ſhall be freed from ſome of its moſt heavy Taxes, as ſoon as they agree to accept of that Intereſt. By ſuch a Declaration what an unlucky Circumſtance ſhall we put all our Creditors in? They muſt give up *a fourth* Part of their Revenue, which many of them can very ill ſpare, they muſt accept of a lower Intereſt for their Money than any other Man in the Kingdom has, or they muſt expoſe themſelves to the Malice and Reſentment of the People in general; for upon their Refuſal every Man in the Kingdom would look upon them as the Cauſe of all the Taxes he pays, and every unfortunate Man would look upon them as the Authors of his Miſery. Nor does it ſignify any Thing to ſay, that thoſe who do not chuſe to accept of, or cannot live upon, 3 *per Cent.* for their Money, may ſell out and

and imploy their Money where they beſt can; for if many of them ſhould reſolve to ſell out, it would ſoon bring the Price of every one of our Funds below Par, and then they would be reduced to the hard Neceſſity of loſing a Part of their Capital, or of taking ſuch an Intereſt as the Publick ſhould be pleaſed to give them. After ſuch a publick Declaration therefore, moſt of thoſe who are now the Creditors of the Publick, muſt neceſſarily remain ſo, and if they do, they muſt either accept of 3 *per Cent.* or they muſt expoſe themſelves to the Malice and Reſentment of the whole Nation, which is a Circumſtance no wiſe Man would chuſe; and for this Reaſon I muſt look upon the Reſolution propoſed, as a Sort of threatening and frightening our Creditors into the Accepting of 3 *per Cent.* which is a Sort of Treatment I ſhall never, for any Conſideration, agree to.

This, Sir, is a Method of treating our publick Creditors, which I hope we ſhall never have the leaſt Occaſion for; and in order to prevent the Nation's being of Opinion that they can never be freed from Taxes, unleſs the Intereſt upon all our publick Funds be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* and conſequently to prevent any publick Creditor from incurring the Reſentment of the People for refuſing to accept of that Intereſt, I muſt beg leave to put you in Mind, that tho' the Intereſt of our publick Funds be never reduced below what it is at preſent, yet if our Taxes be continued, and the Sinking Fund regularly applied, the People may be freed from all their Taxes, except ſuch as are neceſſary for the current Service, in about 24 Years, ſuppoſing our Debts to be 48 *Millions*, and the annual Amount of the Sinking Fund to be 1,200,000*l.* And that if it ſhould be thought for the Benefit of the Nation to aboliſh ſome of our heavy Taxes, before our Debts be wholly paid off, we may now do it without any Reduction of Intereſt, and yet leave a very conſiderable Sinking Fund remaining for the Payment of a Part of our Debts yearly: Nay, all the Advantage we can expect by the great Reduction propoſed, is only an Addition of about 400,000*l.* a Year to the Sinking Fund, and that Addition we ſhall acquire in leſs than 8 Years, without any Reduction of Intereſt, or threatening our publick Creditors with the publick Reſentment; ſo that in leſs than 8 Years Time we ſhall be in as good a Condition for aboliſhing Taxes, and may aboliſh as many of them, without any ſuch Reduction, as we can do at preſent, ſuppoſing ſuch a Reduction were already brought about: From all which I muſt conclude, that, *with reſpect* to the Aboliſhing of Taxes, it is no Matter of any great Moment to the People, whether the Reduction takes place or not.

I ſhall readily grant, Sir, that the Reducing of the Intereſt upon our Funds from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* would be a conſiderable Saving to the Publick; but to pretend that the Aboliſhing of Taxes equal in Value to that Reduction, would be a Compenſation to the publick Creditors for the Loſs of *one fourth* Part of their yearly Revenue, is what I am not a little ſurprized at; for the Aboliſhing of the Duties upon *Candles* and *Soap* would amount almoſt to the full Value of what we could ſave by the Reduction, and to pretend that the Saving of 1 *d. a Pound* upon *Candles* and 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *a Pound* upon *Soap*, would be a Compenſation to a Man who loſes 100*l.* a Year or more by the Reduction, is ſomething very extraordinary. But ſuppoſe I ſhould admit that the Saving in one Way would be a Compenſation for the Loſs in the other, that Compenſation is what we have no Power to promiſe, and therefore we ought not

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to propoſe it as an Inducement for any of our Creditors to accept of 3 *per Cent.* nor ought we by any Reſolution to give them Hopes of its being a Compenſation they will certainly meet with; for, I am ſure, in private Life, it would not be reckoned very honourable for a Man to promiſe, or ſo much as inſinuate, a Reward or Compenſation, which he had no Power to give; and as in all our Proceedings we have been, ſo I hope we always will be as jealous of our Honour, as any private Man can or ought to be.

For this Reaſon, Sir, we ought not to make any ſuch Promiſe, or propoſe any ſuch Compenſation, even tho' the People without Doors were ſo far miſtaken about the Power of Parliament, as to imagine the Reſolutions of one Seſſion were binding upon every ſucceeding Seſſion; but as the People without Doors are fully apprized of the Extent of our Power, as it is generally known without Doors, as well as within, that no Reſolution of this Seſſion can lay an indiſpenſable Obligation upon any future Seſſion, therefore we cannot expect that the Reſolution now propoſed, or any ſuch Reſolution, can any way contribute to the Revival of our Trade, the Succeſs of the Scheme now before us, or the rendering the People better or more generally well affected towards his Majeſty and his Government, than they are at preſent. On the contrary, I believe it would have a quite contrary Effect, with regard to every one of theſe three Purpoſes; becauſe it would give the People without Doors a mean Opinion of our Proceedings, and the Enemies to the Scheme would not fail to repreſent ſuch a Reſolution in the moſt ridiculous Light.

From hence, Sir, I muſt beg leave to differ ſo far from the Hon. Gentleman, as to think, that no Gentleman who is a real Friend to our Trade, or to the Scheme, or to his Majeſty and his Government, will be for agreeing to the Reſolution propoſed: I am ſure, if the Hon. Gentleman viewed it in the ſame Light I do, he would never have offered it to the Houſe: And I muſt ſay, I have the Pleaſure to think, that neither of the Ends propoſed ſtand in need of any ſuch Reſolution. Our Trade is now, I believe, in as flouriſhing a Condition as ever it was; therefore, tho' it might perhaps be increaſed by an actual Diſcharge from ſome of our Taxes, yet it could not be ſaid to be revived even by the Diſcharge itſelf, and much leſs by an inſignificant Reſolution for that Purpoſe. Then as to the Succeſs of the Scheme, if the natural Intereſt of Money upon publick Securites be at 3 *per Cent.* it will take Effect of itſelf, without any ſuch Reſolution; and if the natural Intereſt of Money be at 4, I am convinced no Gentleman of this Houſe would deſire to make uſe of Threats, or empty Promiſes, in order to induce the publick Creditors to accept of 3. And laſtly, as to the Affections of the People towards his Majeſty and his Government, I hope they are already ſo well and ſo generally eſtabliſhed by the Wiſdom and Juſtice of his Majeſty's Conduct, that they ſtand in no need of a Support from any Reſolution of Parliament: I am ſure every Gentleman of this Houſe would be ſorry to think they depend upon ſuch a precarious Foundation as the Reſolution now before us, which may be rendered abortive, not only by the Diſappointment of the Scheme, but by the next Seſſion's not being of the ſame Opinion with the preſent.

I ſhall conclude, Sir, with obſerving, that Gentlemen are generally too fond of their own Schemes: Our Schemes are like our Children; we often conceive much greater and more certain Hopes of their Succeſs, than can reaſonably be expected. For my Part, as the Scheme is none of

mine, as I had no Share in its Conception, I am ſo far from being certain of its Succeſs, that I am not a little ſuſpicious of our meeting with a Diſappointment; therefore, I muſt think our agreeing to the Reſolution now before us, would be a Sort of Reckoning without one's Hoſt: I muſt think it will be Time enough for us to come to a Reſolution to aboliſh ſome of our Taxes, when we ſee the Scheme has taken effect; for if we ſhould now come to ſuch a previous Reſolution, and the Scheme ſhould afterwards prove altogether abortive, the whole World would laugh at our Precipitancy; for which Reaſon I ſhall give my Negative to the Queſtion.

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, viz.

Sir, I am a good deal ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that no Proofs nor Arguments have been offered for ſhewing that the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdenſome upon Trade, and more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries. This, I ſay, I am a good deal ſurprized at, conſidering how many clear Proofs and ſolid Arguments were laid before us in the Committee on the National Debt, for evincing that melancholy Fact *; which happened ſo lately, that I am ſure they cannot have ſlipt out of any Gentleman's Memory, and therefore I ſhall not give you the Trouble of repeating them. But I cannot comprehend what the Hon. Gentleman means by Exciſes in *Holland* or *France*; for I never heard of a *Gauger* or *Exciſeman* in either of thoſe Countries; and upon Enquiry, I believe it will appear, that none of their Taxes are levied in that Manner. As for the *Farmers* in *France*, I do not ſee how they can ſet up any Monopoly; becauſe they are often changing; and as every Dealer knows what Duty he is to pay upon any Commodity he has a Mind to deal in, the *Farmers* can hinder no Man from dealing in what he pleaſes, and conſequently can ſet up no oppreſſive Monopoly: Beſides, as the *Farmers* are always they who offer the moſt Money, they cannot always be either Miniſters or the Creatures of Miniſters, and, therefore would certainly be called to Account, if they ſhould concert Meaſures for oppreſſing the People.

Our Travellers, Sir, who make but very ſuperficial Enquiries into the Manners or Cuſtoms of any Country they paſs through, may perhaps imagine the People in *France* and *Holland* are more heavily, or more oppreſſively taxed, than the People of this Kingdom, becauſe *they* hear the People complain there as well as they do here; but any Gentleman who underſtands theſe Things, and has made a proper Enquiry, may ſoon be convinced of the contrary; and, as for the other Countries of *Europe*, they have not, 'tis true, ſuch Numbers of rich Merchants, Maſters of Manufactures, and Maſter Tradeſmen, as we have in this Country, which is the Reaſon that many of their Poor live in Idleneſs, or ſtarve for mere Want, becauſe there are few or no rich Merchants or Maſters in the Country, that have Money to employ them; but in all Countries, where the Poor have any Employment, they are pretty near equally poor; they neither get nor expect more than a comfortable Subſiſtence by their Labour, and if you enhance the Means of that Subſiſtence, by Taxes upon the Neceſſaries or Conveniencies of Life, their Maſters muſt increaſe their Wages; ſo that all Taxes land at laſt upon the Maſters, foreign or domeſtick, who muſt pay for that Increaſe of Wages in the Price of the Goods they purchaſe: but the Difference is, that a Tax laid

* *See laſt* Magazine, *Page* 614, 615.

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laid directly upon the Maſter, only prevents his growing rich ſo faſt, or makes him live leſs luxuriouſly, but does not enhance the Price of your Manufactures; whereas a Tax laid upon thoſe Things, that are neceſſary for the Support of the Poor, enhances the Price of Labour, and conſequently raiſes the Price of all your Manufactures both for domeſtick and foreign Sale, which at laſt ruins your Trade. Therefore, if the Poor of this Kingdom be more heavily taxed than the Poor in any other Country of *Europe*, it is what ought to be remedied as ſoon as poſſible; it is what will give that Country a great Advantage over us, if they ſhould ever begin to apply themſelves to Trade, which every Country of *Europe* is now aiming at as much as they can.

As for the City of *London*, Sir, it is, 'tis true, the Centre of all Buſineſs in our Dominions, therefore, it may be called the Heart of our Trade; and I am ſure, if our Trade has an Oppreſſion at the Heart, it cannot be expected it will thrive in any Part of the Body. I am far from thinking it a good Reaſon, why the Inhabitants of *London* and within the Bills of Mortality, ſhould be taxed more heavily than any other Part of the Kingdom, becauſe they can bear it; for I think no Part of the Kingdom ſhould be taxed, at leaſt in Time of Peace, near ſo heavily as they can bear. As we have in *London*, great Numbers of idle and extravagant People every Year crowding in upon us from all Parts of the Country, for the Sake of Buſineſs, Preferment, or Pleaſure, this Concourſe muſt neceſſarily enhance the Price of Proviſions upon the Laborious and Induſtrious, which is a Diſadvantage at leaſt equal to any Advantage they may reap from their City's being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the Centre of all Trade and publick Buſineſs: But if it ſhould be thought proper to lay heavier Taxes upon the Inhabitants of *London* and within the Bills of Mortality, thoſe additional Taxes ought to be laid upon the Luxuries and Pleaſures of Life, and not upon the Food and Raiment of the Poor, ſuch as *Leather*, *Salt*, and *common Beer*; nor upon thoſe Things that are neceſſary for working up every Sort of Manufacture, ſuch as *Coals*, *Soap*, and *Candles*.

I am ſorry, Sir, to hear it ſaid in this Houſe, that our People are more idle and extravagant than the People of any neighbouring Country; and I am ſtill more ſorry to ſay, that I am afraid there is too much Ground for ſuch a national Reflection; but that very Idleneſs and Extravagance has been introduced among our People by the Multitude of Taxes they groan under; for the Levying of thoſe Taxes has created ſuch a great Number of ſmall Poſts and idle Employments, that vaſt Numbers of our Tradeſmen and Dealers ſpend their Time idly and extravagantly, in Hopes of obtaining one of theſe Poſts or Employments; and our People every Day ſee ſuch Numbers of idle and extravagant Fellows well provided for, by Means of theſe Poſts and Employments, that the Spirit of Idleneſs and Extravagance becomes every Day more univerſal; for as ſuch Fellows are generally what we, in Imitation of the *French*, call boon Companions, they are mighty uſeful Men in thoſe Affairs, which moſt certainly entitle a Man to a Poſt or Employment; ſo that after they have ruined themſelves by their Idleneſs and Extravagance, their Neighbours ſee them better provided for, and enabled to live more handſomely, than ever they did before, or could ever expect to live by honeſt Induſtry or uſeful Labour: This encourages Hundreds to follow their Example, and makes the Diſtemper ſpread like a Plague over the

whole Kingdom; whereas, if Beggary and Starving were the certain Conſequences of Idleneſs and Extravagance, every ſuch Fellow would be an Example and a Terror to his Neighbours, which would frighten moſt of them from following any ſuch Courſes. Perhaps, Sir, ſome Gentleman that hears me, may look upon this as an ill-grounded Speculation; but in Confirmation of what I ſay, if I am rightly informed, there is now a little Borough in a Northern County, not very far diſtant from *London*, in which I am told, there is hardly one thriving Merchant, Tradeſman, or Shopkeeper, to be met with; for ſo many of them have already been provided for by Means of ſome publick Poſt or Employment, that all the reſt expect the ſame good Fortune, and every one by living idly or extravagantly, ſpends more than he gets by his Buſineſs, in Hopes of being ſoon provided for in another Way.

Thus, Sir, we ſee that, with reſpect to our Trade, our Taxes are like a two-edged Sword, they cut both Ways, they not only enhance the Price of Labour, but they diminiſh the Number of our Labourers; and when we ſee this, ſuppoſing the Taxes in this Kingdom to be no more burdenſome upon Trade, nor the Methods of raiſing them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than the Taxes in any other Country of *Europe*, can we make it a Queſtion, whether or no we ought to take the firſt Opportunity for aboliſhing ſome of them? But when it has been made appear, as it was, I think to a Demonſtration, in the Committee, whoſe Report we have juſt now agreed to, that our Taxes, and our Methods of raiſing our Taxes, are more burdenſome upon Trade, and more inconvenient to the Merchant and Dealer, than either in *France* or *Holland*, ought we not to think and contrive all poſſible or feaſible Methods for removing that Clog upon our Trade, and for putting our People upon an equal Footing at leaſt with any of our Neighbours, eſpecially with thoſe who are our greateſt Rivals in Trade and naval Power?

A The Queſtion is not now, whether we ſhall remain under *one* Tax of 100,000 *l.* a Year for 40 Years, or under *two* Taxes of 100,000 *l.* a Year each, for 20 Years? The Queſtion is, whether we ſhall preſerve our Trade or no? If we continue under B the *two* Taxes, our Trade will be ruined before the 20 Years are near expired; which will diminiſh the Produce of each, and may perhaps render it impoſſible for us ever to get free of either: If we aboliſh *one*, we muſt, 'tis true, continue longer C under the *other*; but *then* we ſhall preſerve our Trade, perhaps *improve* it, which may make the Produce of that *one* equal perhaps to the preſent Produce of the *two*; in which Caſe we ſhall get free from that *one*, perhaps as ſoon as if we had continued D under both. This, Sir, is the Difference, this is the Queſtion, and this Queſtion can admit of no Diſpute. If our People continue ſubject to all the Taxes they now pay for 24 Years to come, our Trade will certainly be undone, and what is E worſe, the greateſt Part of it will be transferred to our natural Enemies, which will add to their Power at the ſame Time it diminiſhes ours; whereas, if we aboliſh a great Part of our Taxes, or the heavieſt of them, we ſhall preſerve our Trade, and may F get free of our Debts much ſooner; for if we ſhould loſe our Trade, we could never get free of our Debts, it would become impoſſible for us to pay them. Therefore, I hope it will never be made a Queſtion in this Houſe, Whether or no we ſhall abo- G liſh ſome of our heavieſt Taxes, as ſoon as the Intereſt upon all our redeemable Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.*

If

If this, Sir, can never be made a Queſtion, what Harm is there in our coming to a Reſolution, that that ſhall be done, which every Man agrees ought to be done? That one Seſſion may engage for another, is a Maxim which I am ſurprized to hear controverted by thoſe, who have ſo often propoſed to and prevailed with, one Seſſion to engage for another. What are all our Votes of Credit but one Seſſion's engaging for another? And I am ſure there was never one of them that could be called ſo juſt or ſo neceſſary an Engagement, as what is now propoſed. I know, Sir, that one Parliament cannot by any Reſolution, no not even by Act of Parliament, legally bind another; for no Act can be paſſed by one Parliament, but what may be repealed by another; at leaſt no Man can legally queſtion their Power; but will any Man ſay, that a future Parliament may not in Juſtice and Honour be bound by a former? Does not the Security our publick Creditors have for their reſpective Debts depend upon this Maxim only? We muſt therefore grant, that the Acts or Reſolutions of any one Seſſion, by which foreign States, or private Men, Natives or Foreigners, are induced to lend Money, or conclude any Tranſaction, to or with our Government, are in Juſtice and Honour binding upon every future Seſſion; and that no future Parliament can repeal ſuch Acts, or do any Thing contrary to ſuch Reſolutions, ſo as to injure any of the Parties contracting upon the Authority of thoſe Acts or Reſolutions. From ſuch Engagements nothing can ſet us free but that ſupreme Law, the Safety of the People. For this very Reaſon, I am for agreeing to the Reſolution now propoſed, in order that we may bind future Parliaments as much as we can, and in a Manner oblige them to aboliſh ſome of our Taxes, as ſoon as the Intereſt upon all our Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* by making it appear upon our Journals, that the Aboliſhing of ſome of our Taxes was the Condition upon which our Creditors agreed, and the Conſideration which induced them to agree, to accept of 3 *per Cent.* Intereſt.

Has any Man pretended, Sir, that the Advantage ariſing from aboliſhing our Taxes upon *Soap* and *Candles*, or any other Commodity, will be a full Recompence to every one of our Creditors for the Loſs he may ſuſtain by the Reduction of Intereſt? No, Sir, no ſuch Pretence has been ſet up by any Gentleman within theſe Walls: The principal Recompence our Creditors are to expect, ariſes from the Advantage, which will accrue from ſuch an Abolition to the Generality of the Nation; and to every one of them, who has any Regard for his Country, this will of itſelf appear to be a full Recompence. But to talk in the moſt ſelfiſh and the moſt mercenary Manner, the Aboliſhing of the Duties upon *Soap* and *Candles* only, will be a full, or very near a full Compenſation to all our publick Creditors who have not above 1000 *l.* Stock, and have Families to maintain or provide for; becauſe the Duties upon *Soap* and *Candles* have raiſed their Price at leaſt double the Value of the Duties; therefore the Taking off of thoſe Duties will be a Saving of 2 *d. a Pound* upon *Candles* and 3 *d. a Pound* upon *Soap*, for every Pound a Man buys, or that is bought for his Account; which will not only be an immediate Saving in the Expence of his Family, but will diminiſh the Price of almoſt every Thing he is obliged to purchaſe for the Uſe of his Family. Our Stockholders therefore who have but 1000 *l.* or under, and have Families to maintain, can be no Loſers by the Reduction of Intereſt, if all the Taxes mentioned in the former Debate ſhould be taken off; and ſuch Stockholders are, I think, the only Perſons, who have or deſerve any Share of our Compaſſion.

As

As for the Argument made uſe of againſt the Reſolution, That it will appear to be fraudulent or deceitful, I think, Sir, I have already fully anſwered it, by ſhewing we have a Power to promiſe ſuch a Compenſation or Conſideration, and that future Parliaments will be bound in Honour and Juſtice to make good that Promiſe; and to pretend, that the Reſolution implies a Sort of Threatening the publick Creditors with national Reſentment, is an Argument that, in my Way of Thinking, can proceed from nothing but a moſt contemptible Opinion of the Knowledge and Underſtanding of moſt Men in the Nation. Does not every Man of common Underſtanding know, that the greateſt Part of the Taxes he pays, excepting the Land and Malt Tax, goes towards the Payment of the Principal or Intereſt of our Debts? And can any ſuch Man ſuppoſe, that he will get free from any Part of thoſe Taxes, till we get free of a great Part of that Debt, or at leaſt of ſome Part of the Intereſt payable upon that Debt? The Reſolution therefore can bring no Reſentment upon our publick Creditors, becauſe it communicates nothing to the People but what they were before fully apprized of. We may, 'tis true, annihilate the whole Sinking Fund, if we pleaſe, by aboliſhing ſeveral of our Taxes, and remain ſubject for ever to the ſame Debt we now owe, and the ſame Intereſt we now pay; but will any Gentleman ſay we ought to do ſo, or that it is conſiſtent with the publick Good to do ſo? It is, in my Opinion, ſo far otherwiſe, that I ſhould not be for annihilating any Part of our Sinking Fund, or aboliſhing any of our Taxes, before a total Diſcharge from our Debts, if the preſent unlucky Circumſtances of our Trade did not neceſſarily require it; becauſe every Shilling paid for Intereſt is ſo much abſolutely loſt to the Nation, being a Sort of Expence from which the Nation never did, nor ever can reap any Benefit; but as this Loſs will not be ſo grievous to the Nation, when the Intereſt is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* as when it ſtands at 4, therefore we may then, for the Sake of our Trade, annihilate a Part of the Sinking Fund, tho' we cannot in common Prudence, even for the Sake of our Trade, do any ſuch Thing, while the Intereſt continues at 4 *per Cent.*

But ſuppoſe, Sir, it were conſiſtent with the publick Good, to aboliſh ſome of our Taxes, and thereby annihilate a Part of the Sinking Fund, before the Reduction of Intereſt, 'tis certain we could not then for ſeveral Years be in ſo good a Condition for reducing the Intereſt payable upon our publick Funds, as we are at preſent; which is a ſtrong additional Argument for not attempting any ſuch Thing till that Intereſt be reduced; and 'tis likewiſe certain, we cannot now reduce ſo many of our Taxes, and leave ſo large a Sinking Fund remaining, as we might do, if the Intereſt upon our Funds were reduced to 3 *per Cent.* In the former Caſe, if we ſhould aboliſh the Duties upon *Soap* and *Candles* only, we would reduce the Sinking Fund to 800,000 *l. per Annum*; whereas in the latter, we may aboliſh not only the Duties upon *Soap* and *Candles*, but likewiſe the Duties on *Coals*, the Duty on *Leather* or *Hides*, and the late Tax on the *Victuallers* in *London* and within the Bills of Mortality, and yet leave very near the ſame yearly Sum remaining for the Sinking Fund.

Thus, Sir, we ſee there is a very material Difference between what we may do as Intereſt ſtands at preſent, and what we might do if Intereſt were reduced to 3 *per Cent.* but to ſay we ſhall be in as good a Condition 8 Years hence to aboliſh ſome of our Taxes, tho' Intereſt ſhould ſtand

ſtand for all that Time at 4 *per Cent.* as we would be at preſent if it were reduced to 3, is ſomething very extraordinary. Surely, Gentlemen who talk ſo, do not conſider, what a vaſt Sum the People of this Nation would ſave in 8 Years Time, by the immediate Aboliſhing of Taxes to the Amount of 800,000*l.* a Year. In the former Debate, it was computed, that the groſs Produce of our Taxes, which is the Sum raiſed yearly upon the People, is near double the net Produce coming into the *Exchequer*; and the Accounts lying upon our Table will juſtify this Computation: Then to this if we add the Loſs People are at, by the advanced Price of the Commodity, upon which the Duty is laid, which, with reſpect to ſmall Duties, is in many Caſes near double the Duty; I am ſure I may reckon that, by the Aboliſhing of Taxes to the Amount of 800,000*l.* a Year, the People of this Nation will ſave in their yearly Expence at leaſt 1,200,000*l.* a Year; and an Annuity of 1,200,000*l.* a Year for 8 Years, at 4 *per Cent.* Compound Intereſt, amounts to above 11 *Millions*, which is a Saving, I think, deſerves to be regarded by every Gentleman who has a Senſe of the Sufferings of the People. Beſides this Advantage which the People will reap by an immediate Reduction of Intereſt and Abolition of Taxes, 'tis more than probable our Taxes will not produce ſo much yearly at the End of 8 Years, as they do at preſent, if Things ſhould remain for that whole Time upon the preſent Footing; becauſe, if our Trade be upon the Decline, the People will not only be decreaſing in their Number, but will be every Year growing poorer: In either of which Caſes there will not be ſuch a Conſumpt of thoſe Commodities, upon which the Taxes are raiſed, which muſt neceſſarily diminiſh the Produce of each of them; and if at the ſame Time, we ſhould at that Time be engaged in a War, the yearly Produce of the Sinking Fund may happen to be worth little or nothing; in which Caſe, we ſhall then be in no Condition either to reduce the Intereſt payable upon our publick Funds, or to aboliſh any of our Taxes.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, it will appear, that if the People continue under all their preſent Taxes for any Number of Years longer, it is probable they muſt continue under them for ever, or at leaſt as long as they are able to pay them; and if that ſhould be their unhappy Fate, we may expect they will not only ſhew a Reſentment, but that it will at laſt break forth into Rage. However, it is evident that neither their Reſentment nor their Rage will be owing to this Reſolution, but to the Injuries and Oppreſſions they feel; and if the publick Creditors are entirely paſſive, if they are not active in concerting Meaſures, as has been threatned, for preventing the good Effects of the Scheme we have agreed to, the Reſentment of the People will be no Way directed againſt the Creditors, but againſt thoſe who ſhall be found to have miſapplied that Fund, which was appointed for paying them off, and for relieving the Nation from Taxes. The Conſequences may, indeed, be fatal to the publick Creditors, with regard to the Debt due to them; becauſe, if the Nation ſhould by ſuch Means be brought into Confuſion, that Confuſion may prevent its being ever in our Power to pay them any Part of their remaining Principal or future Intereſt; but that Loſs will ariſe not from the Scheme we have agreed to, nor from the Reſolution propoſed, but from the bad Succeſs of both; and this I hope every one of the publick Creditors will take particular Notice of, and will therefore join heartily in promoting the

Succeſs of the Scheme, inſtead of concerting Meaſures for its Defeat.

As all the Arguments made uſe of for ſhewing that the Reſolution now propoſed, can neither contribute to the Revival or Support of our Trade, call it which you will, nor to the Succeſs of the Scheme, nor to reconciling or preſerving the Affections of the People towards his Majeſty and his Government; I ſay, as all the Arguments made uſe of for this Purpoſe, depend upon its not being in our Power to engage for, or bind any future Parliament, I have fully anſwered them already, by ſhewing that it is in our Power to bind a future Parliament to the Aboliſhing of Taxes, as much as it is in our Power to bind them to the Paying of a Debt; and as the Aboliſhing of ſome of our heavy Taxes is really in itſelf a valuable Conſideration, and ſufficient for inducing our Creditors to come into the Scheme, I think we ought to agree to the Reſolution, on Purpoſe that the World may ſee, that a future Parliament cannot in Honour and Juſtice refuſe to aboliſh ſome of the Taxes, as ſoon as the Intereſt is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* becauſe it would be a Defrauding the publick Creditors of the Conſideration which was promiſed them, and which was the principal Inducement for their agreeing ſo unanimouſly to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for their Money.

With reſpect to the Scheme itſelf, Sir, it ſignifies nothing to me who was the Author of it; but if the Hon. Gentleman had no Share in its Conception, I am ſure he or ſome of his Friends have added a very conſiderable Limb to it, and ſuch a Limb too, that if any Miſcarriage happens, it will certainly be owing to that Limb which they have added. If they had propoſed no Improvement or Addition, if they had not in ſome Meaſure obliged Gentlemen to agree to what they propoſed, I am convinced the Scheme as it was firſt offered would have had the wiſhed for Succeſs; and if they think that what they have added will render it abortive, they are in the Right to diſown their being the Authors of the Scheme; but that will not prevent People's imputing to them the whole Blame of the Miſcarriage. However, as I think the Scheme, even as it ſtands now, may meet with Succeſs, and as I think the Reſolution now propoſed to us will very much contribute to that Succeſs, therefore I ſhall be for agreeing to it.

The Debate being over, the Queſtion was put upon the Motion, and caried in the Negative by 200 to 142.

The principal Speakers in this Debate were, Sir *J——n B——d*, *T——s L——n*, Eſq; *S——l S——s*, Eſq; Mr. *A——n P——y*, *W——m P——y*, Eſq; and *G——ge S——ke*, Eſq; for the Motion; and *T——s W——n*, Eſq; the L—d *B——re*, *W——r P——r*, Eſq; and Sir *R——t W——le*, againſt it.

On *Friday* the 22d of *April*, Sir *J——n B——d* preſented to the Houſe, according to their Order before mentioned, a Bill for redeeming all the publick Funds redeemable by Law, which carry an Intereſt of 4*l. per Cent. per Annum*, or converting the ſame, with Conſent of the Proprietors, into a leſs Intereſt or Annuity not redeemable, till after the Time therein to be mentioned; which was read a firſt Time, and ordered to be read a ſecond Time.

On the 29th of the ſame Month, the ſaid Bill was read a ſecond Time; and a Motion being made for committing it, the ſame was oppoſed, upon which their enſued a long Debate.

In this Debate, all the Arguments for and againſt the Reduction were repeated and enforced; but as we have already given a full Account of moſt of them, we ſhall add

add nothing more upon that Subject. The other Part of the Debate related chiefly to ſome Informalities and Imperfections which were pretended to be found in the Bill, by thoſe who were againſt its being committed; becauſe they ſaid they were ſuch as could not be properly altered or amended in the Committee. On the other Hand, thoſe who were for committing the Bill, inſiſted, there were no Informalities or Imperfections in the Bill, but what might eaſily be altered or amended in the Committee, with the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Gentlemen concerned in the Treaſury, who were to be ſuppoſed beſt acquainted with the Method of drawing up ſuch Bills, and who, 'twas to be preſumed, would give their Aſſiſtance to the Committee, tho' they had refuſed to give any Aſſiſtance or Advice to thoſe Gentlemen who were ordered to draw it up. But as what was ſaid upon this Subject cannot be well underſtood without a Copy of the Bill, which we have not Room for, therefore, we ſhall give no further Account of it. Only we muſt take Notice, That Sir *R——t W——le* having, in a Speech he made againſt the Queſtion, ſpoke to the following Effect, *viz.*

I know, Sir, it has been aſſerted without Doors, that the Hon. Gentleman who firſt mentioned this Scheme to the Houſe, had ſeveral private Converſations with me upon the Subject, and that we had concerted and ſettled the Scheme between us, before he offered it to the Houſe; but I ſhall declare, that he and I had never any private Converſation upon the Subject, nor had we ever any Concert about this Scheme or any other Scheme I know of; therefore, I can with great Confidence affirm, I had never any Hand in this Scheme, either in its original Formation, or in any Shape it has ſince appeared in.

Sir *J——n B——d* ſtood up, and anſwered in Subſtance thus;

I am very much obliged to the Hon. Gentleman, Sir, and therefore, I thank him for vindicating me from the Imputation of having had any private Converſation with him, or of having ever had any Concert with him; and if he is afraid leſt People ſhould ſuſpect his having had a Hand in the Scheme I propoſed to you, I ſhall be equally juſt to him by declaring, I never had any private Converſation with him about it, nor did I ſo much as aſk his Approbation or Conſent to what I was to offer; but as to the Scheme as it now ſtands, every Gentleman that hears me knows, it is very different from what I offered; and every one likewiſe knows that the new Model, which is the Model we have now before us, if it was not offered by the Hon. Gentleman himſelf, it was at leaſt offered by ſome of his Friends, and what they propoſed was agreed to by other Gentlemen, in order that we might have their Aſſiſtance in carrying it through. Therefore the Scheme now before you cannot properly be called mine; and it is very remarkable, that all the Objections made to the Bill, are only to thoſe Articles and Clauſes of it, which relate to the Improvements and Additions made to my Scheme, by the Hon. Gentleman's Friends.

Upon this *J——n H——e*, Eſq; ſtood up, and among other Things, took Notice, That the Scheme then before them ſeemed to be like a Baſtard-Child that had ſeveral reputed Fathers, neither of whom would own it: For his Part, he ſaid, he thought it a very hopeful Child, and therefore if no other Gentleman would take it as his own, he would; for he did not doubt of the Child's thriving, and if it did, it would be an Honour to its Parent.

The Speakers in this long Debate, were as follow, *viz.*

For committing the Bill, Sir *J—n B——d*, Sir *W—d L——ne*, the L—d *B——re*, *J—n H—w*, Esq; Sir *T—s S——n*, M—r of the R—lls, *S——l S——ys*, Esq; Sir *W——m W——m*, Sir *E——d B——n*.

Against committing the Bill, Sir *R——t W——le*, Sir *C——s W——r*, *W——m S——r*, Esq; Mr. *A——n H——te*, *R——t K——t*, Esq; *P——r B——l*, Esq; C——l *B——n*, *W——m B——les*, Esq; *J——s O——pe*, Esq; the L—d *S——n*, Sir *W——n Y——ge*.

Upon the Question's being put, it was carried in the Negative, which put an End to the Affair for last Session.

After the 11th of *March*, when the Motion for granting *a Million* to his Majesty towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the *South-Sea* Company, commonly called Old *South-Sea* Annuities, was agreed to, (See Pages 523, 542.) there was no remarkable Debate happened in the Committee of Supply; nor was there any remarkable Debate happened upon any of the Resolutions of the Committee of Ways and Means, except that relating to the Duty on *Sweets*, (See Page 469.) therefore we shall take no farther Notice of any other Resolution of that Committee; but as this Affair relating to the Duty on *Sweets* occasioned several long Debates, we shall give some Account of it. The first Time it was mentioned, was on *Monday* the 7th of *March*, when the proper Officer was ordered to lay before the House, an Account of the nett Income into the *Exchequer* of the Duties on *Sweets*, for *seven* Years ended at *Michaelmas* then last, distinguishing each Year; which was accordingly presented the very next Day; and on *Friday* the 18th of *March*, the House having resolved itself into a Committee, to consider further of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, and the said Account having been referred to the said Committee, Sir *R——t W——le* rose up, and after a short Speech, moved for the first Resolution relating to the Duty on *Sweets*, which our Readers may see in Page 469, and which, after a long Debate, was agreed to: Then the 2d Resolution relating to the same Affair was moved and agreed to: and the House having, upon the Report, agreed to both these Resolutions, a Bill was ordered to be brought in, which, after long Debates, was passed into a Law.

In these Debates, the Arguments for the Resolutions, and afterwards for the Bill, were in Substance as follow, *viz.*

Sir, By the Resolutions we have already come to, in the *Committee* of Supply, it will upon Calculation appear, we have granted his Majesty for the Service of the ensuing Year, a Supply of about 2,025,000*l.* Now as the *Land-Tax* and the *Malt-Tax* which we have granted, do not both together amount to 1,700,000*l.* there will be a Deficiency of near 400,000*l.* which must be provided for, either by increasing some of the Taxes we have already, or by granting some new Tax, or by taking so much from the Sinking Fund, or lastly, by the Method I have thought of, and which I shall presently explain to you. * As for Increasing any of the Taxes we have already, or imposing a new one, I do not think we can make good the Deficiency by either of these Ways; because I do not think the People can well bear any additional or new Tax, and the attempting of any such Thing, may alienate the Affections of great Numbers of People from our present happy Establishment, and may contribute towards increasing those Mobs and Tumults, which have of late been so frequent all over the Kingdom: And as for the Sinking Fund, the

the growing Produce thereof is already appropriated towards paying *a Million* to the *South-Sea* old Annuitants; ſo that we cannot make good this Deficiency out of the growing Produce of that Fund, and I do not think it would be proper to mortgage any Part of the Sinking Fund for this Purpoſe.

There is therefore, in my Opinion, no poſſible Way left for making good this Deficiency but that I have thought of, which is not by increaſing any preſent Tax, or impoſing any new one, but by reducing an old Tax to one Third of what it is at preſent. This, Sir, may at firſt View ſeem to be a Paradox; but when I have explained myſelf, the Myſtery will evaniſh, and every Gentleman will, I hope, approve of the Method I am to propoſe. Every one knows that, ever ſince the Year 1699, we have had a Duty of no leſs than 36*s. a Barrel*, upon all *Sweets* made for Sale within this Kingdom, which is ſo high a Duty that it has in ſome Meaſure entirely prevented the Making of any ſuch Liquors for Sale; at leaſt if any ſuch have been made, the Makers have always found Means to evade the Law, and defraud the Publick of the Duty; ſo that this Duty, as I have been told, has never produced any Thing conſiderable, and by the Accounts upon our Table it appears the preſent Produce amounts to little or nothing. Now, Sir, I am convinced that, if there were a moderate Duty laid upon ſuch Liquors, and the Nature of the Liquors ſubjected to the Duty fully explained in the Act for impoſing it; I ſay, that in ſuch a Caſe I am convinced, a very conſiderable Revenue would ariſe yearly from the Conſumption of ſuch Liquors; becauſe, as the prime Coſt is but ſmall, if the Duty were tolerable, I believe there would hardly be an Ale Houſe in the Kingdom without great Variety of ſuch Liquours; and if they were to be had at every Ale-Houſe, I am perſuaded great Quantities of them would be conſumed, eſpecially now that our People are debarred the Uſe of Spirituous Liquors in Drams or otherwiſe.

It is not to be queſtioned, Sir, we already know it by Experience, that our putting an entire Stop to the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, will be a great Hardſhip upon all thoſe who formerly dealt in that Trade; and many of thoſe who uſed to be their Cuſtomers and Conſumers will likewiſe think it a Hardſhip, to be debarred a moderate Uſe of ſuch Liquors, in that Method they have from their Youth been accuſtomed to: Altho' every ſenſible Man muſt be convinced, that the putting of this Hardſhip upon him was abſolutely neceſſary for the publick Good, and for preſerving the Health and Morals of the People, yet we find there are great Numbers who are apt to murmur at this Regulation; and to prevent theſe Murmurs, I can think of no Expedient more proper than that of encouraging the Retail and Conſumption of thoſe Liquors called *Sweets*, which may be made to anſwer all the good Ends of Spirituous Liquors, without being attended with any of the fatal Conſequences proceeding from an immoderate Uſe of ſuch Liquors. This of itſelf would be a good Reaſon for diminiſhing the Duty payable upon thoſe Liquors called *Sweets*, even tho' there were no Benefit to ariſe there-from to the publick Revenue, nor any Occaſion for increaſing that Revenue. But as there is an abſolute Neceſſity for increaſing the publick Revenue, in order to anſwer thoſe Supplies you have already granted; and as there is a great Probability that, by diminiſhing the Duty on *Sweets* to *one Third* of what it is at preſent, you will increaſe the publick Revenue as much as is neceſſary for anſwering

the preſent Occaſion, I think no Gentleman can diſpute the Reaſonableneſs of making ſuch a Diminution.

But, Sir, to add to the Weight of thoſe Reaſons I have already given, there is another Reaſon of great Weight with me for endeavouring to encourage the Conſumption of *Sweets*, and conſequently for diminiſhing the Duty now payable upon them, and that is, the great Quantity of Sugar made uſe of in the Compoſition of ſuch Liquors. I believe no Gentleman doubts but that the Conſumption of Sugar will be diminiſhed by the ſtrict Prohibition of the Retail of ſpirituous Liquors in Punch or otherwiſe; and as our Sugar Trade will ſuffer by diminiſhing this Conſumption, I ſhould be glad this Loſs were made good to the Sugar Trade, by encouraging and increaſing the Conſumption of thoſe Liquors called *Sweets*, in the Compoſition of which, there is, I believe, more Sugar made uſe of than was ever uſed in the Compoſition of the like Quantity of that Liquor called Punch. To this I ſhall add, that, as moſt of the Materials made uſe of in the Compoſition of all Sorts of *Sweets* are the Growth and Manufacture of our own Dominions, and as a great Variety of ſuch Liquors may very much diminiſh the Conſumption of foreign Wines, therefore the Increaſing the Conſumption of the former will not only be a great Encouragement and Advantage to the induſtrious Part of our own Subjects, but will likewiſe be an Advantage and Addition to our general Balance of Trade, by diminiſhing the Value of our Imports.

From all which, Sir, I hope it will appear not only proper but neceſſary, that we ſhould aboliſh the preſent Duty on *Sweets*, and inſtead thereof, lay on ſuch a leſs Duty as to this Houſe ſhall ſeem reaſonable. With reſpect to the new Duty to be laid on, I ſhall not pretend to preſcribe to the Houſe, I ſhall only beg Leave to give my Reaſons why I think 12*s. a Barrel* will be a proper Duty. I believe every Gentleman will agree, that as long as we have a Duty upon *Malt*, and an Exciſe upon all *Malt Liquors*, there ought to be ſome Duty laid upon all other Liquors conſumed within the Kingdom, whether they proceed from foreign or from domeſtick Growth or Manufacture; becauſe the Production of *Barley* and *Malt*, is a Production we ought to encourage as much as any home Production whatever: Therefore there ought certainly to be ſome Duty laid upon all *Sweets* conſumed within the Kingdom; and in my Opinion that Duty ought to be higher than the Duties and Exciſes payable upon the like Quantity of any Sort of *Malt Liquors*; but not ſo high as may entirely prevent the Retail of any of thoſe Liquors. If we conſider and compute the *Malt* Duty, and the ſeveral Exciſes payable upon *Beer* and *Ale*, we may reckon that every *Barrel* of ſtrong *Beer* or *Ale* pays between 5 and 6*s. a Barrel*; and for the Encouragement of our Farmers, by increaſing the Conſumption of their *Barley*, I think we ought to make the Duty on *Sweets* at leaſt double the Duty upon *Malt Liquors*; for which Reaſon I reckon 12*s. per Barrel* is the leaſt Duty we can propoſe to lay upon all *Sweets*, which ſhall hereafter be conſumed within this Kingdom.

This Duty, Sir, as it is but a very little above 4*d. a Gallon*, cannot, I think, any Way tend to diſcourage or diminiſh the Conſumption of ſuch Liquors, nor can it enhance the Price by Retail, ſo as to make our People preſer the Uſe of any foreign Liquor, to that of our home-made *Sweets*, when they are skilfully prepared, and proper Care taken to make them palatable as well as healthful; for I am of Opinion that *Sweets* of

all Kinds may be made as pallatable and as healthful as any Sort of Punch; and conſidering that the Conſumers muſt pay for every Gallon even of Rum Punch at leaſt 4*s*. 4*d*. Duty, I cannot but think, that upon diminiſhing the Duty on *Sweets* as I have propoſed, ſeveral Sorts of them may be made up and ſold at a much cheaper Rate than any Sort of Punch can be; from whence I muſt conclude, that in a little Time great Quantities will begin to be conſumed; and that from thenceforward, this particular Branch of the publick Revenue will be very much increaſed by diminiſhing the Duty upon ſuch Liquors; as was formerly the Caſe with reſpect to Pepper, the Duty upon which has produced a great deal more yearly ſince it was reduced, than ever it did before.

It is impoſſible for me, Sir, to foretel with any certainty, what this Duty upon *Sweets*, when ſo reduced, will bring in yearly. I have ſeen ſeveral Calculations and Computations upon the Head, all of which were founded upon very probable Conjectures; but they differed ſo widely from one another, that no Man can determine poſitively, which of them he ought to give moſt Credit to. By ſome of theſe Computations it was calculated that the Duty upon *Sweets* when reduced to 12*s*. *per Barrel*, would in all Appearance produce near 50,000*l*. a Year: By others the annual Produce of this Duty was not computed at above 20 or 25,000*l*. which is ſo great a Difference that no Determination, hardly any Suppoſition, can be made with reſpect to the future yearly Produce. However, if this Duty be reduced to 12*s*. *a Barrel*, and that Doubt explained, which has ariſen upon former Acts of Parliament, in relation to Liquors made for Sale by Infuſion, Fermentation, or otherwiſe, from *Britiſh Fruit* or *Sugar*, or from *Fruit* or *Sugar* mixed with other Materials or Ingredients, and commonly called or diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *made Wines*, I ſhall ſuppoſe the Duty will then produce 30,000*l*. a Year; for the Conſumpt of thoſe Liquors called *Sweets*, has not only been prevented by the extravagant Height of the Duty laid upon them; but the Doubt I have mentioned has always prevented its being collected; becauſe it has always been pretended that ſuch *made Wines*, were not chargeable with the Duty of 36*s*. *a Barrel*, and by that Pretence, People have generally got free from paying that Duty even upon *Sweets* made for Sale by Infuſion, Fermentation, or otherwiſe, from *foreign Fruit or Sugar*; it being generally impoſſible to determine, whether ſuch Mixtures are made from *foreign* or from *Britiſh Fruits or Sugar*.

Now, Sir, if we ſuppoſe that the future Produce of this Duty will amount to 30,000*l*. a Year, as it has never heretofore produced, I believe, 30*l*. a Year, the Increaſe upon it will then be a ſufficient Fund for borrowing as much as will be neceſſary for making good the Supplies you have granted for the Service of this enſuing Year. I ſay it will be a ſufficient Fund not only for paying the Intereſt yearly, but for paying off the Principal in a ſmall Number of Years; for 400,000*l*. will I reckon be the higheſt Sum that will be wanted, and as that Sum may be borrowed at 3 *per Cent*. a Revenue of near 30,000*l*. a Year will pay not only the Intereſt yearly, but will likewiſe pay off the Principal in about 17 Years; and if the Duty ſhould produce more than 30,000*l*. a Year, it will then pay off the Principal as well as growing Intereſt much ſooner.

Thus, Sir, I have explained to you, what I think by far the eaſieſt and moſt proper Way of raiſing that Sum, which is ſtill deficient for making good thoſe Supplies we have already agreed to. Theſe Supplies muſt

must certainly be made good some way or other; and if any Gentleman will rise up and shew us a better Method for making them good, I shall very readily give up my Project, and agree to any other Method proposed; since I have nothing in my View but to raise those Sums we have thought necessary for the publick Service, in that Method which shall appear to be most beneficial for the Nation, and least burdensome to the People. If the House approves of what I have proposed, the proper Method for carrying it into Execution is, To resolve first to repeal or abolish the old Duty; and then to resolve, That a Duty of 12*s. per Barrel* shall for the future be granted to his Majesty upon all *Sweets* made for Sale; therefore, I shall conclude with making you this Motion, That it may be resolved, That the Duty of 36*s.* a Barrel on *Sweets*, granted, *&c.* (as before mentioned Page, 469.)

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, The Hon. Gentleman who was pleased to move you this Question, set out with three or four general Maxims, in which I shall most readily agree with him. The Supplies we have already granted ought certainly to be made good by some Means or other; and I am so far of Opinion, that these Supplies must be made good, either by adding to some of the Taxes we have already, or by imposing some new one, or by incroaching upon the Sinking Fund, that I am sure there is no fourth Way of making them good; therefore the Hon. Gentleman raised my Curiosity not a little, when he told us, he had thought of a Method for raising as much as would make good the Deficiency of the *Land* and *Malt Tax*, without adding to any old Tax, or imposing any new Tax, and without making the least Incroachment on the Sinking Fund. This I confess was to me a Paradox and a Mystery, which I became very impatient to hear explained; but how greatly was I disappointed, when this notable Project came to be laid open! for then it appeared to me, and I hope I shall by and by make it appear to the House, that this Project must either be a new Tax, or it must be an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund.

I shall likewise, Sir, most readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman in two other Maxims he set out with, which were, that the People cannot well bear any additional or new Tax, and that we ought never to make an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund: But this, *Sir*, we ought to have thought on before granting the Supplies; and if this were considered as seriously as it ought to be, it would make every Gentleman extremely cautious of proposing to run the Nation into any unnecessary Expence, or of asking any Supplies for that Purpose; for after we have once granted Supplies, they must be made good some way or other. We ought to consider that, notwithstanding the many Taxes our People are loaded with, yet all those Taxes, except the *Land* and the *Malt Tax*, are mortgaged for making good the Civil List Revenue we have granted, or for paying the Principal, and the Interest, of the Debts we have contracted: We have now no Way of providing for the current Service of the Year, but by Means of the *Malt Tax* and the *Land Tax*; and I must say, tho' I am sorry to say it, if we do not fall into a Method of contracting the publick Expence in Time of Peace, so as to make those two Taxes answer it, this Nation must necessarily and speedily be undone. We may go on for a few Years contriving Expedients, and mortgaging every little Fund we have left to mortgage; but this must

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be attended with inevitable Ruin at last; for the richeſt Man in the Kingdom, if he ſpent but 10*l.* a Year more than the real Income of his Eſtate, would certainly at laſt be undone.

Many Ways might be contrived, Sir, for leſſening the publick Expence yearly. The Reduction of the Army, or putting them upon a different Foot, is one Method which is obvious and known to every Man; but there is another Method which would be as certain and as extenſive, and that is, by annihilating all thoſe *Sine-Cure* Poſts, and undeſerved or ill deſerved Salaries and Penſions, which have been growing upon us for many Years, and which can never be of any Service to the People, unleſs it be to enable future Miniſters to oppreſs them. Many of theſe I could mention in every Branch of publick Buſineſs within this Kingdom; but I ſhall not take upon me the Malice and Reſentment, which ſuch a Piece of publick Service would draw upon the Author, from all thoſe whoſe private Intereſt would be ſtruck at. I do not think it either proper or prudent for any private Man to take upon himſelf ſuch a Burden: It is proper only for a Government to undertake; and whenever the Government does undertake it, I am ſure they will, if they make clean Work, ſave upwards of 500,000*l.* a Year to the Publick, which is a greater Sum than is wanted for the Service of the enſuing Year.

This, Sir, is what might have been done, it is what ought to have been done, becauſe by ſo doing we might have avoided that fatal Dilemma we are now reduced to. The Reſolutions of the Committee of Supply have now made it abſolutely neceſſary to load the People with additional or new Taxes, or to incroach upon the Sinking Fund; and whatever the Hon. Gentleman may think of his favourite temporary Expedient, to every impartial Enquirer, 'twill appear, that it muſt be ranked under one or other of theſe Methods. The Duty upon *Sweets*, whatever was the Intention of thoſe Parliaments which eſtabliſhed it, has never been raiſed, at leaſt it has never been raiſed in ſo extenſive or ſtrict a Manner as is now propoſed; therefore, with regard to the People, it muſt be look'd on as a new Tax. If we were to revive the antient Tax called *Dangeldt*, we may as well pretend it is no new Tax, as to ſay that a Tax upon *Sweets* which was never before levied upon the People, is no new Tax. The People never before felt any ſuch Tax, therefore when they come to feel it they will look on it as a new Load laid upon their Backs, already almoſt broken, and will murmur as much as if it were a Tax which had never before been thought of. They do not look into Acts of Parliament for learning what Taxes they are ſubject to: They conſider only what Taxes they have been accuſtomed to pay; and therefore they will always date the Commencement of a Tax from that Time when it firſt began to be exacted upon them. For this Reaſon our beginning now to exact this Tax, will certainly raiſe new Murmurs: I ſhall not ſay it will make the Murmurings of the People more general; they are already by much too general; and ſuch temporary Expedients are not, I am ſure, the moſt proper Ways for appeaſing them, or for preventing thoſe Riots and Tumults, which are now ſo juſtly complained of.

But, Sir, even with reſpect to the Laws by which this Duty has been eſtabliſhed, the Method now propoſed for ſupplying the current Service, muſt be look'd on as a Method for doing it by a new Tax in Whole or in Part, or it muſt be look'd on as a Method for doing it by incroaching upon thoſe Funds appropriated

priated to the Payment of the Principal or Intereſt of our Debts. If it was never deſigned by any of the Laws now in Being, that *made Wines* ſhould be looked on as *Sweets*, or ſubjected to any Tax as ſuch, the ſubjecting them for the future to a Tax, muſt be look'd on as impoſing a new Tax upon ſuch Wines; and if by the Laws now in Being all Liquors made for Sale by Infuſion, Fermentation, or otherwiſe, from *Britiſh Fruit or Sugar*, or from *Fruit or Sugar* mixed with other Materials or Ingredients, were deſigned to be looked on as *Sweets*, and as ſuch to be chargeable with the Duty of 36 *s. a Barrel*, as well as all Liquors made for Sale from foreign *Fruits or Sugar*, then the whole Duty now propoſed to be aboliſhed, ſtands appropriated to the Payment of our Debts, and makes a Part of the Sinking Fund, as may appear from the famous Act of the 6th of his late Majeſty, for enabling the *South-Sea* Company to increaſe their Capital, by which this Duty, among others, ſtands expreſly appropriated to that Company. Nor does it ſignify to ſay that this Duty never produced any Thing; becauſe if the Levying of this Duty was prevented by a Doubt in the Act of Parliament, that Doubt ought to have been explained long before now; for he who grants is always ſuppoſed to grant every Thing neceſſary for making his Grant effectual. Therefore, as the old Duty ſtands appropriated to the *South-Sea* Company, and makes a Part of the Sinking Fund, we cannot aboliſh it without making an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund; and if the *South-Sea* Company ſhould give up two Thirds of their Grant, in order to make the remaining Third more effectual, or if we ſhould by Way of Repeal, take from the Sinking Fund two Thirds of this Duty, in Hopes the remaining Third would produce more than the whole three Parts formerly did, or could have done, ſurely the *South-Sea* Company as well as the Sinking Fund have an undoubted Right to that third Part; ſo that we cannot appropriate the 12*s.* now propoſed to be laid upon *Sweets* to the Service of next Year, without incroaching both upon the Sinking Fund, and upon the Right of the *South Sea* Company.

I hope, Sir, every Gentleman that hears me is now convinced, the Project we have under our Conſideration muſt either be called a new Tax, or an Incroachment on the Sinking Fund; and as the Hon. Gentleman who moved you the Queſtion, admitted, that we ought neither to impoſe any new Tax, nor make any ſuch Incroachment; I hope he will now admit, his Propoſition is ſuch a one as ought not to be agreed to; for tho' *I* ſhall not ſay that out of his own Mouth I have condemned him, yet, I think I may ſay, that out of his own Mouth, I have condemned the Project he has been pleaſed to offer. I know, it may be ſaid, that if we, from the future Produce of this Duty, pay yearly to the Sinking Fund, a Sum equal to what the Duty has produced at a Medium ſince the firſt Time of its being granted, we cannot be accuſed of making any Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund; but is not this a Sort of Play upon Words hardly becoming the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and much leſs the Proceedings of this Houſe, where nothing but Equity and ſtrict Honour ought to prevail? A Duty has been granted, Money has been borrowed upon the Credit of that Duty, it has ſince been found the Duty was ſo high, that it amounted to a Prohibition, and, therefore, produced little or nothing; the Creditors come and deſire the Duty may be lowered, in order that they may have ſome Sort of Security for their Money: Could we refuſe ſo equitable a Requeſt? Could we in Honour ſay, No, you ſhall have

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the former Produce, which was little or nothing, continued to you; but if, upon its being lowered, it produces more, we muſt take the whole increaſed Produce, for anſwering our own neceſſary Occaſions? The Caſe before us is ſtill ſtronger: The old Duty upon *Sweets* would have produced a great deal more than ever it did, if the Doubt which aroſe about the Intention of the Law had been explained as now deſigned; and, if what is now deſigned, was really the Intention of the Law at firſt, that Doubt ought to have been ſo explained as ſoon as it was taken Notice of, in order to make effectual to our Creditors that Grant, which we had made them for ſecuring the Payment of the Money they lent us in our Diſtreſs. We may aboliſh the old Duty, we may eſtabliſh one third Part of that Duty only, for the future; but that new Duty ſo to be eſtabliſhed, in Honour, in Juſtice, in Equity, belongs to the Creditors who lent their Money upon the Credit of the old Duty; and conſequently, we cannot apply it to the current Service, without making an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund.

I have hitherto ſuppoſed, Sir, that the Parliaments which eſtabliſhed the Duty upon *Sweets*, deſigned to include thoſe Liquors called *made Wines*: and this I have ſuppoſed, only to ſhew that, even in that Caſe, we ought not to agree to the Method propoſed, becauſe it will be an Incroachment upon the Sinking-Fund; but now, Sir, I ſhall ſuppoſe, and I do inſiſt upon it, that no former Parliament ever intended to ſubject Liquors made for Sale by Infuſion, Fermentation, or otherwiſe, from *Britiſh* Fruits or Sugar, or from Fruits or Sugar mixed with other Materials or Ingredients, and commonly called or diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *made Wines*, to the Duty by them impoſed upon *Sweets*; and the Practice ever ſince thoſe Acts of Parliament were paſſed, which is above *thirty* Years ago, has fully juſtified my Opinion; for we muſt ſuppoſe the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, and the Exciſemen, have often taken the Opinion of Lawyers upon this Head; and if they had ever had the Opinion of any tolerable Lawyer in their Favour, we may ſuppoſe, they would have exacted the Tax with the utmoſt Rigour; we cannot ſuppoſe, without doing great Injuſtice to thoſe worthy Servants of their Country, that they would have allowed the Publick to be defrauded of ſuch a conſiderable Revenue, if in all that Time they had ever had the Opinion of any noted Lawyer in their Favour; therefore, I muſt look upon the Propoſition now made to us, as a Propoſition for impoſing a new Tax upon the Subjects of this Kingdom; and I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew, that it is a Tax of the moſt oppreſſive Nature, and which may be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences, with reſpect to our Conſtitution and the Liberty of the Subject.

The Nature of Exciſe-Laws, Sir, and the dangerous Conſequences of extending ſuch Laws in a free Country, were upon a late famous Occaſion ſo fully explained, that I little expected a further Extenſion of ſuch Laws would have been attempted for ſome Years to come; but now I find, I have been egregiouſly miſtaken; for the Project now before us, I muſt look on as a new and a wide Extenſion of thoſe Laws. Every one knows, the Duty upon *Sweets* is to be raiſed by the Laws of Exciſe, and if you ſubject all thoſe Liquors called *made Wines* to that Duty, there is hardly a Farmer, or a Country Gentleman in *England*, but will by that Means be ſubjected to the Laws of Exciſe, if he reſolves to make the beſt Uſe of his Garden or

Orchard. Our Exciſe-Laws have already ſpread themſelves over every City, Borough, and Village in the Kingdom, and by this new Regulation they are to ſpread themſelves over every County, and to enter into the moſt loneſome Farm-Houſe in *England*; for if a Farmer has a Mind to make a little Money of an Elder-Hedge, or of a Goosberry, Rasberry, or Currant-Buſh, or of a Mulberry-Tree, he may have in his Garden, in order to enable him to pay his Rent to his Landlord, his Houſe muſt be open at all Hours in the Day-time to the Gauger, nay, it muſt be open at all Hours in the Night-time, if the Gauger can but find a profligate Fellow of an Alehouſe-keeper in the Hundred, who has got himſelf named a Conſtable by the Trading Juſtices of the County. Can it be ſuppoſed, Sir, that this will produce no freſh Murmurs, can it be ſuppoſed our Farmers will all ſubmit patiently to ſuch a Hardſhip, or can it be ſuppoſed that all our Gaugers will behave with common Decency, when they get into a loneſome Houſe in the Country, at a Time, when, perhaps, the Family are in the Fields a Hay-making, and no Perſon left at Home, but the Farmer's Wife, or his Daughter? Then, ſuppoſe the Farmer is caught in a Fraud, how will the Landlord look, when he finds himſelf diſappointed of his Rent, by an Extent brought againſt his Tenant for the Penalty?

I am ſure, Sir, I need not repeat to the Houſe the many good Arguments that have been made uſe of againſt Exciſe-Laws. It has upon a former Occaſion been ſhewn, that they are of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution; and the Arguments then made uſe of are certainly ſtill freſh in every Gentleman's Memory. I ſhall only take Notice, that as the Authority and Buſineſs of Exciſemen will be very much increaſed by this new Project, we have now a greater Number of them than we have Occaſion for, or their Number muſt be greatly augmented; for not only many of our Farmers will from henceforth be ſubjected to their Review, but I am afraid, every Tavern and Wine-Cellar in the Kingdom. We know what a Clamour was raiſed againſt the laſt Attempt to ſubject Wine-Merchants and Vintners to Exciſe-Laws: That was an open Attempt, and ſuch a one as they could openly oppoſe; but the Difficulty of ſuch an Attack was then felt; and, therefore, they are now to be attack'd in an indirect and hidden Method; for, if moſt of our Dealers in Wine, be Brewers of Wine, as is commonly reported, every ſuch Dealer will, by this *Method*, be ſubjected to the Review of an Exciſeman, tho' he dares not ſay he is afraid of any ſuch Thing, and, therefore, cannot openly oppoſe the Project now before us. By this Means, the Influence which Exciſemen already have, or may have, upon all City and Borough-Elections, will be very much increaſed; and, as many of our Farmers are Freeholders, the Exciſemen will, by Means of this Project, have an Opportunity of gaining an Influence likewiſe in all County-Elections; both which are diametrically oppoſite to our Conſtitution, and to the Liberty of the Subject.

If by lowering the Duty on *Sweets*, and preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors in Punch or otherwiſe, thoſe Liquors called *made Wines*, ſhould come to be of univerſal Uſe, we muſt ſuppoſe that almoſt every Farmer in *England*, will turn himſelf towards the making of ſuch Liquors, and the producing of Materials proper for that Purpoſe; the Conſequence of which will be, that he muſt go to the next Office of Exciſe, and enter his Name and Place of Abode, together

ther with every Room and Place made Uſe of by him for making or keeping any ſuch Liquors. This he muſt do under a great Penalty, and from the Time he has done ſo, he can no longer call his Houſe properly his own: From that Moment, the Gauger may any Hour of the Day, and as often as he pleaſes, require Admittance; and, by taking a Conſtable along with him, he may at any Hour of the Night, and as often as he has a Mind, require Admittance: If the poor Farmer ſhould at any Time refuſe to leave his Labour in the Fields, or if he ſhould refuſe to get out of Bed after a hard Day's Labour, in order to let the Gauger enter his Houſe, he ſubjects himſelf to a great Penalty. For theſe Penalties he is not to be ſued according to the common Law, nor to be tried in the uſual Way, by God and his Country; but he is to be tried before the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, or before two Juſtices of Peace, who may convict him, without any Jury, upon the Oath of the Gauger, who makes the Complaint; and all this without any Appeal but to the Quarter Seſſions, whoſe Judgment is to be final. Then after he is once convicted, in order that he may for ever after remain obedient to the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, or to the Juſtices of Peace, they are impowered to levy the whole or what Part of the Penalty they pleaſe, according to the paſt or the future Behaviour of the unfortunate Convict.

This, Sir, will be the Caſe of every Farmer in *England*, who attempts to make the moſt of the Goosberries or Currants he has in his Garden; and if to avoid this Misfortune, he ſhould reſolve to ſell his Fruits to the Makers of ſuch Liquors, inſtead of making them himſelf, he muſt ſell them for little or nothing. From hence I am apt to believe that, notwithſtanding the low Duty you propoſe to lay upon *made Wines*, the Methods you are to preſcribe for raiſing it, will prevent the Conſumpt; becauſe no Man will ſubject himſelf to the Exciſe Laws, for the Sake of any Advantage he may get by the making of ſuch Liquors; and if they are not made, I am ſure they cannot be conſumed; ſo that one or other of theſe Inconveniencies muſt ariſe from the Project now under our Conſideration: Either a great Number of our People will be ſubjected to Exciſe Laws, who were never before ſubject to any ſuch, or the Produce of the Duty will come far ſhort of your Expectation. By the former, our Liberties will be expoſed to greater Danger than they are at preſent, or ever ought to be; and by the latter, we ſhall leave a new Load upon our Poſterity, without any competent Fund, for ridding them of that Load; which is, I think, what no Man can agree to, who has any Regard for his Poſterity, or the future Happineſs of his Country.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope it will appear, that the Method propoſed for making good the Deficiency of the Supplies for this next enſuing Year, is not only a new Tax, but that that Tax is one of the moſt dangerous Taxes we can impoſe upon the People. I ſhall be far from propoſing any Addition to the *Land Tax*; I think 2*s. in the Pound* is the higheſt our Land-holders ought to be loaded with in Time of Peace; but I am ſure it would be better for every Land-holder in *England* to pay 3*s. in the Pound Land-Tax*, than to lay ſuch a Hardſhip upon his Tenants, as to make it neceſſary for them either to ſubject themſelves to the Laws of Exciſe, or give up making the proper Advantage of ſome Part of their Farms. An additional *Shilling* to the *Land-Tax* is but a ſhort temporary Loſs: It is a Loſs of a twentieth Part of his Rent but for one Year only; but by ſubjecting his Tenants to ſuch a

Hardſhip for 17 or 20 Years, he may find himſelf obliged to lower the Rent of every Farm that belongs to him, much more than a twentieth Part, which will be probably a perpetual Loſs, or at leaſt a yearly Loſs that may affect him and his Poſterity for a great Number of Years. For this Reaſon I ſay, Sir, every Land-holder ought to chuſe rather to pay an additional *Shilling Land-Tax*, than ſubject his Tenants to ſuch a Hardſhip as will be the neceſſary Conſequence of the Project now before us. But there is another Reaſon why every Man in the Kingdom, as well as every Land-holder, ought to be againſt this Project, if he has a proper Regard for his Poſterity or for his Country; becauſe the Method thereby propoſed for raiſing Money for the current Service, is in general, I think, the moſt pernicious Method this Nation, or any Nation, can ever chuſe for ſupplying ſuch Services. To eſtabliſh Funds, and then mortgage thoſe Funds for ready Money, is a Method of ſupplying the current Service, which I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew no Nation ought to take, but in Caſes of the greateſt Extremity and Danger.

[*The reſt of this Debate we ſhall give in the* APPENDIX, *when this Journal is to be concluded.*]

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS *and* DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Weekly Miſcellany, Nov. 25. N° 257.

The Amuſements of the Bath, *and Extravagance of our modern Gaming.*

ONE who ſigns himſelf TOTTIS, in a Letter from the *Bath*, ſays: The Company of this Place may be divided into the Sick and Well; thoſe who come for the Benefit of the Waters, and thoſe who come for the Diverſions of the Seaſon; the Wealthy, the Frolick and the Gay; the Indigent, the Lazar, and the emaciated Cripple. This makes an odd Contraſt of Perſons; the one Sort appearing up and down the Rooms and Walks as ſo many Monuments of the Vanity, Shortneſs, and Pains of human Exiſtence, to abate the ſilly Confidence of Man, to ſtop the Purſuit of improper and hurtful Pleaſures, and check the eager Purſuit of any: The other Sort wholly unattentive to this affecting Lecture of Morality, and running after Enjoyments with ſuch *indefatigable Idleneſs* and *Inconſideration of Futurity*, as if Pleaſure was never to admit of Interruption, or Life of End. Too much Indolence unnerves the Body, and too much Hurry is a Profuſion of Spirits; and a continual Dance after frivolous Pleaſures is ſure to end in Chagrin and Diſappointment. It is however as difficult to avoid making one in this mad Company, as it is eaſy to deſpiſe what they are doing: The Courſe of Things is as mechanical as if it went by Clockwork, and you cannot well be a *free Agent*, where the whole Turn is to do as other People do: It is a Sort of *Fairy Circle*, if you do not run round in it, you either cannot move at all, or are in every Body's Way.

Res eſt ſeverâ voluptas, is a Truth which never appeared to me in ſo ſtrong a Light as now. *Pleaſure* is the Refinement of a *Gentleman*, it is a Matter of *Taſte* and *Senſe*; it requires *Parts* and *Genius*, and *Manners*, and is not to be found in the everlaſting Giggle and low Amuſements of the *great* Vulgar or the *ſmall*. People of Condition ſhould be more diſtinguiſh'd by the elegant Choice of their Satisfactions, than by their Dreſs and Equipage. I cannot for my Life ſee how a Man of Quality, ſitting Day after Day, and Night after Night at a *Quadrille* or *Gaming* Table, riſes above the loweſt Mechanic with his Joint-ſtool, Chalk, and All-fours, unleſs in having a cleaner Room, and riſking larger Sums. *Cards* are the univerſal Mode of a whole People, who pique themſelves upon being intelligent and polite: And yet the beſt that can be ſaid of them is, that they make People eaſy, by allowing them to be dull, and ſuperſeding the Neceſſity of their being entertaining: And this Diverſion might not improperly be called the Stratagem of ſhallow People who could not converſe, to bring down to a Level with themſelves all who could. For *Gaming* is a Suſpenſion of the Underſtanding, a ſtupid Attention to a Parcel of black and red Spots, a continual Conflict of the loweſt and baſeſt Paſſions; and if there be ſome Skill required in ſome Species of it, Creatures who do not diſcover common

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common Senſe in other Things, often excel in it. And yet for *this*, *Gentlemen* forego their Diſtinction of Birth and Education, waſte a whole Life in the moſt trifling of Amuſements, and bury the nobleſt Faculties in the meaneſt of Employments. For *this* the *Ladies* paſs anxious Days and ſleepleſs Nights, deny themſelves the Benefits of Light and Air, and ſacrifice even *Beauty* to the dear Diverſion. The Itch of Play rages like a Plague, and depopulates the Iſland of all that is lovely, generous and brave; it is epidemical throughout the Kingdom, and ſpares neither Age nor Sex among us; and we are become a *Nation of Gameſters*. In this Quarter the Diſtemper breaks out with all its terrible Symptoms, and has abſorbed the other Entertainments and Follies of the Place, as the floating Humours of the Body ſometimes ſettle into a *Gout*, which is a Complication of them all. Nothing is to be ſeen but *Play* and the Preparations for it: Perſons of all Characters and Denominations ſit down to *Cards* from Morning to Night, and Night to Morning; and *they* agree in this Particular, who diſagree in every Thing elſe.

There is a Story of Mr. *Locke*, that being invited to make a Party with a Company of the higheſt Rank, and hearing the Cards called for as ſoon as the Dinner was over, he retired thoughtful to a Window, and being asked the Reaſon of his Serioufneſs, replied, *he had not ſlept the foregoing Night for the Pleaſure their Lordſhips had given him leave to expect, from that Day's Converſation with Men of the firſt Character for Senſe and Genius, and hoped his Sorrow for his Diſappointment would be forgiven him.* It is ſaid too, the Game was thrown up, and Converſation reſtored upon this Remonſtrance. The Pain I feel upon this Occaſion is much like that of the great Man I have mentioned: But I am not a Mr. *Locke*, and if I were, might poſſibly not be ſo ſucceſsful now, tho' I was to die of the Spleen. I ſhould therefore have acquieſced and not thruſt myſelf into the impertinent Office of inſtructing my Betters, if I could have found one Day in ſeven exempt from this Offence againſt Taſte and good Manners. But when on *Sunday* I went to the public Rooms for my uſual Refreſhment of Tea, and the Pleaſure of looking about me, and beheld Tables with Cards, and ſurrounded by Perſons of Figure enough to give a Sanction to the Practice among the Vulgar, I loſt all Patience, and could not forbear crying out againſt a Scene ſo ſhocking in a *Proteſtant*, *Chriſtian* Kingdom. This may be a *foreign* Mode, but I am confident, 'till lately, it has not been an *Engliſh* one. Our *travell'd* Gentlemen may more innocently import *French* Silks than ſuch *French* Faſhions. A *ſeventh* Day has been devoted to holy Purpoſes by the firſt written Laws, and perhaps as early as our World: And I am fully perſuaded, we are indebted for the *Remains* of Religion and even *rational Nature*, to the conſtant Return of that Day. I therefore look upon all Attempts to miſ-apply it, not only as an Inſult on that unerring Wiſdom which appointed it, but a Malevolence to Mankind, who by this Means may inſenſibly loſe their only Security againſt ſinking as low as the brutal Nature in Thinking and Acting.

Common Senſe, Dec. 3. N° 44.

Of Tyranny and Tyrants.

SIR,

THE beſt Definition of Tyranny, that I have met with, is Mr. *Locke's*, tho' I think it is not compleat. 'Tyranny is the 'Exerciſe of Power beyond Right'. I would rather ſay, 'tis the Exerciſe of Power without Right, to the Prejudice of ſome Perſon: Becauſe a Power may be uſed without Right, and yet to the Benefit of him on whom 'tis exercis'd, and conſequently not Tyrannical. But if this Definition of Tyranny be not exact, his following Remarks have judiciouſly and fully deſcrib'd it. 'Where Law ends '(ſays he) Tyranny begins; if the Law be 'tranſgreſs'd to another's Harm'. 'Tis a Miſtake, he ſays, to think this Fault is proper only to Monarchies. Other Forms of Government are liable to it, as well as that; for wherever the Power, that is put in any Hands for the Government of the People, and the Preſervation of their Properties, is applied to other Ends, and made Uſe of to impoveriſh, harraſs, or ſubdue them to the arbitrary Commands of thoſe that have it, then it becomes Tyranny, whether it be in the Hands of one or many.

If theſe Obſervations are true, as, ſurely, they are, then not only the Perſon who has the ſupreme Power in every State may be Tyrannical, but every other inferior Magiſtrate. A Monarchy, whether deſpotick or limited, may poſſibly be as little liable to Tyranny as a Republick; and a Conſtable, perhaps, may not be leſs likely to be a Tyrant than a Sultan. The Eſſence of Tyranny conſiſts plainly in an illegal, a partial, a rapacious Adminiſtration in the Uſe of Authority by any Magiſtrate, be he Supreme or Inferior, not for the Good of the People, but to gratify his Avarice, Ambition, or ſome irregular Paſſion.

It follows too from theſe Obſervations, that a People may be oppreſs'd, and yet the Prince be ſcarce properly denominated a Tyrant. He may be given up to Pleaſure, have an Averſion to Buſineſs, or not be capable of it: But if ſuch an indolent and unapt Prince ſhould connive at the licentious Cruelty of his wicked Miniſters, the Sufferings of the People may be

be as great as those of the *Romans* under *Nero*. It may be observ'd further, Sir, that there are Degrees of Tyranny: And that there may be some Alleviations even of the worst Sorts of it. I should think myself less unhappy to be born under a Tyranny establish'd for some Generations, than under a free Government, and yet to live to see the Loss of that inestimable Blessing of Liberty. Further yet, Sir, if it were my unhappy State to be a Slave, it would still be some Consolation to me to be domineer'd over by wise, tho' wicked Men: For surely, Sir, it must add great Weight to the Chains of any thinking Slave, to find himself oppress'd by contemptible Masters.

Another Letter in this Paper insinuates, that the Plain Account of the Sacrament, *was written to make the D—ss—nt—rs, and consequently the M———r, easy about the Affair of the* T——st.

In this and some former Papers was published the following *Advertisement*.

Whereas the Merchants of England *have found by Experience, that it is dangerous for Ships carrying* English *Colours to trade either to the* Mediterranean *or* America, *this is to give Notice to all Commanders of Ships, as well such as were formerly call'd Men of War, and have since been employ'd in Trade for the Benefit of their respective Captains, as Masters of Merchant-Men, that* Peter St. Malo *lately arriv'd from* France, *will furnish them with* French *Colours at very reasonable Rates.*

N. B. That before he left his own Country he made the same Colours for the French *trading Vessels, which were found to have that Virtue in them, that all those Ships that carried them, pass'd unmolested thro' all Parts of the World.*

He is to be spoke with every Day upon the French *Walk in 'Change Time, and afterwards at* Tom's *House*, Cornhill.

Craftsman, Dec. 3. N° 595.

Of INFORMERS.

THE most shocking Circumstance of the *Roman* Bondage, under their *Emperors*, was the Encouragement given to *Informers* and *Accusers*. Mr. *Gordon* hath bestow'd several Chapters upon *these Monsters*, in his Discourses before *Tacitus*, with their Methods of Proceeding, the horrid Butcheries they committed, and the general Consternation they struck into all Ranks of People; particularly in the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*. Every Man of Birth, Ability, Virtue, or Merit of any Kind, which render'd them both hated and fear'd, was almost sure of Destruction; for *these infamous Practices* grew so general, by Example, Depravity and personal Fear, that many Persons made no Scruple of betraying their most intimate Friends and Acquaintance, their nearest Relations, and even their Parents, for *Plots* real, or pretended against their Imperial Majesties. Not only the least obnoxious Words and Actions were wrested into *High-Treason*, but even *Looks* and *Gestures* were sufficient to take away the Lives of those, who were suspected, or disliked at *Court*. Nay, it was even criminal to discover their *Fears*. In short, the *Roman Commonwealth*, founded at first by a Band of *Outlaws*, was now degenerated into a Community of *Informers* and *Cut-Throats*, who were not only protected and rewarded, but advanced to the highest Honours and Offices of State.

The good Emperor *Titus* began to put a Stop to these Enormities, by a severe Edict against *Informers* and *Accusers*. But his short Reign, and the brutish Temper of his Brother *Domitian*, who succeeded him, frustrated that glorious Design. *Informers* were now let loose again, and gorged themselves with the noblest *Roman* Blood, which their former Rapine had left unshed. However *Nerva*, who succeeded, being a good Prince, revived the Edict of *Titus*, with several Additions; and his adopted Son, *Trajan*, endeavoured to compleat it, by the Law of Retaliation, or dooming them to the same Punishments, which they had unjustly fix'd upon others. This furnishes *Pliny* with one of the finest Topicks of Panegyrick upon *that excellent Prince*, which I cannot forbear quoting from Bishop *Kennet*'s Translation of it. Having given some Account of *Domitian*'s barbarous Shews and Diversions, he proceeds as follows.

'Instead of this bloody, this accursed Shew, how fair, how innocent an one have you obliged us with? We have now seen *false Evidences* and *suborn'd Informers* punish'd with the same Severity as *Thieves* and *Murderers*. *This Sort of Plague* did lately so far spread, that they skulk'd not in *Corners*, or *unfrequented Places*, but throng'd the *Temples* and crowded the *Courts of Justice*. At the Mercy of *these Rascals* lay every Man's Life and Estate, no Degree, no Condition secure; the being a *Father*, or being *Childless*, was alike criminal, when *these Villains* were agreed to make it so. To *this fatal Mischief*, in former Times, the Spleen and Avarice of our *Princes* hath much contributed. But you nobly resolved to correct this Abuse; and when you had reform'd the Discipline of the Camp, you came to regulate the Proceedings of your *Courts of Justice* too. — You have done nothing more honourable, nothing more becoming the Glories of your Reign, than your just Retribution of *suborn'd Witnesses*. We fed our Eyes with seeing them drawn thro' the Streets to the Place of Execution. We look'd and bless'd ourselves at the

the comfortable Sight; when, like Victims to atone for the Blood their Perjuries had ſhed, they were dragg'd away to make the ſame ignominious End, to which they had brought ſo many innocent Souls. Some of them, in order to be tranſported, were thruſt on Ship-board, and deliver'd over to the Mercy of Storms and Billows. Deſervedly were they expell'd *that Country*, which their *Miſinformations* had laid deſolate. If any of them happen'd to eſcape the Juſtice of *Winds* and the *Sea*, they ſhould be landed on *barren Rocks* and *unfrequented Shores*, there to drudge out a laborious and a miſerable Life, far from all Societies, of which they were not fit to be Members. — A memorable Sight this! — A Fleet of *Evidences* turn'd looſe, to grapple with the Winds, which ſpread their Sails together in the Storms, and fly before the driving Waves, till their Career be ſtopt by daſhing againſt ſome ſurly Rock! —— A gallant Proſpect from the ſafer Shore, to view the rambling Navy toſt and ſcatter'd thro' the foaming Ocean; and a fit Occaſion this, of freſh Gratitude to our *Prince*, who, preſerving his Clemency untainted, hath deliver'd over *theſe Criminals* to the Juſtice of the *Sea* and the *Gods* thereof! —— A notable Inſtance this of what Alterations ſhort Time may produce, when to thoſe very Deſarts, where the *Innocent* were lately ſo injuriouſly baniſh'd, the *Guilty* are now juſtly confined; and all thoſe ſavage Iſlands, ſo lately fill'd with *falſely accuſed Senators*, are now more properly ſtock'd with *theſe perfidious Informers*, whom you have not only curb'd, or ſtifled for the preſent, but by *Penalties*, anſwerable to their black Crimes, totally quell'd and ſuppreſs'd them for ever."

It muſt give every Man Pleaſure to read this Account, however averſe to Severity of all Kinds. —— But all the Care of *this good Prince* could not ſecure Poſterity from the *ſame dreadful Peſtilence*, which broke out again in the following Reigns, and continued to infeſt the wretched Dregs of the *Roman* People, with but little Intermiſſion, till the Deſtruction of the *Empire* itſelf. Even the *Chriſtian Emperors* encouraged it; and, if we may believe ſome Writers, carry'd it much further than the very worſt of the *Heathen Tyrants*.

I do not find that theſe *Blood Suckers* ever got to ſuch an Head in *England*; tho' our Hiſtory abounds with Inſtances of *State-Murders*, by open Violence, private Aſſaſſinations, and mock Forms of Law. But no Court was ever without *Spies* and *Intelligencers*, both *abroad* and *at home*. Thoſe *abroad* are abſolutely neceſſary in Negotiation, and may be turn'd to great Advantage by a *faithful Miniſter*. But thoſe *at home* are only the Under-Agents of the *grand Whiſperers*, and by them employ'd to diſcover the private Opinions of the People. For this Purpoſe, they frequent Coffee-houſes and other Places of publick Reſort, as well as inſinuate themſelves into private Clubs and Parties of Pleaſure; where they have a Licence to rail and abuſe thoſe, who pay them, in order to draw Secrets out of thoſe, with whom they converſe. I have myſelf had the Honour more than once of being beſet by *theſe miniſterial Familiars*; but they happen'd to be ſuch Novices in their Profeſſion, that they either betray'd themſelves, or were diſcover'd by others, to whom they fooliſhly boaſted of their Employment.

There is another Sort of *Informers* in all Kingdoms and States, which abound with *penal Laws*, enforced with *pecuniary Rewards*. This became ſuch a Grievance, in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, that ſeveral Acts were paſs'd for the Redreſs of it; which proving ineffectual, another Law was made, in the Reign of K. *James* I. at the Motion of the *Houſe of Commons*, againſt *vexatious Relators*, *Informers* and *Promoters upon penal Statutes*.

It is natural to obſerve here, that if it was thought neceſſary to reſtrain the Practices of *common Informers*, in the Reigns of Q. *Elizabeth* and K. *James* I. it is certainly expedient at preſent, when *penal Laws* are multiply'd and extended to ſuch a Degree, that our Streets ſwarm with *mercenary Informers*, and our Priſons are fill'd with *little miſerable Offenders* againſt them; which excites the Compaſſion of good natured People at home, and I am afraid gives no great Credit to our Country abroad.

Daily Gazetteer, Dec. 10. N° 760.

One who ſigns himſelf Paul Crape, *gives the following Summary of his Letters upon the Subject of the* Spaniſh *Depredations.*

I HAVE ſaid, that if the *Spaniards* will be rigorous, and withdraw their Forbearance and Indulgence, they can juſtify many of the late Captures; and we are upon the ſame Footing as other Nations. — That the *Craftſman* is very vain, in making a Merit of ſaying nothing to the Purpoſe; and we have no Treaty that can invalidate theſe Confiſcations. — That at *Utrecht* we had an undeniable Opportunity of obtaining Explanations, or Conceſſions, that would have prevented moſt, if not all, the late Loſſes and Diſputes. — That Satisfaction ought to be made for all the Seizures they can't prove to be juſt; and if it is not immediate, the Sufferers ſhould not be impatient, but reſt perſuaded there's a juſt Cauſe of Delay, and believe the *Spaniards* have their Demands upon us, and may charge us with illegal Captures, *&c.* — That we were wrong in the *Sicilian* Hoſtilities, and cannot blame the *Spaniards* Reſentment, nor expect they ſhould ſhew us any particular Marks of their Eſteem or Regard. — That it is our Intereſt to endeavour

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a hearty Reconcilliation with them; and it is theirs likewise to be always in a ſtrict Alliance and Friendſhip with us, preferable to any other Nation. Theſe Aſſertions are again humbly ſubmitted to every diſintereſted and impartial *Briton*.

He concludes thus: And here with a becoming Reſentment, we reflect upon the Negotiations of the *Utrecht* Treaty-Mongers, who neglected their Country. If they did not know what to aſk, why did they not inform themſelves? We made a Peace by ourſelves, ſurely we ought to have made it for ourſelves. The *Weſt-India* Trade ſhould have really been taken Care of, and ſuch Explanations or Conceſſions inſiſted upon, that would have effectually deſtroy'd the preſent Pretenſions of the *Spaniards*.—But this was not the only Sin of Omiſſion; they might have demanded all the *Newfoundland* Fiſhery to ourſelves, excluſive of the *French*, who have the Advantage of us in carrying better Goods to Market; whether it be owing to their Salt, their Art in Curing, or the Goodneſs of their Fiſh, I don't pretend to ſay.—Yet thro' theſe Clouds we ſhine, and are notwithſtanding a glorious Nation; and ſo we ſhall continue as long as we are Proof againſt the Attempts of the Evil-minded. Unanimity will give us ſuperior Strength; but Diſcord will weaken us, and make us a Prey to an Enemy.—If there are any who long to fiſh in troubled Waters, to involve us in a War, that they may have an Opportunity of making their own Fortunes; to theſe unnatural Sons of an indulgent Mother, I ſhall tell a ſhort Story, and leave 'em to make the Application. When I was at *Jamaica*, as we were going off one Evening, *Jack Bowline*, who was then a Midſhipman with us, ſtarts up all at once, and falls foul of one of the Fellows, who reſiſted, and in the Scuffle we were fairly overſet; but very luckily for us, another Boat was putting off at the ſame Time and ſaved us: Who can gueſs the Cauſe of *Jack*'s Wrath? They had left his Cagg of Rum aſhore: What do you think he reply'd, when we expoſtulated with him?—D—n his Bl—d, he had rather we were all drowned, than want Punch.

Common Senſe, Dec. 10. N° 45.

NONSENSE *to* COMMON SENSE.

SIR,

I AM *Nonſenſe*, a terreſtrial Goddeſs, your avow'd and irreconcileable Foe. My Power is too univerſally known and acknowledg'd, not to be dreaded by all thoſe who dare oppoſe me. I have the Ladies, the Poetaſters, and the M— on my Side:—The Figure I have often made in great A—s is conſpicuous to all Mankind: And it is well known, that when my Reaſons are heard and attended to, they have ſometimes had a more powerful Influence in thoſe A—s than the Eloquence of *Tully* ever had over the Senators of *Rome*.—My Love Verſes are handed about in the Circle of St. *James*'s; they are approv'd of, and admir'd by the whole C—t; and my good Lord C—— and his V—e, both honour me with their Devotion.

But to ſay Truth, I am often oblig'd to appear in different Shapes, in order to gain ſo extenſive a Sway as I now bear in this polite Nation: But one of the Places where I moſt conſtantly appear in my own Figure, and where my Attributes are moſt openly avow'd, is the third Form in *Weſtminſter* School; whoever goes thorough that bright Seminary of Learning, muſt begin his firſt Eſſays in Poetry by making Nonſenſe Verſes. It was here that *Dryden* himſelf ſtay'd half a Year within my Juriſdiction, and tho' he ungratefully endeavour'd to forget the firſt Rudiments which he learnt under my benign Influence, yet, in the Multiplicity of his Writings, he was frequently compell'd to practiſe my ſacred Myſteries.

The Pulpit and the Play-houſe owe their crouded Audiences to my Inſpiration.—Orator *Henley* is my chief Prieſt, and, as *Pope* vulgarly expreſſes it,

Imbrown'd with native bronze, lo! *Henley* ſtands,
Tuning his voice, and balancing his hands:
How fluent *Nonſenſe* trickles from his tongue!
How ſweet the periods! neither ſaid nor ſung.

The preſent glorious *Laureat* is a Poet after my own Heart. His Vows to me have been conſtant, and his Offerings at my Altar uninterrupted, except when he ſtole from certain *Lordly Perſons* (whoſe Names and Characters I abhor) that inſipid Comedy, call'd, *The Careleſs Huſband*. Such an Act in ſuch a Son rais'd my Indignation to the higheſt Pitch: Nor could he perfectly appeaſe my Anger till he had turn'd the *Tartuffe* of *Moliere* into his own excellent *Nonjuror*; but he is now all, and for ever, my own: And I can boaſt of no greater Work, even among the moſt happy Labours of my moſt laborious Bards, than the laſt *incomprehenſible Ode* upon the 30th of *October*.

Two or three *Roman* Poets did me great Miſchief many Ages ago; *Quintus Horatius Flaccus* in particular, who ſtrove, not without a Proſpect of Succeſs, to baniſh me out of the habitable World: But I baffled his Endeavours by making *Dunſter* tranſlate him into Proſe, and *Creech* turn him into Rhyme; and when I have a Mind to do this ſame *Horace* more Miſchief than ordinary, and even to *out-bentley Bentley*, I dedicate him to a Lord, or adorn him with Gems and Medals.

It is needleſs for me to boaſt of the many Followers I have, when I ſhine in immortal Luſtre at the Theatre in the *Haymarket*, a Place where you dare not ſhew your Head.—It is the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of *Nonſenſe*, and owes its preſent Glory to the happy Adminiſtration of thoſe two Demi-Gods, my Vice-Gerents, *Angelo Cori*, and *John James Heidegger*.—The Merits of *John James* are known and confeſs'd at all the Courts of *Europe*; and they have rais'd ſuch Envy in the *Spaniſh* Miniſters (who are making continual Depredations on the *Engliſh*) that thoſe rapacious *Dons* have ſeiz'd the charming *Farinelli* as counterband Goods. *John James* bears the Loſs with an Equanimity and Calmneſs, that renders him, if poſſible, more than ever the Delight of Mankind: He knows he ſhall *one Day or other* receive Juſtice: He is a Lover of Peace and Harmony, and therefore waits till he has had a ſatisfactory Letter from Mr. *K——ne* before he makes thoſe unneceſſary Clamours and Outcries, that would only proclaim him *a ſturdy Beggar*, and could be of no Sort of Uſe towards the Recovery of *Farinelli*. The worthy *Angelo Cori* is leſs known and conſequently leſs admired; but I can give no better an Idea of his excellent Parts, and fine Turn for Nonſenſe, than by quoting one of his Songs in the laſt delightful Opera of *Aſcanes*, Act. 1ſt. Scene 4th. Page 13th.

When in a foggy gloomy air,
The monſter wanders from the wood,
He flies the huntſman, ſtruck with fear,
Nor, rav'nous, longer ſeeks his food.
But both his fear and flight prove vain,
By his unerring hand,
His fury's quell'd, and he lies ſlain,
Stretch'd on the barren ſtrand.

Such a Genius both for Muſick and Poetry (for the *Italian* Time is equal to the *Engliſh* Words) muſt hereafter claim the Laurel, when my Favourite *C——r* is mingled among the Gods: Nor can I have the leaſt Glimpſe of Joy in the preſent univerſal Grief, but by thinking that it may afford Time to *Signor Cori* to prepare more Nonſenſe for his Friend *Heidegger's* Stage.—But bidding Defiance to you and *the Craftſman*, I ſhall conclude with ſaying, that tho' I am the Eſſence and Deity of *Nonſenſe*, I hope to have wrote for once to be underſtood by *Common Senſe*.

Adieu for ever.

Univerſal Spectator, Dec. 10. N° 479.

Several Sorts of COXCOMBS.

Mr. SPEC,

IT is an Obſervation of a great Wit, I think *Montaigne*, that, as amongſt wiſe Men, he is the wiſeſt who thinks he knows leaſt; ſo amongſt Fools, he is the greateſt that thinks he knows moſt: The Truth of this Maxim is evident to all who have made the leaſt Obſervation on Mankind; there is ſuch a Self-ſufficiency eternally attach'd to Folly, that it will inevitably betray itſelf; there is not a Bleckhead, but who is at the ſame Time a talkative Impertinent. If we view the World, we find ſeveral different Species of Fools, who entertain a prodigious Opinion of themſelves, from having their ſeveral Accompliſhments ariſing from different Talents; the *Coffee-Houſe Politician* looks with the utmoſt Contempt on the Man of *Wit* and *Pleaſure*; the *Virtuoſo* heartily deſpiſes the Abilities of the *Court Gallant*, and the *Beau* has as mean an Opinion of the Knowledge of Coins and Cockleſhells, as the *Naturaliſt* can poſſibly have for Toupees and Drawing Rooms: Folly and Impertinence may be equally predominant in them all, whether they ſettle the Affairs of the Nation or thoſe of the Theatre; whether an *Otho* may be the Delight of their Soul, or a fine Shape and faſhionable Suit of Cloaths: Your more ſober, ſedate Coxcombs are generally the moſt troubleſome to Men of Senſe; and your witty, gay, gallant Blockheads are the greateſt Plagues to Women, either of Beauty or Fortune: There is not a young Lady, of either one or the other, can arrive at her 16th Year, but ſhe has a Shoal of theſe deteſtable arrogant Creatures, who liſt themſelves in their Service, and are Volunteirs in the Purſuit of Wealth and Beauty.

I wiſh I could ſay that the Female-Sex did not give theſe laſt Kind of Blockheads too civil a Reception, and did not believe that they really had the Accompliſhments of a fine Gentleman becauſe they themſelves aver'd it: If the Ladies run into ſuch Indiſcretion, it is merely from their wanting to know how to diſtinguiſh the Man of Wit and Merit from the empty Coxcomb and talkative Fop; it is therefore incumbent on you, to endeavour the giving the Minds of the Women a more rational Turn, and place in a true Light the Pretences and Arrogance of a *Fop*; nor can I think you could hit of a more effectual Way, than to give an *hiſtorical Account* of theſe *Inſipids*; you need not be very tedious and prolix in your Memoirs, as their Talk and Actions are very narrowly confin'd, the Diary of one Day would in Effect be the whole Hiſtory of their Life.

DOROTHY MANLY.

The Unreaſonableneſs of branding Men with odious Names, for mere Difference in Opinion.

To the Author of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

IT is very often the Caſe, that thoſe who differ from *current Orthodoxy* are aſperſ'd

with the Name of *atheiſtical* or *deiſtical* Perſons; tho' they believe the Verity and Excellency of the Chriſtian Religion, and lead a virtuous Courſe of Life.

The Perſons generally aſpers'd, are thoſe who believe the univerſal Goodneſs of God, and the intire Agreement of Reaſon and Revelation. But as it was not my Intent to ſay any Thing in Defence of their Tenets, I ſhall proceed to make ſome Remarks on the Diſingenuity of thoſe that aſperſe 'em. It's very apparent, that they are ſenſible what they ſay, is a Slur on their Characters, on whom they fix the Appellation; becauſe they mention it as an ill Thing; which Conſideration alone, ought to prevail with Perſons of any tolerable Decency in their Behaviour, or who'e Pretenſions to Religion are not intirely hypocritical, to be extremely cautious, in ſaying any Thing which affects a Perſon's Character; becauſe it's obvious, that Satisfaction and Advancement in Life, are in ſome Meaſure connected with the Eſteem of others; and conſequently, to throw an *Odium* on another's Character, has a plain Tendency to do him an irreparable Injury: Yet nothing is more common than for a Perſon, as above mention'd, to be generally pronounced a *Deiſt*, and ſometimes an *Atheiſt*, without any particular Inquiry into the Equity of the Charge, by thoſe that pronounce him ſuch: Which, to ſay no worſe, plainly ſhews a great deal of Conceit and blind Zeal; becauſe, a Difference in Sentiments from their ſuperior Judgment (as they ſeem to take that for granted) is the Foundation of the Aſperſions: And what is it but a blind Zeal (or what if I ſhould ſay a Want of Candour and common Honeſty) that propagates the Calumny on ſuch a Perſon, who innocently, and truly believes he has an equal Right to think for himſelf, with the reſt of Mankind, and likewiſe to declare his Judgment? Tho' Miniſters, in general, ſhould be eſteem'd and reſpected more than any other Rank of Men; yet, it's very much to be fear'd, that there are ſome of all Denominations, who are in ſome Meaſure acceſſory to the Continuation of this Diſpoſition in People, to think ill of Perſons of different Sentiments, thro' the Neglect of duly recommending (both in the Pulpit and Converſation) the Right of private Judgment, and a benevolent Diſpoſition to all Mankind.

I think nothing is more abſurd, than to blame any Man whatſoever, that leads a virtuous Life, merely for his Sentiments; becauſe Belief is neceſſary, *i. e.* we muſt judge as the Evidence for Things appears to our Underſtandings: Therefore no Man is culpable for wrong Opinions, nor a Whit the better for right ones, any farther, than he has, or has not, made a due Uſe of his Capacity, *&c.* in impartially inquiring into the Truth of Things. It's ſo evident that our Judgment and Eſtimation of Men ought to be as they are virtuous, that I ſhall only quote a Verſe or two from the Bible. *Mat.* vii. 18, 20. *A good Tree cannot bring forth evil Fruit; neither can a corrupt Tree bring forth good Fruit. Wherefore by their Fruits ye ſhall know them.* Acts x. 34, 35. *Then Peter open'd his Mouth, and ſaid, Of a Truth I perceive that God is no Reſpecter of Perſons; but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh Righteouſneſs, is accepted with him.*

Now ſince this is the Caſe as to the Divine Being himſelf, let all who own it to be their Duty to imitate him, not only eſteem Men as they are virtuous, but vindicate them from unjuſt and opinionated Cenſures; and not ſhew a Backwardneſs freely to expreſs their own Sentiments, for Fear of the like Treatment from ſuch mean Spirits; tho', indeed, it may be more political, to follow the Irony of a learned Author: 'Whatever you do, 'be *orthodox*. *Orthodoxy* will cover a Multitude of Sins; but a cloud of Virtues cannot cover the Want of the minuteſt Particle of *Orthodoxy*.'

Daventry, *I am,*
Nov. 22, 1737. *Yours, &c.*

Craftſman, Dec. 17. N° 597.

I have often mention'd Pallas, *(ſays Mr.* D'Anvers) *the proud Freed-man and Favourite of* Claudius Cæſar; *but the Inſolence of* that vile Upſtart, *the Proſtitution of the* Roman Senate, *and the mean Submiſſion of the* Emperor *himſelf, are ſo finely deſcrib'd and expos'd by* Pliny, *in one of his Epiſtles, that I will give the Reader a Tranſlation of it, as near as the Idioms of the two Languages, and my little Skill in them, will permit,* (The following is an Extract of it.)

PLINY *to his Friend* MONTANUS.

I Acquainted you in my laſt that I had ſome Time ago taken Notice of a Monument of *Pallas*, with the following Inſcription.

'The *Senate* decreed to him the Ornaments 'of the *Prætorſhip*, and the Sum of 15 'Millions of Seſterces, for his Fidelity and 'Duty to his *Patrons*; with which Honour 'he was pleaſed to be contented.' —— I had afterwards the Curioſity to conſult *this Decree of the Senate*; which I found to be ſo ample and extravagant, that even *this flattering Inſcription* ſeem'd mean and little.

Shall we ſuppoſe that the Authors of *this Decree* acted upon a Principle of *ſordid Flattery*; or that it was extorted from them by their *wretched Condition?* —— I would call them *Flatterers*, if *Flattery* became the *Senate* —— Was it therefore owing to their *miſerable Condition?* —— But nobody could be ſo miſerable as to be forc'd into ſuch Meaſures. —— Was it then *Ambition*, and the Thirſt after *Preferment?*

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ferment?—But who could be ſo mad as to deſire *Preferment*, at the Expence of *his own* or the *publick Infamy*, in a City, where it was the Buſineſs of the *higheſt Officers* to be the higheſt Flatterers of *Pallas* in the *Senate?*—I ſhall not take any Notice of the *Prætorian Ornaments* being given to *Pallas*, a *Slave*; becauſe they were given by a *Pack of Slaves*——I likewiſe omit that Part of their Decree, which order'd that he ſhould not only be adviſed, but even compell'd to make Uſe of * *gold Rings*; for it would have been inconſiſtent with the Majeſty of the *Senate* to let their *Prætor* wear *iron ones*——But it is very remarkable that the *Senate* (of which *that auguſt Aſſembly* hath never yet ſufficiently purged itſelf) ſhould return Thanks to *Cæſar* for mentioning *Pallas* in the higheſt Strains of Panegyrick; and deſire him to grant the Liberty to give him a Teſtimony of their Benevolence. What could be more honourable for the *Senate* than to prove themſelves not ungrateful to *Pallas?*

They therefore order'd, 'That the Sum of '15 *Millions of Seſterces* ſhould be given him 'out of the Treaſury, and that the more 'averſe his Mind ſhould be from accepting it, 'they ſhould be the more importunate in their 'Addreſſes to the *Father of his Country* to 'compel *Pallas* to give Way to the *Senate*'—It was omitted in the Decree, that when this Application ſhould be made to *Pallas*, by publick Authority, he ſhould be deſired to yield to the *Senate*; that, under the moſt inſolent Pretence of Self-denial, *Cæſar* himſelf might be call'd upon to become their Advocate, that he would not refuſe a Sum of 15 *Millions of Seſterces*; but he did refuſe it, and in ſo doing ſhew'd more Arrogance, than in accepting of it. However the *Senate* extoll'd even this pretended Modeſty, in the Form of a Complaint, and in the following Words.

'But tho' the *beſt of Princes*, and the *Fa*'*ther of his Country*, deſired them to recede, 'at the Requeſt of *Pallas*, from that Part 'of their Decree, which related to giving 'him 15 *Millions of Seſterces* out of the 'Treaſury, they thought themſelves obliged 'to declare that they voted this Sum, amongſt 'other Honours, voluntarily and as in Duty 'bound, from a true Senſe of the Integrity 'and Vigilance of *Pallas*. However, their '*Prince's* Will, which they thought criminal 'to oppoſe in any Caſe, ſhould in this like'wiſe be obey'd.'

Behold *Pallas*, as it were, oppoſing a Decree of the *Senate*; moderating the *Honours* beſtowed upon him, and refuſing a Preſent of 15 *Millions of Seſterces*.—Behold *Cæſar*, at the Entreaty, or rather at the Command of his *Freed-Slave*, tamely obeying his Orders, in the *Senate!* For the *Slave* commands his *Maſter* in private, whom he pretends to beſeech in the *Senate*.

How am I rejoiced that it was my good Fortune not to be born in thoſe Times, of which I am as much aſhamed, as if I really lived in them! I make no Queſtion that you are equally affected with my ſelf. I know you to be a Man of Spirit, as well as ſtrict Honour; and therefore am convinced, tho' I have carry'd my Indignation, in ſome Reſpects, beyond the Bounds of a Letter, that you will think I have rather ſhew'd too little than too much. *Farewell.*

P. S. Our Readers having been diſappointed of the *Craftſman*, deſign'd for *Saturday* laſt, we think ourſelves obliged to acquaint them, that ſeveral Meſſengers came on *Friday* Night, juſt before the Time of Publication, and ſeiz'd every Paper they could find, without taking up any Body; but they came again the next Morning, and apprehended ſeveral of the Workmen; after having rummaged and rifled the Houſe in their uſual Manner. The Publick may expect ſome farther Account of *theſe extraordinary Proceedings* in a ſhort Time, unleſs we are prevented by the *Hand of Power*—At preſent, we can only add that *this Paper* contain'd two Letters; one in Vindication of a *certain young Gentleman*, of great Merit and Diſtinction, who hath been ſeveral Times moſt groſſly abus'd in the *Gazetteer*; and the other relating to the *Spaniſh Depredations*.

Univerſal Spectator, Dec. 17. N° 480.

SIR,

I AM an unhappy Huſband; unhappy only in what is term'd a little *Foible* in a Wife: I have marry'd a Woman of as much Beauty as I could wiſh, of as much Fortune as I wanted, her Temper good-natur'd, her Love mutual: Two Years we liv'd in all that Extacy of connubial Felicity, which generous and virtuous Minds can only know. But, alas! How is this Scene chang'd by a fatal Accident? A *female Relation* came to live with us: This Couſin of my Wife's was a Widow, whoſe Character I thought unblameable, and which, indeed, was ſo, if I was to except one *Vice*, the being addicted to private *Dram drinking*; but that Miſchief did not long confine itſelf, it ſoon ſpread farther, and my *Wife* was drawn in to be a Companion in the *Spirituous Regalement*. *Complaiſance* was the firſt Temptation; but ſo dangerous and fatal is any Conſent of this Kind, that by not being able to deny at firſt, *Complaiſance* grows into *Approbation*, and *that* in a very little Time terminates in an *habitual*

* *This was the peculiar Badge of* Roman Knights, *to diſtinguiſh them from the* common People, *who wore* ſilver Rings, *as the* Slaves *did* iron ones.

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Love: Such has been the miſerable Progreſs, ſuch the curs'd Effect of my Wife's Imprudence; what at *firſt* ſhe *ſipp'd* with a Kind of *Loathing*, ſhe *now* cannot, or *will not*, be without.

I cannot, Sir, expreſs to you what Concern this has given me; it has been my Torment in the Day, my Sorrow in the Night; my Tongue has been fill'd with reſenting Indignation, while my Soul has felt all the Force of *Pity* as well as *Anguiſh:* When I behold the Woman that was once, and who ſtill is, the Delight of my Heart, degraded into the moſt infamous Habit of *Drinking*; when I view thoſe *Eyes* that were wont to ſparkle with *inviting Luſtre*, with awkward *Goggling* betray an *unmeaning Look*; when I ſee *Deadneſs* in her Features, *Folly* in her Behaviour, her Tongue *faltering*, her Breath *tainted*, her Health *impairing*; the different Paſſions that I feel is as impoſſible for you to imagine, as they are for me to relate. *Yours, &c.*

W. W.

As melancholy a Scene *(ſays Mr. Spectator)* as this Gentleman has painted, I am ſorry to ſay that it is a too common one in private Families, and the odious Character he has drawn of his Wife is too general to be ſuppos'd fictitious.

The Cuſtom of *drinking Drams* among *Women* is deſtructive of every amiable Quality they can boaſt; by that their *Beauty*, their *Modeſty*, their *Prudence*, their *good Nature*, and *Wit* in *Converſation* are entirely deſtroy'd: They appear after they have been ſolacing themſelves with any pernicious intoxicating Liquors, *contemptible* to the *ſober Part* of their *own Sex*, as well as *ugly* to *ours*.

This *vicious Habit*, I am inform'd, has conſiderably ſpread itſelf under the Notion of its being *faſhionable*; and many a Lady will now, without the leaſt *Ceremony* or *Bluſh*, bring out her *Dram Bottle*, who, before it was *faſhionable*, cautiouſly reſerv'd it in her Corner Cupboard for her own *private drinking:* By this Means the Ladies, inſtead of taking a *Sip* now and then upon emergent Occaſions, drink their Glaſs or two round, and not one of them ſhews the leaſt Reluctance to ſhew herſelf a *publick Dram-Drinker*. The Woman who uſes herſelf to *Drams* at a *Viſit*, will ſoon be brought to drink them at *home*; and tho' ſhe may begin with *one a Day*, ſhe will ſoon arive to *five* at a *Sitting*.

Modeſty and *good Behaviour*, by which I mean a *graceful Decorum* and *genteel Conduct*, are the peculiar Ornaments which are to adorn the fair Sex; but the Woman who addicts herſelf to *intoxicating Liquors* can neither have one or the other; her *Converſation* conſequently becomes *abrupt* and *inconſiſtent*, and her *Behaviour* rude and diſagreeable; her Appearance, inſtead of engaging, turns to her Diſadvantage; and inſtead of prepoſſeſſing thoſe ſhe is in Company with in her Favour, ſhe ſo ſtrongly fixes a bad Opinion of herſelf, that it is ſeldom or never worn off.

Honeſty and *Virtue* may be ſaid not to be forfeited by commencing this Habit of *Drinking*, and it may be alledg'd, that ſhe who may love a *Dram*, may deteſt with Horror the Thought of doing an Action that is merely in the literal Senſe immodeſt or diſhonourable; but by giving Way to this Vice a Paſſage is open to all others; for what Crime may not a Perſon be drawn to commit, who has before depriv'd herſelf of her Reaſon? If then this vicious Habit is contrary to the Maxims of Decency and Morality, it is conſequently to thoſe of *Religion*.

But was *Policy alone* to determine their Actions, the Women, who ſhould drink to the *leaſt* Exceſs, would act contrary to it; for that would be the ſureſt Means to loſe the *Affections* of their *Huſbands*, the *Duty* and *Reſpect* of their *Children*, and the *Regard* and *Eſteem* of their *Friends* and *Relations*, beſides expoſing them to innumerable Inconveniencies, too obvious to be mention'd: *I therefore hope* the Ladies in general will be more cautious of preſerving the natural Eſteem the other Sex has for them, than to run the Riſque of forfeiting their Character of being amiable, good and virtuous, only to indulge themſelves in a pernicious Habit; for by the leaſt Breach of Sobriety they become the Contempt of all Men of Senſe, as they are a Scandal to all Women of Virtue and Honour.

Common Senſe, Dec. 24. N° 47.

A ſecond Oration of Demoſthenes *abridg'd; occaſion'd by the Inſults of* Philip *upon the* Athenians. *(See p. 639.)*

Athenians,

THO' in every one of your Aſſemblies you hear a great Deal of the Depredations and Violences which *Philip* has committed againſt you, ever ſince the laſt Peace; yet I ſee all Things reduced to ſuch a Paſs, that I am almoſt afraid to tell you a Truth, too well known to all except yourſelves, which is, that if your Orators had enter'd into a Conſpiracy jointly with you, they to propoſe, and you to follow no Advice but what you were ſure muſt tend to ruin the Commonwealth, your Affairs could not have been in a worſe Condition than they are.

If I open ſome Things to you, which it is of Conſequence to you to know, I hope you will not conceive any Diſpleaſure againſt me. — Remember, that every Man who breathes the *Athenian* Air, ſhould have free Liberty of Speech. — There is but one Aſſembly where this Freedom has been retrenched, and from thence proceeds all your Misfortunes; you have been lull'd into a Kind of Lethargy by certain

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certain false Orators, whose only Study was to disguise and conceal the State of your Affairs, while every Thing was going to Wreck.

If you had been reduced by the superior Power, or more prevailing Fortune of *Philip*, I own there could be little Hope left; but as all your Distresses have proceeded from Indolence, Pusillanimity, and a long Series of bad Measures, I do not despair but Things may mend, if better Councils should be embraced.

I know there are some Orators amongst you, so base and cowardly in their Politicks, that when any Man proposes a Method for bringing *Philip* to Reason, they think to stop his Mouth, and possess you against him, by telling you that such Men are for engaging the Commonwealth in a War. — Observe what I say to those Men, that whenever the Republick has the Alternative of Peace or War in its Choice, I shall give the Preference to Peace, provided it be an honourable Peace; — but I cannot consent to implore and sue to *Philip*, Year after Year, for Peace, while he is going on all that while committing Outrages against us.

You have suffer'd enough already by these cowardly Councils. — What is it these Declaimers mean by so much extolling the Blessings of Peace, and telling you of your Happiness in enjoying Tranquillity, while other States suffer the Miseries of War, — does it not look like mocking you? — The most they can pretend is, that we have had half a Peace; for we have been at Peace with *Philip*, all the while that *Philip* has been at War with us; but if we were never to repel the Hostilities he commits, till he shall by his Heralds have made a Declaration of War against us in Form, we must be the weakest People that ever yet had the Name of a Commonwealth.

What is the meaning that the *Athenians*, who in former Times held their Liberty so dear, should now seem to embrace Servitude? — I will tell you the Reason, because there reign'd a certain Spirit in those Days in the Minds of our People, which is found no more. This was a generous Contempt, and a virtuous Hatred against every base Man, who had so much as given Cause of Suspicion of being corrupted — In those Days, to receive Gratifications, or Presents for any Thing wherein the Publick was concern'd, was a capital Crime, and whoever was convicted of it, suffer'd the most grievous Punishments. — But now you are giving into all those Vices which are the constant Companions of Corruption and Venality.

I will not take upon me to assure you, that the reducing *Philip*, by Force of Arms, will, without any Thing else, restore all your Affairs; — no; you must pursue, with Justice, those false Orators who act as if they receiv'd Wages from him.

As to your present Conduct with Respect to *Philip*, it has amazed all the World, to think that you should carry on a War not long since against *Sparta*, in Alliance with *Thebes* and *Corinth*, and bear almost the whole Expence, tho' you were not principally concern'd; and now, when your Rights are invaded and your Honour insulted, when the Quarrel is all your own, you will not move a Hand in your own Defence. — I wish you may recover your Senses before good Advice is too late. —

Craftsman, Dec. 24. N° 598.

Several Methods for restraining the Liberty of the PRESS.

THE Liberty of explaining and animadverting upon *publick Measures* is such a Check upon *Men in Power*, especially *bad ones*, that few of them like it in their Hearts, however they may think proper to pretend a Regard for it; and therefore have try'd several Experiments to pluck *this Thorn* out of their Sides.

One, and the principal of these was the Institution of the *Star-Chamber*; where all *Writers* against any *Men in Power* were arbitrarily try'd by the very Persons, who prosecuted them, and punish'd in the most rigorous Manner, under the Denomination of *Libellers*; tho' in many Cases, they deserv'd the Thanks and Blessings of their Country. These infamous Proceedings were at last carry'd to such an Height, that the *Court* itself was solemnly abolish'd by *Parliament*, in the Reign of K. *Charles* I. and was not a little instrumental to the Misfortunes of that *misguided Prince*.

Nor was it judg'd expedient to repeal *this Act* at the *Restoration*, notwithstanding the extraordinary Zeal of those Times to prevent all *Faction* and *Sedition* for the future. However they did, in some Measure, supply the Want of *such a Court*, as far as *Writers* were concern'd in it, by clapping a Padlock upon the *Press*, and putting it under the Jurisdiction of a *Licencer*.

This *Licensing Act* was made only *for a Time*, and tho' it ought to have been immediately repeal'd at the *Revolution*, it was suffer'd to continue till the *Term* was expired; nay, even then an Attempt was made to revive it, and would have actually succeeded, had it not been vigorously oppos'd by the true *Friends of Liberty*, and the *disinterested Lovers of their Country*, who look'd upon the *Freedom of the Press* as one of the main Ends of the *Revolution*.

Thus were we deliver'd from the Inquisition of the *Star-Chamber*, and the Clog of the

the *Licenſing Act*; which were the only *Parliamentary Acts* I can recollect againſt the *Preſs*; for I will not inſiſt upon the *Stamp-Duty*; tho', as it now ſtands, it is certainly a very great Reſtraint upon *political Writers*, in ſeveral Reſpects; and, with a little farther Power given to the *Commiſſioners*, might convert them into *real Licenſers*, under another Name.

But there have been numberleſs other Tricks and Devices found out, by *Men in Power*, to undermine *this Liberty*, both in ancient and modern Times.

Sometimes they have had Recourſe to *gentle Means*, and endeavour'd to ſoften the Minds of *thoſe*, who drew their Pens againſt them, by advantageous Propoſals of *Money*, *Penſions*, or *Places*. If the *Writers* happen'd to prove of ſo preverſe and intractable a Spirit as to reject *ſuch generous Offers*, they next apply'd to their *Bookſellers* and *Printers* in the ſame Manner; and have ſometimes laid out great Sums of *publick Money* to buy up the *Propriety of Papers*, in which theſe *peeviſh Writings* were convey'd to the World, and turn'd them into *Apologies for themſelves*.

But if neither the *Authors*, nor *Proprietors of publick Papers*, would liſten to *ſuch honourable Propoſals*, the third Step of the *Miniſter affected* was to try whether he could intimidate them, not only by Menaces of *publick Proſecutions* and *Inſults*, but ſometimes even of *private Aſſaſſination*; as was the Caſe of *Andrew Marvel*.

When all theſe Methods have failed of their deſired Succeſs, they have had Recourſe to the *ſecular Arm*; and, under the laudable Pretence of drawing the *Sword of Juſtice*, took an Opportunity of gratifying their *own perſonal Revenge*, by ſeizing and confining all Perſons concern'd, or ſuppos'd to be concern'd, in the writing, printing, or publiſhing ſuch obnoxious Papers, and thereby interrupting the Courſe of them.

When neither *Promiſes*, *Threats*, *Proſecutions*, nor even the *ſevereſt Puniſhments*, were able to extinguiſh this factious Ardour of *Britiſh Liberty*, their laſt neceſſary Reſort was to ruin the *Man*, when they could not ſubdue his *Spirit*, either by laying violent Hands on his *Property*, and ſtarving him by Degrees, or by going a ſhorter Way to work, and taking his Life away at once, by *mock Forms of Law*. This was the Caſe of *Algernon Sidney* and others, for *pretended Libels*, ſome of which were never ſo much as *publiſh'd*——But a Stop is now put to *theſe miniſterial Practices*, by *our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment*; which ſecures every Man's *Property*, till he is convicted of ſome high Crime.

This, I ſay, is our preſent glorious Condition; and theſe the great Barriers of our *Liberty*, Every Man is now ſafe, as to *Life*, *Eſtate*, and the Purſuit of his *lawful Buſineſs*, whilſt he confines himſelf within the Bounds of the *Law*; and it muſt be left to the *regular Courſe of Juſtice*, whether he hath tranſgreſs'd them or not——I hope this will not prove our Caſe; but as a *freſh and unuſual Weight of Power* is lately fallen upon us, and the *common Scribblers* have been for a Week or two paſt, more than ordinarily ſcurrilous, if that is poſſible; I cannot conclude without taking a little Notice of them.

For ſome Time paſt, they have clubb'd all their little Brains againſt our *unfortunate Merchants*, who have been ſo rapacioufly plunder'd by the *Spaniards*, for having only a few *Pieces of Eight* on board, (which is the common Species in moſt Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*) or even bringing home a little *Logewood*, from *Placet*, to which we have a Right by *Treaties*. This, I am ſure, was the Senſe of the *whole Board of Trade*, in the Year 1717, as appears by their *Report* to his late Majeſty; and if we have not given them up by any *ſubſequent Treaty*, we have an undoubted Right to cut *Logewood*, or *deal* in it; for it is not excepted *as contraband Goods*, in the Treaties 1667 and 1670, which are confirm'd by the Treaty of *Utrecht*. Yet *theſe Proſtitutes* are pleaſed to load them, upon this Account only, with the Appellations of *Thieves*, *Robbers* and *Pirates*, which I think more properly belong to their Friends the *Spaniards*. They are therefore really guilty of what was falſely laid to my Charge, ſome Years ago; for this is certainly *furniſhing the* Spaniards *with Arguments*; at a Time too, when the *Merchants* were making their Application for Redreſs, and his Majeſty was pleaſed to undertake their Cauſe.

Sir *William Godolphin* obſerves, in one of his Letters to Secretary *Coventry*, 'That it is a certain Note of the *Spaniſh* Humour, that they apply themſelves heartily and ſeriouſly to conſerve no Friendſhip, but of *ſuch only*, whom they dread; and that the impreſſions of *Fear* do more effectually negotiate with them, than the Offices of *Kindneſs*.'

If this continues to be ſtill their *Principle*, I am at a Loſs how to account for their late extraordinary Conduct, ſince we are ſo vaſtly ſuperior to them at *Sea*, that it is impoſſible for them not to dread us. Let them reflect upon the *Mediterranean Affair*, or even upon *Hoſier's* famous Expedition, which muſt needs ſtamp the *Impreſſions of Fear* upon them, and put them in Mind how eaſy it is for us to teach them *good Manners*, at leaſt, whenever we pleaſe to be in *Earneſt*.

The Criticiſm on Virgil *has been receiv'd, and ſhall be inſerted the firſt Opportunity.*

HORACE,

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HORACE, BOOK I. ODE V. *Imitated.*

WHEN to that dear but inauſpicious bower, [flow'r,
Fann'd with the breath of ev'ry fragrant
(Where circling boughs in verdant pomp array'd
Paint the ſtill covert with a pleaſing ſhade)
You, love diſſembling feign a kind retreat,
Your looks all mild and languiſhingly ſweet;
Say, *Pyrrha*, ſay, what gay unpractis'd youth,
Lur'd by that air of unaffected truth,
What gaudy ſtripling eager to be bleſt,
Sinks a glad victim on thy perjur'd breaſt?
And while eſſential ſweets their odours ſpread,
Claſps thee with ardor on the roſy bed?
O wondrous nymph! whoſe piercing charms confeſs
Thy form reſiſtleſs, ſimple tho' in dreſs,
Beauteous by nature, without art, too, fair,
Tell me for whom thy amber-colour'd hair
In ſilken wreaths its radiant luſtre ſhews,
Plays to each motion and in ringlets flows;
Ill fated youth! undone whoe'er he be,
For while you thus moſt amiably free,
With ſpecious innocence your joys diſpenſe
And feaſt with extaſy the raviſh'd ſenſe;
He, loſt in tranſports forms an airy ſcene
Of vaſt delight, the heavens appear ſerene,
Smooth glides the ſurface of the chryſtal ſtream
And fancy wantons in the golden dream,
Still hopes the ſame, and credulouſly fond
Boaſts thee ſecure in faith's eternal bond:
Alas! too ſoon he'll feel his raſh miſtake,
When from the ſoft deluſion forc'd to wake,
Starting he views the heavens with clouds o'er caſt,
The furrow'd ocean black'ning to the blaſt
Of angry winds, and all the promis'd bliſs
Sunk in the tumult of the dread abyſs.
How he will then in wild deſpair lament
The wond'rous change and curſe the ſad event.
Gods! what a train of ills thoſe wretches wait,
Who proudly court their yet untaſted fate,
Gaze on thy charms, yet not ſuſpect thy wiles,
And catch at ruin in ambiguous ſmiles.
Once big with hope I ſpread my ſwelling ſails,
Vainly ſecure of ever proſperous gales,
Yet ſcarcely launch'd into the deep, was met
By warring winds, and raging waves beſet.
Long on the faithleſs ocean rudely toſt, [loſt,
The ſport of ſtorms, my barque at length was
When ſome kind *Triton* ruſhing to my aid,
Caught me expiring and to land convey'd;
Now ſafe on ſhore by *Neptune*'s great decree,
With pious gratitude I'll quit the ſea;
Paſſion no more, with all its glitt'ring train
Of frantick joys, ſhall tempt me out again;
But noble reaſon ſtill the tide controul,
And virtue fix her empire in my ſoul.

ANACREONTIC.

In vain from fate we fly,
For firſt, or laſt, as all muſt die,
So 'tis as much decreed above,
That firſt, or laſt, we all muſt love.

LANSDOWNE.

CAN there be, ye pow'rs above,
Perfect happineſs, 'tis love;
Can man know a greater bliſs,
Than the ſweet, the balmy kiſs,
Soothing looks, each grateful ſmile,
All, that can the heart beguile?
Why ſo often do I ſigh,
Pine alone, yet know not why?
Love has ſurely vanquiſh'd me,
And thus I own his deity;
Mild as queen of ſoft deſires,
In the fair my ſoul inſpires.
She who ev'ry thought employs,
Source of all ſublimeſt joys.
Wanton *Cupids*, ſearch around,
All, *Arcadia*'s verdant ground,
Tell the nymph, for her I ſigh,
Tell the fair, for her I die;
Venus, queen of fondeſt love,
To my wiſh, propitious prove;
God of love, and pleaſing charms,
Give the faireſt, to my arms;
You who ſighing lovers aid,
Warm with love, the lovely maid;
You whom ſuppl'ant I implore,
Now relieve me by thy pow'r;
Only this I beg of thee,
Conquer her, as well as me. A. Z.

An Hymn compos'd for the 5th of November.

AUSPICIOUS muſe deſcend awhile,
And in celeſtial ſtrains reſound
The pow'r that well preſerv'd our iſle,
When earth and devils roar'd around.

Legions reſolv'd for miſchief roſe,
Swift from the iron gates of hell,
And ſaw religion's dawning rays,
O'er bleſt *Britania*'s coaſts prevail.

The monſters rag'd they curs'd the ſight,
And with the ſlaught'ring ſons of *Rome*,
Conſpir'd and banded all their might,
To bring again th' *Egyptian* gloom.

Beneath the ſynod and the prince
They laid, O terrible deſigns!
Powders quick burſting into flame,
In long, extending magazines.

Then all with grimneſs laugh'd around,
Longing to hear the thunder paſt,
And ſee black mangled parts of fleſh,
And ſhiver'd bones mount with the blaſt.

But this abominable deed,
Th' all-piercing eye of heav'n ſurvey'd,
And to our joyful wond'ring views,
The bold infernal plot diſplay'd.

En-

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Enrag'd, the baffled ghoſts repair'd
Down to the fiery gulphs of woe,
While the dread vengeance of our God,
Puniſh'd the rebels here below.
Britons, with ſacred tranſports hail
This day diſtinguiſht from the reſt,
Nor let a ſingle thought of grief
Mix with the pleaſures of your breaſt.

Ad MUNDI CREATOREM. Ex Anglico, J. HUGHES, Arm.

URANIE, deſcende polo! divinior ignis!
Cui cedit lux alma: ſacros O! pande furores
Mortali queîs par cœpta ad cœleſtia ſurgat. [ni,
Jam ſonet ipſa chelys! procul hinc quicunq; profa-
Perq; nefas quicunq; ruunt, quoſcunq; fefellit
Vana ſuperſtitio! partuq; exorta nefando [dum,
Numina, abeſte procul! cœli, pelaguſque profun-
Et tellus audite, ſimulque immanis abyſſus!
Ipſa parens natura tremat! dum cuncta fatentur
Auctorem ſummum, magno & clamore ſalutant.

Juſſerat ipſe Deus; prima & pulcherrima cœli
Filia, lux, tetræ noctis per opaca coruſcat;
Blandaq; fubridet, divini conſcia partûs.
Cœlitum chorus exultans lætâ undiq; magnum
Voce creatorem cecinit, quum pulcher inani
Emerſit cæco mundus, naturaque vultum
Alma novum pandit; quum certas motio cepit
Leges, & circum ſtellas gyravit in alto:
Quum pennas tempus primùm tentare novellas,
Curriculumq; ſuum rapidè decurrere cœpit.

Spiritus omnipotens! ſemper ſupremus, & idem
Manſurus! magnum qui numine temperat orbem
Æterno, ſpatium omne replens, nec clauditur ulli!
Ipſe poles ſuper atq; incognita ſidera nobis
Lumine circumfuſus agit, ſine fine beatus,
Solus & immenſi vaſtum complexitur orbem.

Etquæ tanta ſalus niſi dia potentia poſſit
Fræ̃nare, indomitiq; maris mulcere furorem?
Quum Boreas immanè fremit, ſpumoſque torquet
Æquora, quum turget volvens cœlumque minatur
Oceanus, modo vox jubeat divina, procellæ
Pacantur, venti vis concidit incita, ponti
Detumet ira, lavant tranquilli littora fluctus.
Hic cœli vim brumalem & meteora creavit;
Ipſius eſt grando, nix & glacialis, & imber
Fœcundans, nubes volucris, zephyriq; tepentis
Temperies, varijſque ornata coloribus Iris.
Ipſius & juſſis violenti fulminis ira
Paret, & è cœlis ſonitu jaculata tremendo
Flamma cadit, quercuſq; afflat, terraſq; parentes.

Quanta tamen benitas! quanta eſt clementia! quartâ
Omnia ſuſtentat curâ! quam, quicquid ubiq;
Fert cœlum, tellus, & pontus, alitq; foveq;!
Quin & vermiculus, formicaq; cauta futuri,
Immaniſq; elephas, & aves ſolatia ruris.
Altorum rex ipſe aquila, & mortalia ſæcla,
Plebs pariter, princepſq; potens nutritur ab illo;
Et mitem facunda patrem natura fatetur.

Oh! tota ſimul ſpatioſi machina mundi
Perditur; is nexus, prolem revolubilis ævi,
Annumq; vices variat; labentia mutans
Tempora quæ fugiunt pariter, pariterq; novantur.
Ingreditur primùm ver, pars jucundior anni,
Et cœlum mulcet, blandiſq; coloribus arva
Exornat: ſequitur flaventi veſte decora,
Et ſpicis redimita comas cerealibus æſtas.
Dein ſacer autumnus, magno frugum ubere felix:
Acris hiems, triſtis tardiſſima more ſenectæ,
Ultima progreditur, canis concreta pruinis,
Et nivibus terras atq; imbribus obruit atris,
Tempore dum verno redeunte, revolvitur annus.

At quis ferre tuam, rerumq; virumq; reperter!
Ultricem valeat dextram? quum fervidus irâ
Perſequeris fontes furiis, & conſcia fidit
Ad centrum natura, tuo quum fulmina juſſu
Hinc, illinc, horrenda ruunt; vaſtaveq; reperit
Perniciem ſpargunt, reboant freta, ſidera, tellus!
Nunc quonam ambitio, criſtis elata ſuperbis,
Et ſaſtus ſublime caput fugêre paventes?
En! ipſi, patriæ peſtes, cecidere tyranni:
Quàm vellent ut terra ſibi ſatis ima debiſcat,
Et ſubito vivos avidam demittat in alvum,
Ne tua cerripiat pœnis immanibus ira!
Heu! fruſtrà — pelagus minitans conjurat, & aer
Vertoſus, flagranſq; ignis, quaſſataq; tellus,
Te, deus! ulciſci, & populum punire nocentem:
Nec finire poteſt dires mors ipſa dolores;
Supplicium ſine fine manet, ſine fine reatus.

O heros Pellæe! Cyre! & ter maxime Cæſar!
O vaſti quotquot mundi temuiſtis habenas!
Numina telluris quondam! quos thuris honore
Vulgus adoravit! centum queîs marte ſubactæ
Ferali gentes centum ceſſere triumphos!
Dicite, quæ tanti reſtent veſtigia regni?
Quàq; lovis veſtrum ſervetur gloria numen?
Defendine fugax ſtatuis ac ære perenni
Diva poteſt? templiſne manet ſublimis in altis,
Atq; theatrorum tutiſſima vole, ruinos
Ætatis temnit, denteſque volubilis ævi?
Ah minimè! monumenta brevis peremptia fame
Spes fallunt veſtras; nec ſplendida nomina ſervat
Amplius auctorum, veſtris commixta favillis.

Pergito jam, mea muſa, audax! perennis & ævi
Sceleris filum; nam ſcena horriſſima mundi
Imminet, & metuenda dies mortalibus ægris;
Qua gentes ac regna cadunt, naturaque magnum
Ceſſat opus, terræque ultrà non volvitur orbis.

En! ſolio omnipotens judex confidit in alto!
En! fati tenet ipſe libros! En! complet Olympum
Cœlituum glomerata cohors, pompaq; coruſca
Temporis attendit finem, mundiq; ruinas!
Ambitio, faſtuſq; tumens, & prodiga rerum
Luxuries pereunt; turpis petet antra reatus
Inferna, & fugiens, crebra formidine preſſus,
Reſpiciet, minitante deo cum vindice flamma.
O quàm, die, lucem ſummam, gens impia, cernes!
O! quanto terrore animi minitantia verba
Judicis audieris, ſceleris tibi conſcia multi!
Pectora voluptatis rubes, heu! veſtra fugatur,
Eluditq; oculos; ſedet hanc fruſtrata ſequêris
Nec mœsti ſperare tuæ meliora licebit:
Nec retetes quondam tibi cognita gaudia vitæ;
Æterrum pœnas patiere, cupidinis alto
Oceano jactata, nec unquam littora tanges.

Alpis

Aſpice qua mundi ſedet arbiter ore ſereno,
Et cælum juſtis æternaq; præmia donat!
O quem cerno locum! quæ me divina ſtupentem
Vis tulit huc! proh! qualejubar, fulgorq; coruſcans
Effulgent! quantæq; tuum, deus alme, corenant
Delitiæ ſolium! ſol, qui clariſſimus alto
Æthere præſucet ſtellis, ſua lumina certè
Perderet hic, veluti cùm candida cornua lunæ
Langueſcunt; roſeo perſtricta nitore diei.
Hæc ſolùm fas eſt mirari.

Audaci curſu, muſa, O! deſiſte, nec iſta
Myſtica ſcrutari vano conamine tentes.
Immenſum ſpes ferè, hominem lucrabitur olim;
Sed nos quale ſit num fuerit, tempuſq; locuſq;
Et modus ipſe latent, nec tam ſublimia mentes
Complecti humanæ poſſunt, linguæve profari.

ACROSTICK, *by a foreign Miniſter. On the Death of the* QUEEN.

H EAVEN'S uncontroling pleaſure
O verwhelms, now, royal breaſts!
P arting with ſo great a treaſure,
P enetrates their ſouls, and wreſts
M any groans from hearts in mourning,
A ll bemoan, with tears, the queen;
N ow ſhe's gone, without returning;
N one more, like her! can be ſeen.

Verſes ſent by a Gentleman to his Miſtreſs.

LONG had I ſorely felt love's painful ſmart,
And hopes and fears alternate rul'd my heart:
At length kind heav'n to me propitious prov'd,
And thou (the only fair I ever lov'd)
Haſt deign'd at laſt to eaſe my love-ſick mind,
And to thy lover promis'd to be kind.
Not *Cræſus* ſelf with all his mighty ſtore,
No potent prince whom trembling ſlaves adore,
In wealth or pow'r cou'd e'er ſuch ſweets enjoy
As I, while you my conſtant thoughts employ.
In you, whatever I cou'd wiſh, I find;
Nor ought can want, if *Molly* you're but kind.
May heav'n then grant that nothing may prevent
Our future happineſs and ſweet content;
But may we ſtill a conſtant mutual flame,
Thro' all the various ſcenes of life the ſame,
To the laſt moments of our breath retain,
And only part in death to meet again.

A Song by the ſame Author. Tune ——The bonny grey-ey'd Morn.

'TIS woman only that can bleſs mankind,
In her alone are centred all our joys;
In her endearing charms an happineſs we find,
Which ever gives delight and never cloys.
Without a fair one join'd in *Hymen*'s band
On earth no laſting pleaſure we receive:
Thus *Adam*, tho' he'd all at his command,
No paradiſe enjoy'd without his *Eve*.

A DIALOGUE.

PHILLIS.

AH! what can mean that eager joy
Tranſports my ſoul when you appear?
Ah! *Strephon*, you my thoughts employ
With all that's charming all that's dear.
When you your pleaſing ſtory tell,
A tenderneſs invades each part,
And I with bluſhes own I feel
Something too melting at my heart.

STREPHON.

Ten thouſand wiſhes, joys, deſires,
Seize on me ſtill when I thee view;
Ah! may but thine be real fires,
As mine ſhall be for ever true:
My heart like thine is ſoft and kind,
'Twould fain but yet it cannot ſpeak,
I ſigh and leave my words behind,
For love that can be told is weak.

PHILLIS.

Each ſigh my reaſon does ſurprize,
And I at once both wiſh and fear,
My wounded ſoul mounts to my eyes,
As it would prattle ſtories there.
Take then the heart that needs will go,
But, ſhepherd, ſee it kindly us'd;
For who ſuch preſents would beſtow,
If this alas! ſhould be abus'd?

STREPHON.

If ſighs or tears thy pity move,
Or if thine eyes thy love confeſs,
Thy ſighs do make me die for love,
And ſure mine eyes betray no leſs.
Thy charming heart with joy I'll take,
A gift I love becauſe 'tis thine;
I'll uſe it gently for thy ſake,
Ah! be but thou as kind to mine.

CHORUS together.

Now all ye liſt'ning gods above,
Bear witneſs of our mutual love;
On your gay wings the joyful tidings bear
To ev'ry bright inhabitant of th' air:
Tell 'em in all their bleſt cabals they ſee
Nothing ſo happy, ſo belov'd as we.

The Biter bit. *In Imitation of* Anacreon's.

"Ερως ποτ' ἐν ῥόδοισι.

CUPID, the ſlyeſt rogue alive,
One day was plund'ring of an hive;
But as with too eager haſte
He ſtrove the liquid ſweets to taſte,
A *bee* ſurpriz'd the heedleſs boy,
Stung him and daſh'd th' expected joy.
The urchin when he felt the ſmart
Of the invenom'd angry dart,
He kick'd, he flung, he ſpurn'd the ground,
He blow'd and then he chaf'd the wound;
He blow'd and chaf'd the wound in vain,
The rubbing ſtill increas'd the pain:
Strait to his mother's lap he hies
With ſwelling cheeks and blubber'd eyes,

Cries she, 'What does my *Cupid* ail?'
When thus he told his mournful tale:
'A little bird they call a bee
'With yellow wings, see, mother, see
'How it has gor'd and wounded me.
'And are not you,' reply'd his mother,
'For all the world just such another,
'Just such another peevish thing,
'Alike in bulk, alike in sting?
'For when you aim a poisonous dart,
'Against some poor unwary heart,
'How little is the archer found,
'And yet how wide and deep the wound!'

The London Summer. *A new* Ballad. *To the Tune of*, To all the Ladies now at Land, *&c. By* H. J. *Esq*;

YE *British* beauties now retir'd,
To groves and purling springs,
Till *London* pleasures, so admir'd,
Returning *winter* brings.
Hark, how we *cits* our *summer* spend,
While thus your *town diversions* end,
With a sa, la, la, &c.

Nor think the *conquests* ye have made,
Are lost by *absence* quite;
Or all the pretty things ye said,
Forgot, since out of sight:
Tho' distant, still we sigh, and burn,
And all our hope is your return,
With a sa, &c.

In narrow *streets*, and *houses* pent,
To breathe a freer *air*,
The empty *Mall* we oft frequent;
But, oh! we miss ye there!
In these once crouded *shades* ye walk'd,
'Twas here our *charmers* smil'd and talk'd,
With a sa, &c.

But should the *sun*'s too sultry beam
For cooler places call,
We spend the night on *Thames*'s stream,
Or cross it to *Vaux hall*;
Where *op'ra* airs renew our pain,
And make us think of your disdain,
With a sa, &c.

Then straight, our thinking to confound,
The *god* of *wine* we court;
And *toast* ye, till the *room* turns round,
Our *sorrows* to support;
Still raving on those happy days,
When ye were seen at *balls* and *plays*,
With a sa, &c.

Sometimes to kill a tedious hour,
We venture at *piquet*;
Yet even there we feel your pow'r,
And know not how we *bet*:
While *Cupid* laughs at our *mistakes*,
We lose our *money* for your *sakes*,
With a sa, &c.

Rise *Autumn blasts* to our relief,
And strip the tufted *groves!*
Rude *winter*, come, to end our grief,
And with thee bring our *loves!*
'Tis to thy chilling frost and snow
That we our *gayest season* owe,
With a sa, &c.

On the Friendship *of two young* LADIES.

HAIL, beauteous pair, whom friendship binds
In softest, yet in strongest tyes;
Soft as the tempers of your minds,
Strong as the lustre of your eyes.
So *Venus*' doves in couples fly,
In beauty and in love the same;
Whose feathers *Cupid*'s shafts supply,
All pointed with resistless flame.
Thus as you move, love's tender flame,
By friendship's cruel pow'r doth end;
Each our divided hearts doth claim,
Each proves a rival, each a friend.
Then free yourselves, and bless mankind,
Mere friendship thus no more pursue;
In wedlock's rosy bow'r you'll find
The joys of love, and friendship too.

The SHINING TOAST: *Or the* Glory *of* SUFFOLK.

WHEN in drinking, the bumpers pass round,
And each man names his favourite toast,
With rich liquor my glass is oft crown'd
To her health, of whom *Suffolk* may boast.
When I say that her air genteel,
To her actions all, gives a just grace,
By description then try to reveal
What bright beauty adorns her fine face:
When I say of her features most rare,
That in each appears symmetry fit,
And of charms as she has a large share,
So she's blest with agreeable wit:
When I say that her sweet sparkling eyes,
Very few without danger can see;
More is needless — since every one cries,
Lady * *Caroline Fitzroy* is she.
To the glory of *Suffolk* consent,
Then in drinking with me let all join;
Through the nation, when brought to the test,
No belle with more lustre can shine.
Since this truth can by none be deny'd,
Her health nam'd, let soft musick resound;
That whole County has reason for pride,
In which dwells such a charmer renown'd.

W. B.

On three young LADIES, *at* Bury-Fair, 1737.

WHILST an estate, not real love's the cause,
Which ladies often into wedlock draws,
And

* *The Duke of* Grafton's *eldest Daughter.*

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And thence of miſeries enſues a train, [plain;
Which they muſt feel, yet, feeling, not com-
Three nymphs together *Bury Fair* adorn'd,
Who each, this view, both mean and ſordid, ſcorn'd;
Who all with truly gen'rous minds endu'd,
Thus to their ſex a bright example ſhew'd;
Since them alluring riches fail'd to move,
To marry men, they thought they ne'er could love.
To whom belongs this glory, might I name;
'Tis *Bacon*'s, *Daſhwood*'s, and 'tis *Affleck*'s fame.

A SOLUTION *of* M. T's ÆNIGMA, *in the* Magazine *of* October, — *Pages* 571 *and* 572. *By the Same.*

ON ſugar and ſpice,
From both *Indies* moſt nice, [wine,
Mix'd with fruit, ſuet, tongue, and good
Flour made into paſte,
To prevent th' oven's waſte, [dine?
Who'd with pleaſure not eat, when they
With pleaſure moſt rare,
When the hands of the fair
Both within and without ſhall it frame:
Clearly thus to unfold
Your riddle, truth's told, [name.
And a ſweet CHRISTMAS-PYE is its

The Two OPPOSITES: *Or,* VERSES *occaſion'd by the Author's peruſing Mr.* B—'s *Epitaph on* Ned Johnſon *, and comparing it with the following one, upon the ſame deſunct Webſter; but by a more eminent Hand.* [*By* Ruſtico-Rythmicus.]

WHEN thick, dark clouds, and ſtorms of
boiſterous wind, [find
Have lowr'd awhile, and bluſter'd, — ſtill we
The glorious *ſun*'s refulgent beams, at laſt,
Break forth, and make amends for what is paſt.
Serene and calm th' unruffled welkin growe;
Tranquillity and peace our thoughts compoſe.
Th' enliv'ning, kindly warmth, — and bright,
blue ſky, [joy.
Chear the dejected heart, and fill the ſoul with
The wretch at ſea, what dreadful terror ſhocks! —
Expos'd to ſands, — to hurricanes, — to rocks!
With longing eyes, he views the peaceful ſhore;
And greatly triumphs, when the danger's o'er.
Long, to proud waves, and wanton winds, a ſport,
How he rejoices in the wiſh'd for port!
When doleful dreams our ſweet repoſe inſeſt,
When night ſeems tedious, and we cannot reſt,
We toſs, and tumble, ſigh, and ſob, and fret:
And, with impatience, for the morning wait.
The welcome, joyous hours, at length, arrive;
The phantom vaniſhes; and we revive.
Juſt ſo, — when you've, with much ado, read o'er
The dark, and diſmal ſtuff, that goes before †;
How does that ſplendid luſtre chear the mind!-
The bright, and ſhining verſe, that comes *behind* ‡.
Take courage then; — you may diſcover land:
The ſtorm's blown o'er; — ſee, here's relief at hand.
Shake off, at laſt, the drowſy god; and wake:
And of the morn's refreſhing joys partake.
Stay, gentle reader; — we'll no more abuſe
Thy wond'rous patience: — ſee, what here enſues.
'Tis a reward for all thy mighty toil;
A picture in *contraſte*, — but needs no ſoil.
Yet *oppoſites* ſtill ſet each other off;
And make us more admire, — and more to laugh.
You'll find as great and wide a diff'rence here,
As is between a *peaſant*, and a *peer*,
A mitred *prieſt*, and ſlovenly *non-con*,
A *ſtar*, and *ſquib*, — a *monkey*, and a *man*.
'Tis true, he's *ſhort*; — but exquiſitely *ſweet*:
In ev'ry word, judicious, and diſcreet.
Who cannot taſte his worth, in this ſmall crumb?—
And gueſs at *Polyphemus*, by a thumb?
Who can the tribute of juſt praiſe refuſe
To this pure ſound, true *Church-of-England-muſe*?
As for the hobbling, grov'ling, grave-ſtone bard,
That you've already, either read, or heard;
Of this poor wretch, it ſurely will be ſaid: — *Him, (wanting work, and deſtitute of bread, Saunt'ring about, with heavy ſconſe hung down, Without employ in country, or in town,) Some P——n beldame did inſpire, To cant in holy ſtrain, — but with unhallow'd fire.*

EDWARD JOHNSON, *died* Sept. 6, 1729.

FAvour'd with bounteous providence, I got
What juſtly paid, and over-paid, the ſhot
Of craving life: relations had a ſhare
In the acquirements of my lonely care.
Nor *Talk* can ſilent be; but own that I
Thro' dark time, ſaw, to bright eternity.

Bleſſed are the Dead, which die in the Lord! Rev. xiv. 13.

4 Y 2 The

* See *Magazine* for laſt *Auguſt*, pag. 450.

† *i. e.* The above-cited Epitaph: To which, you may add (if you pleaſe) Mrs. *Billingſgate*'s Raillery thereupon; and 'Squire *Jingle*'s Rebuke. But, — if it be poſſible, — O courteous Reader! candidly exempt 'em; (I mean, the two laſt-mention'd Writers:) becauſe they're both, my good and faithful Friends.

‡ The Epitaph, that immediately follows.

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The SINCERE ADMIRER; *an Epiſtle: To the juſtly eſteem'd Author of the foregoing Epitaph.* [*By* Philomuſus.]

O *Ev—ns!* — chief of all the tuneful throng,
That, to old *England's royal vale* *, belong,—
How all admire thee!—all, that can diſpenſe,
In this fantaſtic age, with nervous ſenſe,
And ſweet, melodious verſe: — what beauties ſhine,
Thro' all thy works, in every charming line!
Might I—(but O! 'twou'd argue too much pride)
At awful diſtance, follow ſuch a guide!
Might I attempt — but every pencil fails,
That copies out ſuch bright originals.
Who then dares trifle at ſo large a rate,
And, what's *inimitable*, imitate?
An unfledg'd wing ſhou'd not preſume to fly;
Much leſs, to mount, and ſoar above the ſky.
Yet, on thy flights, we may with pleaſure gaze:
Thy thoughts ſublime demand our utmoſt praiſe.
But, where ſhall we begin? — what, firſt commend? [*friend?*
The *prieſt*, or *poet?* — *ſcholar?* — *wit?* — or
For *poet*, *friend*, *wit*, *ſcholar*, and *divine*;—
All theſe, (bright bard!) in thee compleatly ſhine.
If thou the cuſhion thump, —or ſtrike the ſtrings,
Great *Paul* then ſpeaks; and witty *Horace* ſings.
If thou th' enliven'd converſation grace,
A ſparkling joy appears in every face.
If thou the merry letter doſt indite,
What pleaſure 'tis to read!—what vaſt delight!
If thou inſtruct the forward, hopeful boys,
Prelates and ſenators, at once, ariſe.
Long may'ſt thou live, thy cry'd up *ſchool* to teach,
To *verſify*,—*epiſtolize*,—and *preach*;—
T' *improve*, and to *delight* too:—O! that I,
With thee, my charming friend, might live and die.
To be with thee, who wou'd not ever ſtrive?
Thou *wiſeſt*, *beſt*, and *merry'ſt* man alive!
Long may'ſt thou merry be, as thou art wiſe,
Till what alone, in thee, is mortal, dies:
Then, from ſuperior orb, may'ſt thou inſpire
Our raviſh'd hearts to join the heav'nly choir.

Writ after the Rehearſal (in the Banquetting-Houſe. Whitehall) of the Anthem compos'd by Mr. HANDEL, *for her late Majeſty's Funeral.*

STRUCK with the beauties form'd by magick † dyes,
From group to group, the eye in tranſport flies;
Till ſeraph-accents, ſolemn, deep and ſlow,
Melt on the ear, in ſoft, melodious woe.
Such charms the two contending arts diſpenſe;
So ſweetly captivate each raviſh'd ſenſe,
We ne'er can fix; but muſt by turns admire,
The mimic pencil, and the ſpeaking lyre.
J. Lockman.

* Cheſhire, *ſo call'd by* Cambden.

† *The Paintings on the Cielings by* Rubens.

Trinity College, Dublin.

A Melancholy extempore Ejaculation, on a Friday Night, when my Chum and I had neither Supper nor Credit.

Yours, A. B.

N. B. I wrote the *Latin*, and the Tranſlation is my Chum's.

Quid doleam! pungit cœnæ fugitiva voluptas;
Stomachus imbecilis nunc alimenta ſpoti.
Hoc verum eſt, altas uvas vulpecula quondam
Contempſit, ſpectat, prendere non valuit.

Who, I pine for a ſupper! O'my conſcience not I;
I hate mutton moſt of all meat.
Very true, ſo the fox when the grapes hung too high,
Cry'd out, Rot 'em they're not fit to eat.

By a GENTLEMAN, *who was thought not to like* MUSICK, *to a pretty* LADY *who ſung very well.*

SAYS *Phillis* to *Timon*, you're ſilent, I find.
Yes madam, ſays he; but I'm not deaf or blind:
And to ſee ſuch a face, or to hear ſuch a voice,
Believe me, if e're it be left to my choice;
Altho' you perhaps never thought ſo before,
Ten tongues I'd give up for one ear or eye more.

The Seat of DEATH.

THE ſun, intolerable ſource of day,
Had roll'd the glories of his throne away,
And drove impetuous from the azure plain,
Down to the ample caverns of the main:
The moon reviv'd in all her beauties rode,
And o'er the ſkies diffus'd a ſilver flood:
The night, in all her ſolemn pomp of ſtate,
Had now aſcended from her dark retreat,
And in her ſway uncircumſcrib'd, had hurl'd
Her ſable horrors round the nodding world;
When, crowded in her melancholy ſhade,
I ſnor'd ſupinely on my downy bed,
And theſe illuſions, a diſorder'd train, [brain:
Broke from her womb, and revell'd in my
Methought I mounted on the wings of light,
And ſprung exulting to etherial height,
There unmoleſted roam'd from pole to pole,
Saw blazing worlds in ſteddy order roll,
Unnumber'd, vaſt, and ſuch as plainly bore
Th' amazing ſignals of creating pow'r.

When

When I with rapture, and with ſweet ſurprize,
Had gaz'd at all theſe wonders of the ſkies,
Swiftly deſcending, like an ev'ning ray,
Down to my native earth I wing'd my way,
And toſt by fortune, lighted on the ſhore,
Where light'nings flaſh, and awful thunders roar,
Where clouds in complicated ſquadrons band,
To diſembogue a deluge on the land,
Where no delightful ſcenes confus'dly riſe,
To waft their pleaſures to the ſorrowing eyes,
But ſullen gloom, and lamentable air,
Brood on each part to propagate deſpair:
At firſt, through diſappointment and amaze,
Trembling I ſtood, nor wander'd from my place,
Till glancing round I ſaw a rev'rend hall,
Deep in the gloomy hollow of a vale,
Whoſe ſtately pile majeſtically ſhrouds
Her leſſning height, in circumambient clouds,
On brazen pillars was the ſtructure rais'd,
And with ſuch ſtrong o'erwhelming flaſhes blaz'd,
That the unrival'd monarch of the day
Blaſted, has ruſh'd precipitant away,
And the fair ſhining honours of the night,
Have veil'd their blaze, and ſick'ned all the ſight.
Tow'rd this tremendous dome without delay
I trod through all the terrors of the way,
Paſs'd by the relicts of obſtructing ſlain,
Tow'ring in air, and whit'ning o'er the plain.
Where monarchs, conqu'rors, whoſe imperial eye
Commanded rev'rence, undiſtinguiſh'd lie,
Mixt with their captives; where the meek, the proud,
The fond adorer of his noble blood,
The man of baſe diſhonourable birth,
A nation's pride, the lumber of the earth;
The poor, the rich, the pious, and the bad,
Conſpir'd to ſwell the mountains of the dead.
[*To be continued.*]

On MICAH vi. *ver.* 6, 7, 8.

HAVE I tranſgreſs'd? and has Omnipotence
Reſolv'd to puniſh me for mine offence?
Is there no way to 'ſcape the dreaded rod?
No way to reconcile my angry God?
Will whole burnt-offering from his altar pleaſe?
Obtain ſome reſpite, or his wrath appeaſe?
Will odours thence engage a gracious ſmile,
If yearling heifers crown the ſacred pile?
Will thouſand ſpotleſs rams in ſacrifice
Procure me favour in *Jehovah's* eyes?
Will oyl, ten thouſand rivers, vaſt ſupply!
Propitiate offended Deity?
Or would, ſhould I devote my firſt-born ſon,
His blood atone for deeds his ſire has done?
Or ſhould I be in ſacred veſt array'd,
My hand obedient graſp the fatal blade,
Till one by one my tender offspring prove,
All victims pure of innocence and love?
Would God delight to view the reeking flood?
The parent crimſon'd o'er with filial blood?
Will God for one, or all of theſe forbear
The vengeful ſtroak, and liſten to my prayer?
If not, farewel to hope! I'm all deſpair.

ANSWER.

WHEN God declar'd the whole creation good,
His image, man, the firſt in order ſtood.
The god-like features in the human mind,
Appear'd in being juſt, and wiſe, and kind.
Perfections theſe in God; and beaming thence
Give human nature all its excellence.
Alike in God and man; in ſome degree,
Man's truly wiſe, and juſt, and good, as he.
(But O! how vaſt the diſproportions are!
As well a glow-worm with the ſun compare:
A drop as well may with the ocean vie,
As well a moment with eternity.) [ſhine,
Thoſe minds where more theſe excellencies
More near approach ſimilitude divine.
To know what's good look inward, there's the teſt,
By your Creator printed on your breaſt.
By this each doubtful propoſition try,
What that approves will pleaſe the Deity.
Your diſobedient ſon from time to time,
Proceeds from fault to fault, from crime to crime;
At length returns, abhors his evil ways,
And at your feet for mercy humbly prays.
Couldſt thou behold him thus, and not relent?
Or would'ſt thou ſpurn the proſtrate penitent?
When cauſes are remov'd effects muſt ceaſe;
Sure, penitence a prologue is to peace. [mild?
Think'ſt thou the parent of the world leſs
No ſure: reform, and he'll be reconcil'd.
In righteouſneſs and mercy mark your God,
And humbly walk in paths divinely trod;
Ceaſe, ceaſe ſad thoughts, and let your joys abound,
For your return, the heavenly choir reſound;
For this my ſon was loſt, but now is found.

S. PARVISH.

PROLOGUE *to the* Miller of Mansfield, *as it was acted in the Free School at* Colcheſter.

THE comic muſe, at firſt licentious, rude,
With laughter ſhook the ſilly multitude:
Poliſh'd at length, ſhe learn'd correct to write,
And mingled profit with ſevere delight;
To gay aſſemblies civil life diſplay'd,
In modeſt language moral truths convey'd;
The labours of the day ingenious eas'd,
And ſoe to vice, inſtructed, while ſhe pleas'd.
Such was the *Greek*, ſuch once the *Roman* ſtage:
But O! *what things* of plays deform our age!
To manners, genius, taſte, a lewd pretence,
At odds with virtue, and at odds with ſenſe!
For humour bawdry, ribaldry for wit,
Affront the boxes, and inſult the pit.

Low

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Low as the earth in ſenſe, dull *paſquin* climbs
To heav'n's high arch in blaſphemies and crimes.
Forgive the wretch this outrage on the ſkies,
It is the only way he has to riſe;
Eternal ſcribler, impious and uncivil,
His brighteſt thought a pun, his muſe a dev'l.
We meddle not, you'll ſee, with works like theſe, [eaſe.
Dull and profane, your ears may wound, not
But why not venture on old *Shakeſpear*'s lays,
Or ſpeak a patriot *Cato*'s lofty praiſe?
Too weak alas! to dare attempts ſo high,
We wou'd not creep, yet muſt not aim to fly.
Our play ſuits us, and can't give you offence,
Simplex Munditiis, downright common-ſenſe:
An honeſt miller and his prating wife,
A ſimple view of high and lower life;
Wrote with an innocent, tho' boyiſh pen
O that, to pleaſe you, we could act like men!
* You, who at this night's favour'd ſcenes preſide,
Warrant ambition: 'tis a noble pride [ſhow;
To pleaſe the virtuous: what men are, we
But what they ought to be, from you we know.

The EPILOGUE, *ſpoken by the Miller's Wife after her Huſband had been Knighted.*

WELL,——it was written in the book of fate,
A gypſy told me once——thou ſhalt be great.
My lady *Cockle*——this I'm ſure will bear it.
(Surveying her Perſon.)
And for my underſtanding——never fear it.
My age ſomewhat advanc'd——no matter for't,
Forty, *Dick* ſays, is all the bloom at court.
My eyes with working dim——well, let that paſs,
I'll ſell my ſpectacles, and buy a glaſs.
(Looking thro' her Fingers.)
Lamiſh with corns——for that too I've a trick,
I'll turn my ſtaff into a *Tunbridge* ſtick.
But to converſe——O! there I cannot fail,
A woman eaſily will learn to——rail.
But e'er the mother-lady quite o'ercome,
I'll caſt for once a careful eye on home.
Dick is quite happy, he can want no more,
He's got a fortune and his lordſh p's whore.
Kate is my child too, I muſt think upon her,
At preſent ſhe ſhall be —but maid of honour.
But ſhe is modeſt——well, it may be true,
Others perhaps at firſt were modeſt too:
Example teaches better far than rule,
She'll learn the faſhions——*Kitty* is no fool.
Now for dear *London!* hoops, brocade, and lace!
The *Parſon*'s wife at church ſhall give me place

A SONG.

TO ſilent groves, where weeping yew,
With ſadly-mournful cypreſs join'd,
Poor *Damon* from the plain withdrew,
To ſooth with plaints his love-ſick mind;
Pale willow into myſtick wreathes he wove,
And thus lamented his forſaken love.

How often, *Celia*, faithleſs maid,
With arms entwined did we walk,
Beneath the cloſe, unpierced ſhade,
Beguiling time with amorous talk.
But that, alas! is paſt, and I muſt prove
The pangs attending on forſaken love.

But think not, *Celia*, I will bear,
With dull ſubmiſſion, all the ſmart;
No, I'll at once drive out deſpair,
And thy lov'd image from my heart;
All arts, all charms, I'll practiſe to remove
The pangs attending on forſaken love.

Bacchus, with greeneſt ivy crown'd,
Hither repair with all thy train,
And chaſe the jovial goblet round;
For *Celia* triumphs in my pain;
With generous wine aſſiſt me to remove
The pangs attending on forſaken love.

Con'd reaſon be ſo drown'd in wine,
As never to revive again;
How happy were this heart of *mine*,
Reliev'd at once of all *its* pain!
But reaſon ſtill with love returns to prove
The torment laſting of forſaken love.

Bring me the girl, whoſe generous ſoul
Kindles at the circling bowl;
Whoſe ſparkling eye with wanton fire,
Shoots thro' my blood a fierce deſire;
For ev'ry art I'll practiſe to remove
The pangs attending on forſaken love.

And what is all this tranſient flame,
'Tis but a blaze, and ſeen no more;
A blaze, that lights us to our ſhame,
And robs us of a gay fourſcore;
Reaſon again with love returns, to prove
The torment laſting of forſaken love.

Hark! how the jolly huntſman's cries,
In concert with the op'ning hounds,
Rend the wide concave of the ſkies,
And tire dull echo with their ſounds;
Thou, *Phœbe*, goddeſs of the chaſe remove
The pangs attending on forſaken love.

Ah me! the ſprightly bounding doe,
The chaſe, and every thing I view,
Still to my mind recalls my woe;
So *Celia* flies, ſo I purſue.
So rooted here, no arts can e'er remove
The pangs attending on forſaken love.

Then back, poor *Damon*, to thy grove,
Since nought avails to eaſe thy pain;
Let conſtancy thy flame improve,
And patience anſwer her diſdain;
So gratitude may *Celia*'s paſſion move
To pity, and reward thy conſtant love.

Richmond Gardens *in our next.*

THE

* *The four laſt Lines were ſpoken only that Night when the preſent worthy Mayor of* Colcheſter *was at the Performance.*

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THE *Monthly Chronologer.*

SUNDAY, *Dec.* 4.

THE Court at St. *James's* appear'd in deep Mourning, but his Majesty did not appear in Publick; only the Prime Ministers, the chief Officers of his Houshold, the chief Officers of her late Majesty's Houshold, the Ladies of her Bed-chamber, the Maids of Honour, and the Women of her Bed-chamber, *&c.* appear'd in the Drawing-Room, when the Lords of the Bed-chamber in waiting came from the King's Apartment, and took their Names, *&c.* and then went to the King to carry their Condolences, *&c.* to his Majesty; and then came out again to carry in other Names, *&c.* and did so several Times, till his Majesty was made acquainted with all the Persons of Distinction who came to wait upon him.

THURSDAY, 8.

The Parliament met according to the last Prorogation, and was farther prorogued to *Tuesday* the 24th of *January* next, when it will sit for the Dispatch of Business.

MONDAY, 12.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Baily*, when the following Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Samuel Bugden* for stealing from *Francis Brooks* two Gold Rings, a Silver Watch and 7 *l.* in Money.—*William Cudmore* for robbing *Gerrard Bothenly*, Esq; of Clothes and Plate to the Value of 26 *l.*—*William Hordesty* for robbing *Paynter Cade* on the High-way.—*William Brown* for robbing *William Haynes* on the High-way.—*John Lane* for robbing *Ann Porter* in *Hornsey Wood*.—*Isaac Whitehead* for Horse-stealing.—*Gerry Gerrard* and *Grafton Kirke* for robbing *Henry Gough* and *Henry Adams*, Esqrs. on the High-way.—*Joseph Shaw* for robbing Mr. *South* on the High-way.—*Elizabeth Osborne* and *Ann Clarke* for House breaking.—*Abraham Davenport* for stealing a Silver Tankard out of the House of *Elizabeth Uvedale*.

A Scheme of the Proportions the several Counties in *England* paid to the Land Tax in 1693, and to the Subsidies in 1697, compared with the Number of Members they send to Parliament. By *John Smart* at the Town Clerk's Office, *London*. In this Scheme the Proportions are thus consider'd, *viz.* that as the whole Kingdom sends 513 Members to Parliament, so the Whole of each Tax is divided into 513 equal Parts. Col. 1 shews the Names of the Counties. 2. How many of the 513 Parts each County paid to the Land Tax in 1693. 3. How many of the 513 Parts each County paid to the Subsidies in 1697. 4. How many of the 513 Members each County sends to Parliament. Cities are included in their respective Counties.

COUNTIES.		Parts of the L. Tax	Pts. of Sub	Parliament M.
Bedford		7	4	4
Berks		10	8	9
Bucks		12	7	14
Cambridge		9	6	6
Chester		7	5	4
Cornwall	*	8	5	44
Cumberland	*	1	1	6
Derby		6	4	4
Devon	*	21	19	26
Dorset	*	9	6	20
Durham	*	3	4	4
Essex		24	13	8
Glocester		12	8	8
Hereford		5	4	8
Hertford		11	8	6
Huntingdon		4	3	4
Kent	*	22	15	18
Lancaster	*	5	7	14
Leicester		9	7	4
Lincoln		19	11	12
Middlesex		80	185	8
Monmouth		3	2	3
Norfolk		22	20	12
Northampton		12	8	9
Northumberland	*	4	3	8
Nottingham		7	4	8
Oxon		10	7	9
Rutland		2	1	2
Salop		7	6	12
Somerset		19	15	18
Southampton	*	14	11	26
Stafford		7	6	10
Suffolk		20	15	16
Surrey		18	16	14
Sussex		16	10	28
Warwick		10	8	6
Westmoreland	*	1	1	4
Wilts	*	13	8	34
Worcester		9	7	9
York	*	24	23	30
Wales		11	12	24
All England *and* Wales		513	513	513
Note, that the Proportions of the 6 Northern and 5 Western Counties marked thus * are		*Land* 103	*Sub* 88	*M.* 216
Middlesex and Essex are		104	198	16

WEDNESDAY, 14.

At a Sessions of the high Court of Admiralty,

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ralty, held at the *Old-Bailey*, before Sir *Henry Penrice*, Judge of the ſaid Court, and Sir *William Chapple*, the three following Priſoners were tried, *viz.*—*John Richardſon*, Carpenter, indicted for the Murder of Capt. *Hartley*; which Fact, with moſt cruel aggravating Circumſtances, was fully proved, and he Capitally convicted. — *Richard Eadnell*, alias *Ignel*, indicted for the Murder of *John Wood*, a Cuſtom-Houſe Officer, in *Yarmouth* Road, was acquitted of that Indictment; but by a ſpecial Warrant, detained to anſwer another Accuſation alledged againſt him. — And, *Edward Farrel* indicted for boaring a Hole in the Bottom of the Ship, called the *Charming Sally*, on the Coaſt of *Spain*, by which Means the ſaid Ship ſunk, and the Inſurers thereby were like to be defrauded of 1000 *l.* was acquitted.

THURSDAY, 15.

At the ſaid Seſſions of Admiralty *Nicholas Woolf* and *John Obryan* were tried for pyratically combining, with others, to make a Revolt on board the *Dove*, Capt. *Hawes*; and *Robert White* and *John Ware*, for the Murder of *Thomas Heath* in the *George* Sloop at *Bencoolen*; and were all acquitted.

SATURDAY 17.

The Body of her late Majeſty was interr'd in a new Vault, in King *Henry* VII's Chapel. The Proceſſion was from the Prince's Chamber, adjoining to the Houſe of Lords. Her Pall was ſupported by ſix Dukes, *viz.* the Dukes of *Richmond*, *Montagu*, *Argyll*, *Beucleugh*, St. *Albans* and *Kent*; and her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Amelia* was chief Mourner, ſupported by 2 Dukes, and her Train born by 2 Dutcheſſes, aſſiſted by the Lord *Robert Montagu* the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain, and 6 Dutcheſſes and 10 Counteſſes were Aſſiſtants to the chief Mourner. The burial Service was read by the Right Rev. Dr. *Wilcox*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Dean of *Weſtminſter*. After the burial Service was over, an Anthem ſet to Muſick by Mr. *Handel*, was performed by upwards of 140 Hands, from the Choirs of St. *James*'s, *Weſtminſter*, St. *Paul*'s, and *Windſor*; and then *John Anſtis*, Garter King at Arms, proclaimed her late Majeſty's Stile and Titles, *viz.*

Thus it has pleaſed Almighty God, to take out of this tranſitory Life, to his divine Mercy, the late Moſt High, Moſt Mighty, and Moſt Excellent Princeſs *Caroline*, by the Grace of God, Queen Conſort of the Moſt High, Moſt Mighty, and Moſt Excellent Monarch *George* the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; whom God bleſs and preſerve with long Life, Health, and Honour, and all worldly Happineſs.

The great Bell at St. *Paul*'s, *Bow*, St. *Bride*'s, and ſeveral others, tolled from ſix in the Evening till ten, it being during the Time of the Proceſſion.

And the Guns at the Tower were alſo fired by Minutes.

The ſame Day the great Standard of *England* was hoiſted half Way up the Staff at the Tower of *London*, on account of her Majeſty's Funeral.

All the Ships in the River did the ſame with their Colours.

The following is the Inſcription on her Majeſty's Coffin.

Depoſitum
Sereniſſimæ Principiſſæ CAROLINÆ,
Dei Gratia Reginæ Conſortis Auguſtiſ. & Potentiſ.
GEORGII *Secundi, Dei Gratia*
Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regis,
Fidei Defenſoris, Ducis Bruſvici & Luneburgi,
S. R. I.
Archi Theſaurarii & Principis Electoris,
Quæ vixit Annos LIV, *Menſes* VIII, *Dies* XIX, *&*
Diem obiit Supremum XX *Novembris,*
MDCCXXXVII.

The Anthem perform'd at her Majeſty's Interment was as follows,

THE Ways of *Zion* do mourn, and ſhe is in Bitterneſs; all her People ſigh, and hang down their Heads to the Ground. *Lam.* i. 4, 11, 10.

How are the mighty fall'n! She that was great among the Nations, and Princeſs of the Provinces. 2 *Sam.* i. 19. *Lam.* i. 1.

She put on Righteouſneſs, and it clothed her; her Judgment was a Robe and a Diadem. *Job* xxix. 14.

When the Ear heard her then it bleſſed her, and when the Eye ſaw her it gave Witneſs to her. Ver. 11.

She delivered the Poor that cried, the Fatherleſs, and him that had none to help him. Ver. 12.

Kindneſs, Meekneſs, and Comfort, were on her Tongue. *Eccluſ.* xxxvi. 23.

If there was any Virtue, and if there was any Praiſe, ſhe thought on theſe Things. *Phil.* iv. 8.

The Righteous ſhall be had in everlaſting Remembrance; and the Wife ſhall ſhine as the Brightneſs of the Firmament. *Pſal.* cxii. 6. *Dan.* xii. 3.

Their Bodies are buried in Peace, but their Name liveth evermore. *Eccluſ.* xliv. 14.

The People tell of their Wiſdom, and the Congregation will ſhew forth their Praiſe. Ver 15.

Their Reward alſo is with the Lord, and the Care of them is with the moſt High. *Wiſd.* v. 15.

They ſhall receive a glorious Kingdom, and a beautiful Crown from the Lord's Hands. Ver. 16.

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The merciful Goodneſs of the Lord endureth for ever on them that fear him, and his Righteouſneſs to their Childrens Children. *Pſal.* ciii. 17.

SUNDAY, 18.

This Day, according to annual Cuſtom, Bread and Cheeſe were thrown from *Paddington* Steeple to the Populace, agreeable to the Will of two Women, who were relieved there with Bread and Cheeſe when they were almoſt ſtarved; and Providence afterwards favouring them, they left an Eſtate in that Pariſh to continue the Cuſtom for ever on that Day.

A General BILL *of all the Chriſtnings and Burials, from the 7th of* Dec. 1736, *to the 13th of* Dec. 1737. *According to the Report made to the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

Chriſtned,		Buried,	
Males	8482	Males	13690
Females	8278	Females	14133
In all	16760	In all	27823

Increaſed in the Burials this Year, 242.

Died			
Under 2 Years of Age			10054
Between	2 and	5	2613
	5 and	10	1008
	10 and	20	885
	20 and	30	2241
	30 and	40	2652
	40 and	50	2578
	50 and	60	2270
	60 and	70	1650
	70 and	80	1164
	80 and	90	576
	90 and	100	127

A Hundred and One 1. A Hundred and Three 1. A Hundred and Five 1. A Hundred and Six 1. A Hundred and Sixteen 1

MONDAY, 19.

The Bridge-Lottery ended this Morning, when the laſt drawn Ticket, Numb. 6271, entitled Mr. *John Garway*, a Merchant in *Worceſter*, to 1000 *l.* He had a 1000 *l.* Prize ſome Weeks before; and in the laſt Government-Lottery, by hiring the Chance of a Ticket for a ſingle Day, got 5000 *l.*

About the Beginning of the Month, the Lords of the Admiralty put the following Ships into Commiſſion (which are to ſail, 'tis ſaid, for the *Weſt-Indies*) and gave the Command of them to the following Captains, *viz.* Capt. *Brown*, Commodore, in the *Hampton-Court*, a 3d Rate of 70 Guns.—Capt. *Berkeley*, in the *Windſor*, a 3d Rate of 60 Guns.—Capt. *Anſon*, in the *Centurion*, a 3d Rate of 60 Guns.—Capt. *Douglas*, in the *Falmouth*, a 4th Rate of 50 Guns.—Capt. *Rediſh*, in the *Angleſea*, a 4th Rate of 50 Guns.

WEDNESDAY, 21.

Came on the Election for Common-Council-Men for the ſeveral Wards of this City. In general the former were continued; but in the Ward of *Farringdon Within*, Mr. *Woolaſton* was choſen without Oppoſition in the room of Mr. *Selwin*.

THURSDAY, 22.

Was held a general Council at St. *James's*, when the Earl of *Pomfret*, and the Lord *Robert Montagu*, delivered their Gold Keys to his Majeſty, the former as Maſter of the Horſe, and the latter as Vice-Chamberlain to her late Majeſty.

MARRIAGE *and* BIRTHS.

WILLIAM *Bridgen*, Eſq; an eminent Merchant in *Mincing-Lane*, married to the Rt. Hon. the Counteſs Dowager of *Bellamont*.—The Lady of the Rt. Rev. the Ld. Biſhop of *Hereford*, Daughter to the Counteſs of *Portland*, and Siſter to the Dutcheſs of *Kent*, ſafely deliver'd of a Son.—The Lady of *Herbert Windſor*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Cardiff*, and eldeſt Son to the Lord *Windſor*, ſafely deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

IN laſt Month, at his Seat in *Scotland*, Sir *James Dunbar*, Bart.—Rev. Mr. *Soley*, Prebendary of *Winchеſter*, and Rector of *Alreſford*, *Hants*.—Dr. *Nelſon*, a Phyſician at *Richmond*, *Surrey*.—At *Acton*, *Thomas Booth* Eſq;—At his Seat near *Chicheſter*, *William Haywood* Eſq;—Col. *Winderham*, formerly Col. of a Reg. of Foot.—Col. *Peters*, Lieut. Col. of Brig. Gen. *Philips*'s Reg.—In this Month, Capt. *Anneſly*, of the firſt Reg. of Foot-guards.—Cap. *Samuel Merley*, formerly Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Weymouth*.—*Wm. Keen*, Eſq; one of the three Pages of the Removing Wardrobe to his Majeſty.—Rev. Mr. *Samuel Bruce*, Miniſter of a diſſenting Congregation in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*.—*Ritch. Harvey*, Eſq; formerly Governor of *Cardiff* Caſtle.—*John Pugh*, of *Markafarn*, *Montgomery-ſhire*, Eſq; formerly Member for *Montgomery*.—*Tho. Moore*, Eſq; Grandſon of the Bp. of *Ely* of that Name.—Rev. Mr. *Holmes*, Fellow of *Trinity*-College, *Cambridge*, and Vicar of *Barington*.—Rev. Dr. *Watſon*, Rector of St. *Stephen*, *Walbrook*.—Brigad. Gen. *Waring*.—*Humphry Thayer*, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of Exciſe.—Capt. *Henry Seaton*, of Lieut. Gen. *Wade*'s Troop of Horſe.—*Thomas Foley*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Stafford*.—At *Fawley* in *Berkſhire*, Sir *Rich. Moore*, Bart.—Rev. Mr. *Strype*, aged near 100, Author of the *Annals*, &c.—Mr. Deputy *Smith*, aged 90.—*Wm. Edwards*, Eſq; Treaſurer to the *New-River* Company.—Mr. *Ayliffe*, a noted Attorney.—At *Stanmere* near *Lewes*, in *Suſſex*, *Tho. Pelham*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Lewes*.—*Charles Joye*, Eſq; Treaſurer of St. *Thomas's-Hoſpital*.—At her Lodgings near the *Seven-Dials*, Mrs. *Mapp*, the noted Bone-Setter, miſerably poor.—Rev. Mr. *Collins*, Rector of *Crayford*, *Kent*.—In *Scotland*,

Rt. Hon. *Patrick Crawford*, Viſcount *Garnock*, Lord *Kilburny*, *Kingſburn*, and *Drumray*.—Mrs. *Wymondeſell*, Wife of *Matthew Wymondeſell*, Eſq; (now High-Sheriff of the County of *Bucks*.—Capt. *Cunningham*, Aid de Camp to the Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord Lieut. of *Ireland*.—Counteſs of *Galloway*, Daughter of the late Earl of *Eglinton*.—Aged upwards of 80. the Lady *Harriſon*, Relict of Sir *Edmund Harriſon*.—At *Acton*, *John Billingſley*, Eſq; in Commiſſion of the Peace, and formerly Groom of the Cloſet to Q. *Anne*.—*James Mackenzie*, Eſq; Major to Brigadier General *Robert Murray*'s Reg. of Foot.—Sir *Robert Kennedy*, Knt.—At his Houſe in *White Friars*, Mr. *William Bowyer*, an eminent Printer, a Man of an excellent Character.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Reyner* made Sub Dean of St. *Paul*'s.—Mr. *Willes* preſented to Rectory of *Shipton-Mallet*, *Glouceſt*.—Mr. *Davies*, to the Rectory of *Potſham*, *Wilts*.—Mr. *Abbot*, to the Vicarage of *Mucking*, *Eſſex*.—Mr. *Henry Wickham*, appointed Chaplain to the Prince of *Wales*.—Mr. *Tho. Bellamy* preſented to the Rectory of *Alton*, and *Sutton-Mandeville*, *Wilts*.—Mr. *Turner* of *Colcheſter*, to the Rectory of *Aldham* in that Neighbourhood.—Mr. *James Cogbill*, to the Living of *Clitheraw*, *Lancaſhire*.—Mr. *Lambert* to the Rectory of *Leven*, *Yorkſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

EARL of *Ila*, appointed Lord Lieut. of *Weſt Lothian*, in the room of the late Earl of *Haddington*.—*Mat. Norris*, Eſq; ſucceeds the late Sir *Nicholas Trevanion*, as Commiſſioner at *Plymouth*.—Lord *Delaware*, made Col. of the firſt Troop of Life-Guards, in the room of the Duke of *Montagu*.—*Wm. Colbey*, Eſq; appointed a Col. in the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Reg. of Horſe.—Capt. *Meddley*, Capt. of an Independant Company at *Jerſey*, in the room of Capt. *Bignal*, deceas'd.—Mr. *Aiſlabie*, ſucceeds *Tho. Foley*, Eſq; as Auditor of the Impreſt.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *Jacſon*, of St. *Anne*'s, *Weſtm.* Carpenter and Builder.—*Tho. Owen* of St. *Paul*'s, *Covent-Garden*, Linen-Draper.—*Benj Irving*, of *Bury St. Edmund*'s, Linen-Draper and Chapman.—*John Baker*, of St. *Margaret*'s, *Weſtm.* Brewer.—*John Welbank*, of *Caterick* in *Yorkſhire*. Grocer.—*William Wicks*, of *Whitecroſs-ſtreet*, Brewer.—*Samuel Wilſon*, of *Tower-ſtreet*, Grocer.—*John Middleton*, of *Thames-ſtreet*, Diſtiller.—*Robert Highmore*, of *Brick-lane*, *White-Chapel*, Pawnbroker.—*William Stimſon*, late of *Shoe-lane*, Brewer.—*Edmund Williams*, of St. *George Hanover-ſquare*, Victualler.—*William Stamper*, of St. *Dunſtan*'s in *Fleet-ſtreet*, Broker.—*John Perry*, of *Camberwell*, in *Surry*, Butcher, and Saleſman.—*John Bridge*, late of *Thetford*, in *Norfolk*, Inholder.

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 101 ¾		*Afric.* 14	
—*Bonds* 3		*Royal Aſſ.* 111	
—*Annu.* 110½ a ⅝		*Lon. ditto* 14 ¼	
Bank 142 ¾		3 *per C. An.* 106 ¼	
—*Circ.* 15		*Eng. Copper* 2 15	
Mil. Bank 123		*Salt Tallies* 1 a 4	
India 177		*Emp. Loan* 114	
—*Bonds* 6 18		*Equiv.* 112	

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 35 1 2 ½		*Bilboa* 39 ½	
D. Sight 34 10		*Legborn* 49 ¾	
Rotter. 35 1 2a2½		*Genoa* 52 ⅛	
Hamb. 34 2a 34		*Venice* 50 ⅛ a ¾	
P. Sight 32 ⅛		*Lisb.* 5s 5d ⅛ a ⅛	
Bourdx. 31 ⅜		*Oport.* 5s 5d ⅛ a 5	
Cadiz 39 ¼		*Antw.* 35 5	
Madrid 39 ½ a ⅝		*Dublin* 8 ¼	

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat 24 28		*Oates* 9 14	
Rye 13 19		*Tares* 22 24	
Barley 16 19		*Peaſe* 30 36	
H. Beans 22 28		*H. Peaſe* 16 17	
P. Malt 22 26		*E. Malt* 16 19	

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Nov.* 22. to *Dec.* 29.

Chriſtned	Males 739, Females 734		1473
Buried	Males 1328, Females 1321		2649
Died under 2 Years old			805
Between	2 and 5		228
	5	10	84
	10	20	85
	20	30	229
	30	40	283
	40	50	265
	50	60	261
	60	70	199
	70	80	150
	80	90	51
	90 and upwards		9
			2649

Hay 50 to 54*l.* a Load.

ON

ON *October* 16 N. S. The *Ottoman* Army conſiſting of 60,000 *Turks* and 20,000 *Tartars*, commanded by the *Seraſkier General Ali Baſha*, and the new *Kan of Tartary*, inveſted the City of *Ocxakow* on the Land Side, and continued the Siege till *November* 8, during which Time they made many Aſſaults upon different Places, but were always repulſed by the *Muſcovite* Garriſon under the Command of *Major General de Stoffeln*, with great Loſs. On the 8th, early in the Morning, the beſieging Army, after having made a ſham Attack upon a Redoubt, ſituate on a Hill towards *Liman*, and having ſprung two Mines towards the Baſtion of *Louandahl*, turned ſuddenly towards the Gate of *Iſmailow*, and made a general Storm upon the covered Way, with all their Infantry and 5000 Horſe, who were put on Shore from their Fleet for that Purpoſe. This Attack was made with ſo much Fury, that in ſome Places they got quite up to the Ditches of the Town, and many of the Soldiers threw themſelves into the Water, in order to have got over; but in every Place they met with ſuch a warm Reception from the Garriſon, who ſprung two Mines near the Caſerns with great Succeſs, that after having loſt a great Number of Men, they were obliged to retire. Next Day they continued to make a great Fire from all their Batteries; but at Night they abandoned all their Works, ſet Fire to their Camp, and marched off with ſo much Precipitation, that they had got near 40 *Werſts* from the Place by the 10th at Night; from whence one would imagine they had got a falſe Alarm, that the *Muſcovite* Army was marching up to attack them. The *Czarina* has made the Commandant a Lieutenant-General, for his good Conduct and Bravery in the Defence of this Place; and his Son, *Lieutenant de Stoffeln*, who carried the News of the raiſing the Siege to *Peterſburgh*, has got a Company.

The Magiſtrates and Eccleſiaſticks of the Principality of *Sultzbach* have lately wrote a Letter to the Evangelick Body at *Ratiſbon*, in which they repreſent, 'That if their Affairs 'are ſuffered to remain in the deplorable Con'dition they are in at preſent, it is to be fear'ed the Proteſtant Religion will ſoon be en'tirely aboliſhed in that Country, where no 'Proteſtant can obtain Juſtice either in his 'eccleſiaſtical or civil Affairs.' On this Occaſion the Evangelick Body has wrote a Letter to the *Emperor*, praying his Imperial Majeſty to vouchſafe to render them that Juſtice which is due to them by the Conſtitutions of the Empire, the Peace of *Weſtphalia*, and the Acts of Religion ſigned at *Nuremberg*; but we do not hear that any Anſwer has as yet been returned to this Repreſentation. The Prince of *Sultzbach* is next Succeſſor to the preſent *Elector Palatine*, and as ſuch lays Claim to the Dutchies of *Bergue* and *Juliers*.

From the *Hague* we hear, that the *Imperial* and *French* Miniſters at that Place having in a Memorial deſired that his *Britannick Majeſty* and their High Mightineſſes would become Mediators for accommodating the Differences ſubſiſting between the *King of Pruſſia* and the Family of *Sultzbach*, in relation to the eventual Succeſſion to the Dutchies of *Bergue* and *Juliers*, thoſe two Powers had agreed to offer their Mediation accordingly; an Anſwer, which 'tis thought neither of thoſe Miniſters expected. From this Anſwer it may be ſuppoſed, a Negotiation will ſoon commence for ſettling that Affair; but if the preſent *Elector Palatine* ſhould die in the mean Time, the proviſional Poſſeſſion is deſigned, it ſeems, by the Mediators to be given to the Prince of *Sultzbach*, which is a Conceſſion the Court of *Pruſſia* will not perhaps agree to; for Poſſeſſion is generally as much eſteemed by Princes as it is by private Men.

We are told, there is a Treaty of Marriage in Agitation, between the *Infante Don Philip*, ſecond Son to the *Queen of Spain*, and the Princeſs *Anne-Charlotte of Lorain*, ſecond Siſter to the preſent *great Duke of Tuſcany*; and that in conſideration of the ſaid Marriage, the *great Duke* is to renounce all his Pretenſions to the allodial and moveable Effects of his Predeceſſor the late *Duke of Tuſcany*; which will probably eſtabliſh a good Harmony between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*.

On the 9th Inſtant, the Fleet from *Rio de Janeiro* arrived at *Liſbon*, conſiſting of 15 Merchant Ships, and 12 more from the new Colony of *St. Sacrament*, under the Convoy of two Men of War. The Cargo of this Fleet conſiſts in 30 *Millions* of *Cruſadoes*, 90,000 Carats of *Diamonds*, and great Quantities of other rich Merchandize.

The *Emperor* has by a Letter under his own Hand to the *Count de Konigſegg*, Velt Marſhal of his Armies, conferred the Command of his Army in *Hungary* on that General. This is the General who ſurprized the *French* Army upon the *Secchia*, and afterwards fought the Battle of *Guaſtalla* during the laſt War.

The *French* Papers are full of the Legacies left by the late *Count de Toulouſe*, natural Son of *Lewis* 14th. Among others are theſe following, viz. To his Siſter the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Orleans*, a Diamond worth 180,000 Livres. To each of his 25 Valets de Chambre, 500 Livres a Year, during Life. To *Madam de Grave*, and her Son, 1500 Livres a Year each, during Life. To M. *Tarnant*, and his Son 1500 Livres a Year each, during Life. To the Chevalier *de Crenay*, 1500 Livres a Year for Life. To each of the Comptrollers of his Houſhold 1500 Livres a Year for Life. And to his 14 principal Footmen 400 Livres in Money each.

The

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18. A Diſſertation on the Venereal Diſeaſe. By *J. Douglas*, F. R. S. Part II. Sold by the Author, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

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19. The Intriguing Milliners. Printed for *W. Smith*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

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29. An Anſwer to the *Birmingham* Dialogue Writer. By *J. Gill*. Printed for *A. Ward*, price 6*d.*

* 30. The retired Chriſtian exerciſed in divine Thoughts and heavenly Meditations for the Cloſet. By *T. Ken*, D. D. late Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*. The 3d Edit. Printed for *T. Aſhley*, 12mo, price 1*s.* or 10*s.* a Dozen to thoſe who give them away.

* 31. An Anſwer to all the Excuſes, which Men make for not coming to the Holy Communion. By Archbiſhop *Synge*. The 14th Edit. Printed for *T. Frye*, pr. 3*d.*

* 32. A Collection of Forms of Prayer. The 3d Edition. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 6*d.*

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APPENDIX

TO THE

LONDON MAGAZINE.

MDCCXXXVII.

Concluſion of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES of the *laſt Seſſion* of PARLIAMENT, *continued from Page* 684.

IN our laſt we gave the Arguments made uſe of in favour of the Motion and Bill for repealing the old and laying a new Duty upon *Sweets*, and alſo a Part of the Arguments made uſe of againſt that Motion and Bill; therefore we ſhall now proceed to give an Account of the remaining Part of the Debate relating to that important Affair, beginning where we left off in our laſt. (See p. 684.)

In every Country, Sir, that which may be called the Eſtate or Revenue of the Publick is the Sum that may be raiſed yearly from the publick Lands, and from thoſe Taxes and Impoſitions which the People will patiently ſubmit to pay; therefore if in any one Year the publick Expence exceed that Sum, by mortgaging a Part of this publick Eſtate or Revenue, the Publick is in the ſame Circumſtances with a private Man who runs out his Eſtate, and neither the one nor the other can, for the future, be reckoned to have a greater Eſtate or Revenue than what remains free to him after the Payment of the Intereſt upon his Mortgages yearly. The only Difference is, that the Revenue of a private Man is certain and always the ſame, whereas the publick Revenue of a Kingdom or State is variable, and may always be greater in Time of War than in Time of Peace; becauſe, during a juſt and neceſſary War, the People will patiently ſubmit to greater Taxes than they will do in Time of Peace; but in either Caſe, if the Government of a Country ſhould make the publick Expence exceed the publick Revenue, but for one Year only, it is a Step towards their Ruin, and a great Number of ſuch Steps muſt certainly at laſt bring them to their Journey's End, which is the Ruin of their Country. For this Reaſon the Government of every Country ought to take ſpecial Care to proportion the publick Expence to the publick Revenue yearly, ſo as never to allow any publick Debt to be contracted, but what may be diſcharged by the Produce of the Taxes growing due within that Year.

Miniſters, Sir, and thoſe in the preſent Poſſeſſion of Power, may very probably be for loading the Publick with Debts, inſtead of loading the People with Taxes, becauſe the People are ſenſible only of the Taxes they pay, they are not immediately ſenſible of the Debt the Publick contracts, nor can they probably become ſenſible of it during that Miniſter's Adminiſtration. This may enable him to run the Nation into a needleſs Expence, or to ſquander the publick Money, without bringing an immediate Odium upon himſelf, or raiſing any Murmurs againſt his Adminiſtration; but every ſuch Debt weakens the Power of the Crown, which depends upon the annual Revenue of the Kingdom, and may render it impoſſible even for the very next Succeſſor to protect his Kingdom, either againſt Invaſions and Inſults from without, or Tumults and Inſurrections from within; therefore no Man who has a true Regard for the

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the Crown, or for the next Succeſſor to the Crown, will, for the Eaſe of any temporary Miniſter, agree to run the Nation in Debt, in order that the People may not be ſenſible of the unneceſſary Charge his Ambition, Imprudence, Avarice, or Extravagance, may have brought upon them.

When ſuch Taxes are impoſed and collected within the Year, as are fully ſufficient for defraying the Expence of that Year, the People are ſenſible of the Expence, and will therefore enquire into the Neceſſity of that Expence, which will always be a Check upon the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration, in Time of War as well as Peace: It will not only make them frugal with reſpect to every Shilling of the publick Money they are obliged to lay out, but it will make them careful not to involve the Nation in any unneceſſary War or Expence; and it will prevent their continuing of any War, longer than the future Security of the Nation requires. On the other Hand, when the publick Expence, or any Part of it, is raiſed by impoſing a ſmall Tax upon any of the Neceſſaries, Conveniencies, or Luxuries of Life, and mortgaging that Tax for a Number of Years, the People are not ſenſible of the Expence they are put to, and conſequently make no Enquiry about it, which often gives an Encouragement to thoſe in Power to run the People into needleſs Expences, and to laviſh the publick Money. But if ſuch Meaſures be continued for any Number of Years, thoſe ſmall Taxes grow ſo numerous, that they become not only ſenſible but inſupportable: The Complaints and the Murmurs of the People then begin to grow general and loud; but the Misfortune is, that their Reſentment falls upon thoſe who have then the ill Fate to be in Power over them, and not upon thoſe who were the original Authors of their Miſery.

Another Misfortune is, Sir, that by contracting Debt, inſtead of impoſing Taxes, the Nation is at laſt obliged to pay 3 or 4 *s.* ſometimes more, for *every Shilling* that was ever applied to the publick Service; becauſe the Intereſt and Charges of Management, which the People are obliged to pay yearly till the Principal be diſcharged, often amounts to double or treble the Sum firſt borrowed, which was the only Sum applied to the Service of the Publick. If we were to compute what this Nation has paid for Intereſt, and Charges of Management, upon all the Debts we have contracted, it would amount to an incredible Sum: I am convinced it would appear to be more than three Times the Amount of the whole Debt we owe at preſent. Let us but conſider the Project now before us: Let us ſuppoſe 400 000*l.* borrowed at an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* and that the Tax will amount to but 35,000*l.* a Year, which is the leaſt groſs Produce we can ſuppoſe, upon the Suppoſition that it will bring a net Sum of 30,000*l.* yearly into the *Exchequer*; in that Caſe, the People muſt pay 35,000*l.* a Year for 17 Years, which at 3 *per Cent.* Compound Intereſt amounts to near 750,000*l.* and which muſt be paid by the People of *England* in lieu of the 400,000*l.* now to be borrowed for the Service of this Year. When ſo low an Intereſt, in ſo ſhort a Time, makes ſuch a Difference, we may eaſily gueſs what an immenſe Sum the People of this Kingdom have paid for Intereſt and Charges of Management, ſince that Practice of creating——and mortgaging publick Funds, was firſt brought into Faſhion amongſt us.

It may, I know, be ſaid, that if the whole Money neceſſary for the current Service is not raiſed within the Year, the People muſt ſave ſo much Money in their Pockets, which they would otherwiſe be obliged to pay out, for making good that Service; and that every private Man may make above 5 *per Cent.* of the Money ſo ſaved, inſtead of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Sum which the Publick borrows for the current Service; from whence it may be argued, that it is an Advantage for every private Man to run the Publick in Debt, rather than raiſe, within the Year, the whole Sums neceſſary for the current Service of the Year. But do not we know, Sir, that every Man looks upon the Taxes he is obliged to pay yearly, as a Part of his yearly Expence; and the more Taxes he is obliged to pay, the more he contracts his yearly Expence upon other Articles? This every prudent and provident Man will do, when he feels the Money going yearly out of his Pocket towards the publick Expence; but when a publick Debt is contracted, and thereby a Load thrown upon future Generations for the Eaſe of the preſent, no Man, let him be never ſo provident, ſits down to compute the Eaſe he meets with, in order that he may ſave as much out of that Year's Expence, as may enable his Poſterity to anſwer the Load thrown upon them. People conſider only the yearly Taxes they are ſubjected to, and proportion their Expences upon other Articles accordingly; ſo that Poſterity are ſo far from having the Principal left them, with Compound Intereſt at 5 *per Cent.* that they have neither Principal nor Intereſt left them; nor is it poſſible to perſuade an Heir, that any Part of the Eſtate left him by his Anceſtor, was ſaved for him, with a View of enabling him to pay his Share of that publick Debt, which was contracted in the Time of his Anceſtor.

To theſe Misfortunes, Sir, let me add another, that the creating and mortgaging publick Funds, neceſſarily contributes to the raiſing and keeping up the natural Intereſt of Money, or to the draining the Nation of that *Gold* and *Silver* which is brought into it by its general Balance of Trade. As the

natural Intereſt of Money, in all Countries, depends upon the Proportion between the Demand for borrowing Money at Intereſt, and the Demand for lending Money at Intereſt, by creating and mortgaging publick Funds, you increaſe the firſt Demand, and conſequently the natural Intereſt of Money muſt riſe, unleſs you proportionably increaſe the other, and this you can no Way do but by prevailing with Foreigners to lend you a Sum equal to that publick Fund you have eſtabliſhed. If you can do this, you keep up the ſame Proportion between the Demand for borrowing Money at Intereſt, and the Demand for lending Money at Intereſt, which you had in your Country before that publick Fund was created; but then what is the Conſequence? The whole Sum payable yearly by Way of Intereſt upon that publick Fund, muſt be ſent out of your Country yearly in *Gold* or *Silver*, or it muſt prevent ſo much *Gold* and *Silver* yearly coming in to you, by Means of your general Balance of Trade; for unleſs you create a new Fund, your foreign Creditors cannot poſſibly convert their Intereſt into Principal; and if you create a new Fund, you add to your former Misfortune, by increaſing the annual Draught of *Gold* and *Silver* from amongſt you.

To apply this, Sir, to our preſent Circumſtances; ſuppoſe the whole of our publick Debts amounts to 48 *Millions*, and that but 10 *Millions* of that Capital belongs to Foreigners, tho' I am convinced their Share amounts to a much larger Sum: In that Caſe, you have taken 38 *Millions* from the Demand for lending Money at Intereſt in your Country, and have added it to the Demand for borrowing Money at Intereſt, which makes a Difference of no leſs than 76 *Millions*, and how this Difference muſt affect the Proportion between theſe two Demands, and conſequently the natural Intereſt of Money, in this Country, I ſhall leave to every Gentleman that hears me to judge. Then as to the 10 *Millions* belonging to Foreigners, 'tis true, it prevents the Difference between theſe two Demands in this Country being ſo great as it would otherwiſe be; but the Conſequence is, that the yearly Intereſt of this Sum of 10 *Millions*, which is 400,000 *l.* a Year, muſt be ſent out annually in *Gold* or *Silver*, or in *Goods* and *Merchandize*; for all Bills of Exchange muſt at laſt be anſwered by one or other of theſe Funds. If it be ſent out in *Gold* and *Silver*, it diminiſhes our National Stock of *Gold* and *Silver*; if in *Goods* and *Merchandize*, it prevents its Increaſe; becauſe the Price of thoſe *Goods* and *Merchandize* muſt neceſſarily at laſt have been returned to us in *Gold* and *Silver*, if we had had no ſuch Intereſt to have paid yearly to Foreigners. While the general Balance of Trade continues in our Favour, the paying of this Intereſt to Foreigners will only prevent the yearly Increaſe of our National Stock of *Gold* and *Silver*; but as ſoon as the general Balance of Trade turns againſt us, this whole Sum muſt be drawn out yearly in *Gold* and *Silver*, which muſt neceſſarily in a few Years, entirely exhauſt our National Stock of thoſe two Metals; and when that Misfortune comes upon us, I am afraid we ſhall find but little Comfort or Relief in our Paper Credit.

This Conſideration alone, Sir, I ſhould think, would make every Gentleman reſolve to ſubmit to any Tax, rather than run the Nation further into Debt; and I am ſure it ought to make every Miniſter reſolve to contract the publick Expence as much as poſſible. There are many other Misfortunes and Inconveniencies attending the creating and mortgaging of publick Funds; but I ſhall not trouble you with enumerating any more of them at preſent. I think, I have ſaid enough for convincing every Man, who has a ſound Heart as well as a ſound Head, that any Project for running the Nation into a new Debt, muſt be a moſt pernicious Sort of Means for ſupplying the current Service of the Year. If ſo, I am ſure every Gentleman that hears me, would give his Negative to the Queſtion, if there ſhould be an Occaſion; but there will not, I believe, be any Occaſion for a Negative; becauſe, if the Hon. Gentleman who made you this Propoſition, views it in the ſame Light I do, I am ſure he will moſt readily give it up. It may, perhaps, be ſaid, Will you leave the current Service unprovided for? Will you allow the Seſſion to break up without providing for thoſe Supplies you have already granted: No, Sir: Several other Methods may be thought of: I have hinted at one, which I am ſure would be ſufficient; I mean, that of aboliſhing ſeveral of our unneceſſary Poſts and Employments. A Committee for that Purpoſe, if we were unanimous, would ſoon find out a Fund for anſwering the preſent Deficiency; and, I am certain, there is no Method that will be more effectual for producing that Unanimity, than our rejecting or dropping the Propoſition now before us; for which Reaſon, if it be inſiſted on, I ſhall moſt heartily give my Negative to the Queſtion.

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, viz.

Sir, I am glad to find, that every Gentleman who has argued for, or againſt the Queſtion now before us, ſeems to be of Opinion, the Supplies we have already voted, ought to be made good, ſome Way or other. When theſe Supplies were granted, I eaſily foreſaw, that the *Malt-Tax* and a *Land-Tax* of 2*s. in the Pound*, would not be ſufficient for anſwering them; and I confeſs, tho' I ſaw the Neceſſity of the Supplies we had agreed to, I was under ſome Uneaſineſs to

think how it was poſſible to make good the Deficiency; becauſe, I thought it would be hard to load the People with any new or additional Tax, or to make any Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund; but my Uneaſineſs was fully removed, as ſoon as my Hon. Friend had explained the Method, he had thought of, for making good that Deficiency. The Method he propoſed, and which we have now under our Conſideration, appeared to me ſo eaſy, and I beg his leave to ſay, ſo ingenious, that I imagined it would have been agreed to without any Oppoſition; but this is a Fate, which I am glad to find few, or no Propoſitions are like to meet with in this Houſe; for a bad one ought, and I hope, always will be oppoſed, and a good one derives great Advantages from Oppoſition; becauſe its Uſefulneſs from thence appears in a much clearer Light. As I very much approve of the Method propoſed by my Hon. Friend, for making good the Deficiency of the Supplies for this Year, I ſhall endeavour to remove the Objections that have been made to it, and then I ſhall endeavour to ſhew the Injuſtice, and Impoſſibility of the other Methods that have been propoſed, or rather hinted at in this Debate.

I as heartily wiſh, Sir, as any Gentleman can do, that we could contract the publick Expence ſo as to make the *Malt Tax*, and a *Land-Tax* of *2s. in the Pound*, ſufficient for anſwering it yearly; but the publick Expence, as to its Quantity, neither depends upon our Reſolutions, nor upon the Will and Pleaſure of thoſe who have the Honour to be in the Adminiſtration of our Government. The annual publick Expence in this Country, as well as in every other Country, depends upon the Neceſſities of the Government only, and ought to be increaſed or diminiſhed only according to thoſe Neceſſities. In arbitrary Countries, the Miniſters are the only Judges of thoſe Neceſſities, and of the Sums that will be ſufficient for anſwering, as well as of the Ways and Means moſt proper for raiſing them; but, in this happy Country, our Miniſters are no Judges in either of theſe Reſpects: Their Buſineſs is only to lay before Parliament, what they think will be the Neceſſities of our Government for the enſuing Year; and, what Sums they think will be ſufficient for anſwering thoſe Neceſſities. When they have done ſo, they are, as it were, *functi officio*, they have nothing more to do; for, the Parliament is then to judge, whether thoſe Neceſſities are real: Whether a leſs Sum may not be ſufficient for anſwering thoſe Neceſſities: And what Ways and Means are moſt proper for raiſing theſe Sums, that ſhall be thought neceſſary. Of theſe three Queſtions, we have already determined, the firſt two; and, now, we have the third under our Conſideration.

In determining this third Queſtion, we certainly, ought, Sir, to chuſe ſuch Ways and Means as may be ſufficient for the End propoſed; ſuch as may be leaſt burdenſome to the People, and ſuch as may ſeem to occaſion the feweſt Murmurings againſt the Government: And, that the Method now propoſed to us, has every one of theſe three Advantages, will beſt appear from anſwering the ſeveral Objections that have been made to it. I ſhall grant, Sir, that ſome Sort of Compariſon may be made between the publick Revenue of a Nation, and a private Man's Eſtate; and that a Mortgage upon either, muſt be a Loſs to Poſterity, and a Diminution of the Eſtate, till that Mortgage be cleared; but, there is a very great Difference, between what may be called a Loſs to Poſterity, and what may be called doing them a real Injury: A private Man who mortgages his Eſtate, in order to ſupport his Luxury or Extravagance, does a real Injury to his Poſterity: But he, who by ſome croſs Accident is obliged to mortgage his Eſtate, for the Preſervation of himſelf and Family, does no Injury to his Poſterity, tho' he ſubjects them to a Loſs. In the ſame Manner, *a Nation* may often, for Self-*Preſervation*, *be* obliged to be at a much greater publick Expence than can poſſibly be raiſed within the Year, and muſt then neceſſarily mortgage ſome Part of its publick Revenue; which is ſo far from being an Injury to Poſterity, that there is nothing more juſt and reaſonable; becauſe, as future Generations are to reap a great Part of the Benefit, they ought to pay ſome Part of the Expences which were neceſſary for obtaining or preſerving that Benefit.

Not only Neceſſity, therefore, Sir, but even common Juſtice may ſometimes require, that a publick Debt ſhould be contracted, rather than lay too heavy a Load upon the People for any one Year, or for any Number of Years; and, whatever Inconveniencies or Diſadvantages ſuch a Meaſure may be attended with, the Neceſſity of *Affairs* will always be a full Juſtification of thoſe, who purſue it. But, I cannot think, the Diſadvantages attending ſuch a *Meaſure* are near ſo grievous as have been repreſented; for as to the Intereſt and Charges of Management, the Money paid by the People for *thoſe Purpoſes*, is ſeldom any real Loſs to the Nation, becauſe it is generally, all divided among our own People; there *is* but a very ſmall Share of the Intereſt belongs to Foreigners; and what goes out that Way, is attended with this Advantage, *that it procures* the Nation ſome Friends in foreign States, who have often great Weight in their Councils, and, conſequently, may *prevent their* joining in any Meaſures with our Enemies. Then, as to the Effect this Meaſure may have upon the Management of *publick Money*; I hope it will not be ſaid that Miniſters

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are to be judged or puniſhed by the People, in a mobbiſh and riotous Manner; their Conduct is always to be enquired into and judged of by the Repreſentatives of the People in Parliament aſſembled; and, ſurely, no Gentleman of this Houſe will ever be influenced, upon any ſuch Occaſion, by what the People feel, or ſay they feel; nor can we ſuppoſe, that any Gentleman of this Houſe will ever approve of any Article of Expence propoſed, only becauſe his Poſterity, and not he, are to ſuffer for it.

I ſhould be glad, Sir, we could raiſe the Supplies of this Year within the Year: I ſhould be glad our publick Neceſſities never required any greater Expence than what the publick Revenue would anſwer; but for the Reaſons I have given I cannot admit it as a general and infallible Maxim, that we ought never to contract any publick Debt, or make any publick Mortgage; for when it becomes neceſſary to raiſe any large Sum for the Service of any one Year, I ſhall be for giving the People ſuch a ſufficient Time for paying it, as may not ſubject them to any great Difficulty. In private Life, it has always been looked on as an Advantage and an Eaſe to a Man, to give him ſeveral Terms for paying a large Sum of Money; and the Caſe is the ſame with reſpect to the People, it will be much more advantageous and eaſy for them to pay 400,000*l.* with the growing Intereſt in 17 Years, than to pay 400,000*l.* at one Payment, in any Manner you can contrive for raiſing it; ſo that if the Method now under our Conſideration were really a Mortgage of ſome Part of our former Revenue, and conſequently a Diminution of the publick Eſtate, I ſhould be for agreeing to it; but it is really neither the one nor the other: It is an Improvement of the publick Revenue and Eſtate; and ſurely Poſterity cannot find fault with us for mortgaging for a few Years only, the Produce of that Improvement. If a private Gentleman ſhould by any Improvement add 100*l.* a Year to his Eſtate, and mortgage that Improvement for 17 Years only, ſurely his Son would have no Reaſon to blame his Conduct, even tho' he ſhould die immediately after having made that Improvement and Mortgage, and all future Generations would have Reaſon to bleſs him.

From this ſingle Conſideration, Sir, all thoſe Objections that are founded upon the Inconveniencies of mortgaging the publick Revenue, muſt evaniſh; and the Debt to be contracted is ſo ſmall, and the Intereſt it is to be borrowed at, ſo low, that it can no way affect the natural Intereſt of Money, either upon publick or private Securities. Now, Sir, with reſpect to the Objection which impeaches the Propoſition under our Conſideration, with being either a Propoſition for a new Tax, or a Propoſition for making an Incroachment on the Sinking Fund, I was, indeed, not a little ſurpriſed to hear it not only ſaid, but inſiſted on, that the Duty propoſed to be laid on any Sort of *Sweets* was a new Tax; conſidering how general the Words are of all the Acts of Parliament by which the preſent Duty was eſtabliſhed or continued. The Words of that Law in K. *William*'s Time, by which a Duty was firſt laid upon *Sweets*, are, *For every Gallon of mix'd Liquors, commonly called* Sweets, *made from* Foreign *or* Engliſh *Materials*: And by the Act of the 5th of the late *Queen*, by which the preſent Duty was firſt eſtabliſhed, the Words are, *For every Barrel of* Sweets *made for Sale*. 'Tis true a Doubt has ſince ariſen from the Deſcription of *Sweets* contained in another Act of K. *William*'s Reign; but as that of the 5th of Q. *Anne* is a ſubſequent Law, and as the Words of it are general, the Intention certainly was to ſubject all Liquors, commonly called *Sweets*, to the preſent Duty, if they were made for Sale; therefore we muſt ſuppoſe that this Doubt's not being cleared up by a Trial, as well as by the Opinion of Lawyers, does not proceed from any Neglect in the Officers of the Revenue, or from their finding the Opinion of Lawyers againſt them, but from every Man's being perſuaded there was no Foundation for the Queſtion, therefore no Man would ſtand the Event of a Law-ſuit upon it; and the ſmall Produce of the Duty muſt be imputed to the ſame Cauſe; for as every Man knew he muſt pay 36*s.* *a Barrel*, if he made any *Sweets* for Sale, and that, conſidering the Height of that Duty he could expect no Advantage by the Sale, therefore very few Perſons attempted to make any ſuch Liquors for ſuch a Purpoſe, ever ſince this Duty was impoſed. Therefore the Duty now propoſed to be laid on *Sweets* is ſo far from being a new Tax, that every Man in the Kingdom will look upon it as a Releaſe from an inſupportable Tax, and as a Reſtoring him to the full Uſe of his Garden and Orchard, which he has been deprived of ever ſince the preſent high Duty on *Sweets* took place.

I ſhall readily acknowledge, Sir, that the preſent Duty on *Sweets* ſtands appropriated to the *South-Sea* Company, and if the Produce of that Duty had ever been, or could ever be worth taking any Notice of, the Applying it to the current Service, would be an Incroachment on the Sinking Fund, becauſe it would be neceſſary to make it good to the *South-Sea* Company out of the Sinking Fund; but the *South-Sea* Company can have no Right to any Thing but the Produce of the preſent Duty, and if you were to aboliſh the Duty entirely, all that the *South-Sea* Company could lay claim to, would be a future Annuity equal to that Produce, at a Medium ever ſince the Duty was firſt granted to them. Suppoſe no other or heavier Duty had ever been

been laid on *Sweets* than 1*l.* *per Barrel*, which was the firſt Duty impoſed on ſuch Liquors; ſuppoſe that Duty had been granted to the *South-Sea* Company for ſecuring to them the Payment of their Annuity, and ſuppoſe we were now to lay an additional Tax of 1*l.* *per Barrel* on ſuch Liquors; would the *South-Sea* Company have any Right to that additional Tax? Or would the Applying of it to the current Service be any Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund? For the ſame Reaſon, if by any new Regulation you make a conſiderable Increaſe in the Produce of the Tax, the *South-Sea* Company can pretend no Right to that Increaſe, nor can the Application of it to the current Service be deemed an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund. The utmoſt that can be pretended is, that a future Annuity ought to be paid out of that increaſed Produce to the *South-Sea* Company, or to the Sinking Fund, equal to the former Produce at a Medium, from the Time it was firſt appropriated to the Payment of our Debts. Such a future Annuity would, I ſay, be the only Thing that could with any Shadow of Reaſon be contended for, and in the preſent Caſe that Annuity would be ſo inconſiderable, that it is not to be regarded.

Thus it appears, Sir, that the Method propoſed for making good the Deficiency in the Supplies for this enſuing Year can neither be called a Propoſition for impoſing a new Tax, nor can it be called a Propoſition for making an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund, or upon the Right of the *South-Sea* Company. But we have been told that the Duty propoſed will either produce little or nothing, or it will ſubject a great Number of our People to Exciſe Laws. As to the future Produce of the Duty it is impoſſible to foretel with any Certainty what it will amount to; but the loweſt Computation I ever heard of was 20,000*l.* a Year, and if the future Produce amount to that Sum, it will be ſufficient for the End propoſed, becauſe it will not only pay the growing Intereſt yearly, but will likewiſe pay off a Part of the Principal yearly, ſo that the Whole may be at laſt diſcharged by the Means of this Duty only. Then as to Exciſe Laws, I have, 'tis true, heard a great many Exclamations againſt the Rigour of ſuch Laws, and againſt the Inconveniencies and the Conſequences of ſubjecting our People to ſuch Laws; but the Misfortune is, that all theſe Suppoſitions are contradicted by Experience; for we have, for near this Century paſt, had ſuch Laws in this Kingdom, without being ſenſible of the leaſt Inconvenience ariſing from them; and I believe thoſe who are ſubject to them live as happily and as independently as thoſe who are not. Theſe Laws are certain and publickly known, and therefore thoſe who are ſubject to them can be under no Dependence upon the Officers but upon the Laws themſelves: If they conform to the Law they have not ſo much as a Favour to aſk of any Commiſſioner or Officer of Exciſe; and if any Officer behave rudely in the Execution of them, or commits any Treſpaſs, he may be proſecuted for it, as eaſily as any other Subject. This they are ſenſible of, and therefore they have hitherto generally done their Duty with as much Civility and good Nature as was poſſible; ſo that fair Traders who bring themſelves under no Suſpicion are ſeldom or ever ſubjected to any Inconvenience, nor are they ever viſited or diſturbed at unſeaſonable Hours.

But, Sir, ſuppoſing the Exciſe Laws to be as dangerous and as oppreſſive as they have been repreſented, our Farmers, our Wine-Merchants, and Victuners, will be in the ſame Caſe they are at preſent; for if any of them ſhould begin to make *Sweets* for Sale, they would ſubject themſelves to the Exciſe Laws, even as the Duty ſtands regulated by the Laws now in being; and tho' the Conſumption of ſuch Liquors ſhould be very much increaſed by diminiſhing the Duty, *as it probably will*, it does not *neceſſarily follow* that every Farmer who has an Elder Hedge, or a Gooſberry Buſh in his Garden ſhould become a Maker of *Sweets*, no more than it is neceſſary for every Man who has an Acre of Barley to become a Brewer or a Maltſter: If the Conſumption ſhould become very extenſive and general, 'tis certain that proper Perſons will ſet up the Trade of making ſuch Liquors for Sale, and will purchaſe Fruits for that Purpoſe from the Farmer at a reaſonable Price, in the ſame Way as Brewers, Diſtillers, and Maltſters now purchaſe their Barley. The only Difference I can ſee, is, that by this new Regulation, our Farmers will be put in a Way of making an Advantage of their Farms, which they have been debarred from ever ſince the high Duty upon *Sweets* took place; and the more Advantages they are enabled to make of their Farms, the better able will they be to pay their Rent to their Landlords; ſo that every Landed Gentleman has, in my Opinion, great Reaſon to approve of the Propoſition now before us; for if it does not improve the Rent of his Eſtate, it will at leaſt contribute towards rendering the Payment of that Rent more certain and punctual.

I hope, Sir, I have fully anſwered all the Objections made againſt the Propoſition now before us, and as all the Gentlemen who have ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion, have acknowledged, that the Supplies we have agreed to ought to be made good by ſome Means or other, I wiſh they had directly and plainly propoſed ſome other Method; for upon ſetting the two Methods in oppoſite Lights, it would have been very eaſy to

to have determined, which of them ought to be preferred. They have, indeed, given us some Sort of Hint of two other Methods, one of which, I mean that of an additional *Shilling in the Pound* upon Land, might have bore some Sort of Comparison, if the Land Tax for this ensuing Year had not been already settled, and the Bill actually brought in; so that it is now too late to think of any such Method; but if it were otherwise, if the Land Tax were still to be settled, I am sure it would be very easy to shew, that of all the Methods we can think of for raising Money, that of over-loading the Landed Interest is the most unjust, the most grievous, and the most dangerous. Even 2*s. in the Pound* upon Land is a great deal too much, when the whole publick Expence does not amount to much above 2 *Millions*; for as every Man ought in Justice to be made to contribute to the publick Expence, according to the Share of Riches he possesses, and as the Lands in *Great Britain* are not near equal in Value to the other Riches of the Nation, it is doing an Injustice to the Landed Interest, to make them contribute one Moiety of the publick Charge, which will be their Case for this next ensuing Year. But as the Land Tax is now entirely out of the Question, I shall not take up your Time with enlarging upon the Subject.

The other Method hinted at, is a Method extremely plausible in Appearance, but I question much, Sir, if it will ever be found practicable; and I am sure, it cannot be proposed as a Method for raising any Part of the Supplies we have already agreed to for this ensuing Year. In effect, it cannot properly be called a Method of providing for Supplies; it is rather a Method for diminishing the usual necessary Supplies, and cannot therefore come properly before us in this Committee. I do not at all question but there are many *fine-cure* Posts in this Kingdom, as well as in every other, and many useless or extravagant Salaries. Some of them might perhaps be abolished; but I doubt much if it will ever be in our Power to abolish them all, and therefore I'm afraid the Saving in that Way, upon the severest Scrutiny, would not amount to near the Sum the Hon. Gentleman supposes. However, let it amount to what it will, it cannot be made a Provision for the Supplies of this next ensuing Year; because if we were immediately to appoint a Committee for enquiring into that Affair, we cannot suppose that Committee would be able to go through the Business in this Session, nay, I doubt much if they would be able to make even a partial Report; and as many of those Posts, I believe most of the useless ones, are held for Life, and are a Sort of Free-hold, we could not at once, and without any Consideration, turn the present Possessors out of their Free-hold; therefore, from such an Enquiry the Nation could not expect any great immediate Advantage; at least, not such a great and immediate Advantage, as would be sufficient for making good the Deficiency in the Supplies for this next ensuing Year.

I hope, Sir, I have said enough for convincing every Gentlemen, that the Method now under our Consideration, for making good the Supplies of this next ensuing Year, will in all probability be sufficient for the End proposed; and that of all the Methods that have been proposed, or so much as hinted at, it is the least burdensome, and the least liable to occasion any fresh Murmurs among the People; therefore it is certainly the Method we ought to chuse. It is, indeed, in my Opinion, the only Method we have to chuse; for, I think, I have shewn, that the other two Methods that have been mentioned, are both impracticable; and as I join in that which seems to be the general Opinion, that the Supplies we have already voted ought to be made good, I think I am both in Honour and Conscience bound to give my Assent to the Proposition now before us, because it is the only Method we can chuse for doing that which every Gentleman acknowledges ought to be done.

This is the Substance of the several Debates which happened in this Affair relating to *Sweets*; in which those who were for the Duty, got the better upon every Division, except one, which was in relation to that Clause in the Bill, whereby it is provided that nothing in that Act contained should extend, or be construed to extend, to charge with any Duty such Wine as the Owners or Occupiers of *British* Vine-Yards should make from the Juice of *British* Grapes only growing thereon; for the Adding of any such Clause, or the Exempting of such Liquors from the Duty on *Sweets*, was likewise opposed by most of those who were Favourers of the Duty and Bill; however upon a Division it was carried against them, and the Clause, as it now stands, was accordingly inserted in the Bill.

Having now given an Account of all the important Debates which happened in the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, or that were occasioned by the Resolutions of either of these Committees, we shall proceed to give an Account of the Proceedings and Debates relating to the Murder of Capt. *Porteous* by the Mob at *Edinburgh*.

In our *Magazine for June*, we gave an Account how that Affair came first to be introduced in the H—le of P—rs; and also the several Resolutions which that House then came to, the last of which was, That all the Persons then ordered to attend, should attend on that Day Month.

In

In the mean Time, *viz.* On *Thurſday March* 3. the D—ke of *N——tle* preſented to the Houſe, an authentick Copy of the Trial of Capt. *Porteous*, and all the Proceedings relating thereunto; and alſo the Accounts tranſmitted hither of the Murder of Capt. *Porteous*, and what paſſed thereupon; together with the Orders and Directions ſent from hence, relating thereunto; as, likewiſe, a Copy of the Reprieve of the ſaid Captain, granted by her Majeſty as Guardian of the Kingdom; all in purſuance of the 4th and 5th of the Reſolutions before-mentioned. And on *Thurſday*, *March* 10, the ſeveral Perſons attended according to Order, and were called to the Bar and ſworn: After which, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee to conſider of the Affair, and agreed to 15 ſeveral Queſtions or Interrogatories; upon which, the *Lord Provoſt*, and *four Baillifs* of the City of *Edinburgh* in the Year 1736, were examined. The ſame Day a Meſſage was ſent to the H—ſe of C——s, deſiring they would give Leave to L——t G——l *W—de*, and *P—ck L——y*, Eſq; Members of that Houſe, to attend to be examined in relation to the Murder of *Porteous*; and Major *Poole*, whoſe Name had been mentioned in the aforeſaid Examination, was ordered to attend on *Wedneſday*, then, next.

On the 16th, *Thomas Young*, Treaſurer of the City of *Edinburgh* in the Year 1736, whoſe Name had likewiſe been mentioned in the aforeſaid Examination, was ordered to attend if in Town; and, and on the 17th, the Houſe having, again, reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Committee, and agreed to *eleven* Queſtions or Interrogatories, upon which Capt. *Lynd*, who was Captain of the City Guard of *Edinburgh*, the Night *Porteous* was murdered, was examined; after which, the *Lord Provoſt* was again called in and examined as to any, and, what Endeavours had been uſed by him, to diſcover thoſe concerned in the Murder of *Porteous*? and, as to ſome other Matters, which had occurred after that Riot; and, the above-mentioned *P—ck L——y*, Eſq; having had Leave from the H—ſe of C——s, did attend, and was examined as to his Knowledge of what happened relating to this Affair; as was alſo General *Moyle*, Commander in chief of his Majeſty's Forces in *Scotland*, at the Time this Affair happened.

On the 18th, Col. *Dureure*, Lieut. Colonel to the Regiment of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant General *Wetham*, was ordered to attend; his Name having been mentioned in the former Examinations; and the ſame Day, a Motion was made by the L—d *L—ll*, and ſupported by the D—ke of *M——gu*, the L—d *C——t*, and the L—d *B——ſh*, That the *Lord Juſtice Clerk* of *Scotland* might be ordered to attend; which Motion was oppoſed by the E—l of *I—a*, the L—d *H—y*, the D—ke of *N——tle*, the D—ke of *A—le*, and the E—l of *W——ck*; and the D—ke of *N——tle* having moved to adjourn, which is always a Sort of previous Queſtion, the Queſtion was put upon that Motion, and was carried for adjourning,

Contents.		Not contents.	
Preſent	45	Preſent	39
Proxies	20	Proxies	9
In all	65	In all	48

The chief Reaſon given for this Motion, was founded upon a Letter of L——t G——l *W—de*'s, then on their Table, from which it appeared, that it would be neceſſary for them to examine the *Lord Juſtice Clerk*, and as the Seſſion would not probably laſt long, they ought to ſend for him as ſoon as poſſible; becauſe, the ſooner they ſent for him, the ſooner they would have him: To which it was added, that it appeared likewiſe, from the Trial of *Porteous*, then, on their Table, that it would be neceſſary to examine the *Lord Juſtice Clerk*, who was the chief and preſiding Judge upon that Trial.

To this it was anſwered, that the ordering of any particular Gentleman to attend, would be a Sort of Impeachment upon his Character, which was a Slur they ought not to throw upon any Gentleman, without ſome Appearance of Guilt; for, as they would ſcorn to ſcreen any Man, againſt whom there appeared the leaſt Suſpicion; ſo, they would ſcorn to attack any Man in an indirect Manner. That, as to the Letter upon their Table, they could not properly make it a Foundation for any Order, till they had examined G—l *W—de* himſelf, as to the Contents; and, as to the Trial of *Porteous*, the *Lord Juſtice Clerk* was but one, of *four* or *five* Judges then upon the Bench, and ought not therefore to be made to anſwer ſingly for any Part of that Trial.

Tho' this Motion was not then agreed to, yet, as the *Lord Juſtice Clerk* was the chief Officer of State in *Scotland*, at the Time of *Porteous*'s Murder; and, conſequently, the chief Perſon entruſted with the Civil Government of the Country; and, as it appeared by all the Examinations, that he was neither in Town when that Mob happened, nor came to Town when he was apprized of the Tumult, tho' very near to it; therefore, it is probable this Motion would have been revived, as ſoon as G—l *W—de* was examined, and, very probably, would then have been agreed to; but on the *Monday* following, the D—ke of *N——tle* moved, That the aforeſaid *Lord Juſtice Clerk*, together with the Lord *Dun* and the Lord *Royſton*, the two Senior Judges of that Court, ſhould be ordered to attend; which Motion was agreed to; and they were ordered to attend accordingly, on *April* 21.

L——t G—l *W—de* and ſeveral others were

were afterwards examined, and the Committee having conſidered their ſeveral Examinations, came to ſeveral Reſolutions, which were reported and agreed to, on *Friday*, *April* 1; whereupon. *Alexander Wilſon*, Eſq; the aforeſaid *Lord Provoſt* of *Edinburgh*, was ordered to be taken into the Cuſtody of the Gentleman-Uſher of the Black-Rod; (but upon *April* 19, following, he was admitted to Bail, in order to prepare himſelf, for being heard by his Counſel, as after mentioned.) And a Bill was ordered to be brought in, *To diſable the ſaid* Alexander Wilſon, *Eſq; from taking, holding, or enjoying any Office or Place of Magiſtracy in the City of* Edinburgh, *or elſewhere, in* Great Britain; *and for impriſoning the ſaid* Alexander Wilſon; *and for aboliſhing the Guard kept up in the ſaid City, commonly called* The Town-Guard; *and, for taking away the Gates of the* Nether bow Port *of the ſaid City, and keeping open the ſame.*

The ſeveral Queſtions or Interrogatories agreed to in this Committee of Enquiry were, as before-mentioned, all taken down in Writing, as were alſo the Anſwers made to them by the ſeveral Gentlemen that were examined at the Bar; but, as we have not Room to inſert them *verbatim*, and as the Subſtance of what was then ſaid, as well as of what was afterwards ſaid by the Witneſſes for and againſt the Bill, at the Bar of each Houſe, will appear from the ſeveral Debates relating to this Affair, we think it needleſs to give any Summary of what was ſaid by the Evidence on either Side of the Queſtion.

On *April* 4, the Bill above-mentioned was, according to Order, brought in, and read a firſt Time, and was ordered to be read a ſecond Time; but, as the *Lord Provoſt*, and, afterwards the City of *Edinburgh*, were admitted to be heard by their Counſel againſt the Bill, upon its being read a ſecond Time; therefore the ſecond Reading was put off, till the Beginning of *May*, in order that they might have Time to bring up Witneſſes, and inſtruct their Counſel. For this Reaſon, we ſhall give an Account of a Motion and Debate, relating to the Sentence paſſed upon *Porteous*; and, of that grand Affair relating to the *Scotch* Judges; both which happened in the mean Time; before we give any farther Account of the Progreſs of this Bill. However, as many of our Readers may be curious to ſee this Bill, in the Form in which it was firſt paſſed by the H—ſe of P—rs, we ſhall give them a Copy of it as follows, *viz.*

WHEREAS upon *Tueſday*, *September* 7, in the Year of our Lord 1736, there was a moſt ſeditious and outrageous Riot in the City of *Edinburgh*, in that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, notoriouſly concerted and carried on by great Numbers of wicked, diſorderly, and blood-thirſty Perſons, who did, with open Force and Violence, ſeize the Arms of the City Guard, poſſeſs themſelves of the City Gates, and, by ſetting fire to and breaking open the Door of the *Tolbooth* of the ſaid City, did unlawfully and audaciouſly reſcue and ſet at large ſeveral Criminals therein confined: *And whereas* Captain *John Porteous*, then a Priſoner there under Sentence of Death, but graciouſly repreived by the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty, as Guardian of the Realm, was by the ſaid Rioters in a cruel Manner dragged from the ſaid Priſon, and moſt barbarouſly hanged by the Neck, and murdered, in manifeſt Violation of the publick Peace, in Defiance and Subverſion of legal Government, in high Contempt of our Sovereign Lord the King and his Laws, and to the moſt preſumptuous and unparallel'd Obſtruction of the Royal Mercy: *And whereas* for ſome Time before the Committing of the ſaid Murder and Riot, it was commonly reported in the ſaid City of *Edinburgh*, that ſome ſuch atrocious Fact would be attempted, which, by proper Care in the Magiſtrates, Citizens, and Inhabitants of the ſaid City, might have been prevented; notwithſtanding which, *Alexander Wilſon*, Eſq; then and now Provoſt of the ſaid City, then actually reſident in the ſaid City, and fully apprized of the ſaid wicked Deſign, did not take any Precautions to prevent the ſaid Murder and Riot, nor uſe the proper or neceſſary Means to ſuppreſs the ſame, or to preſerve the Peace of the ſaid City; or, after the Perpetration of the ſaid Fact, to diſcover, apprehend, or ſecure the Authors, Actors, or Abettors thereof, in manifeſt Violation of the Truſt and Duty of his Office of chief Magiſtrate of the ſaid City; nor were any Means or Endeavours uſed by the Citizens and Inhabitants of the ſaid City, to prevent or ſuppreſs the ſaid notorious Riot, or to hinder the ſaid inhuman and barbarous Murder, or to diſcover the Perſons concerned therein, in order to bring them to Juſtice: *Now*, in order to expreſs the higheſt Deteſtation and Abhorrence of the ſaid Murder and Riot, and to the End that the ſaid enormous Miſbehaviours and Neglects of Duty, herein before mentioned, may not go unpuniſhed, and that other Perſons may not preſume, through Hopes of Impunity, to be guilty of the like for the future; *Be it enacted* by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That the ſaid *Alexander Wilſon* be, and he is hereby, from and immediately after the paſſing this Act, diſabled, and made incapable to have, hold, exerciſe, or enjoy the ſaid Office of Provoſt of the ſaid City of *Edinburgh*: And that he the ſaid *Alexander*

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Wilson be, and he is hereby forever hereafter, disabled, and render'd incapable, to have, hold, exercise, or enjoy any Office or Place of Magistracy in the said City of *Edinburgh*, or elsewhere, in *Great Britain*.

And it is further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That a new Provost be immediately chosen in the room of the said *Alexander Wilson*, in the same Manner as if the said *Alexander Wilson* was naturally dead *; and that he the said *Alexander Wilson*, shall be detained and kept in close and safe Custody, without Bail or Mainprize, during the Space of (one whole Year) to be accounted from the Day of passing this Act, in any Gaol or Prison within the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, to the Custody of the Gaoler or Keeper whereof the said *Alexander Wilson* shall from time to time be committed, in Pursuance of this Act, by any Warrant under the Hand and Seal of any Secretary of State, of His Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, which Warrant or Warrants any Secretary of State for the Time being is hereby authorized and empowered to make.

And whereas the said City of *Edinburgh* hath, for many Years past, kept up a Military Guard, called the *Town Guard*, which upon the said late unhappy Occasion has appeared to be of no Use: *And whereas*, for want of an open Communication between the said City, and a Place called the *Cannongate*, adjoining thereto, wicked and disorderly Persons are the more encouraged (especially in the Night, when the Gates of the *Nether-Bow Port* of the said City are shut) to attempt to commit Disorders and Riots in the said City: *And whereas*, it is just and necessary, that the Power of keeping up the said Guard should be taken away, and that the said *Nether-Bow Port* should be kept open, *Be it further enacted* by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the first Day of *July* 1737, the said Military Guard, commonly called the *Town Guard*, be taken away, and abolished, and no longer kept up; any Law, Statute, Prescription, or Usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding: *And* that the then Provost and Bailiffs of *Edinburgh*, on, or before the said first Day of *July* 1737, shall cause the said Gates of the *Nether-Bow Port* to be taken down, and that the Communication between the said City and the *Cannongate*, be for ever hereafter kept open, both by Night and by Day; any Law or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

On *Tuesday*, *April* 26, after several Lords had spoke for, and against the Sentence pronounced against *Porteous*, by the High Court of *Justiciary* in *Scotland*; a Motion was made for declaring it erroneous. In this Debate, the Arguments for the Motion were chiefly, as follows, *viz.*

My Lords, altho' it cannot be supposed that we have, or can have, all the Lights which Time and Circumstances may hereafter discover and manifest, with regard to the Trial of the unfortunate Capt. *Porteous*, and the Sentence passed upon him; yet, I think, we have sufficient for shewing us, that that Sentence was extremely rigorous, to give it no worse a Name: and, as it is an Affair in which the Peace and Tranquillity of this Island, and the Safety of his Majesty's Subjects, are very much concerned, I am humbly of Opinion, we ought not to pass over that severe Sentence without some Censure.

In that Trial, my Lords, the first Thing that occurs to our Notice is, the Interlocutory Sentence passed upon the Relevancy of the Libel, and for directing what Matters should be brought in Proof at the ensuing Trial; with respect to which, there appears to me at first View, two very material Objections. The first proceeds from an Error or Mistake, as I imagine with regard to the Law of *Scotland*; and, indeed, of every well regulated Society in the World; and the other is, in my Opinion, an evident Piece of Injustice done to the unfortunate Prisoner.

As to the first, my Lords, by that Interlocutory Sentence they determined, That the Pannel, or Prisoner, having at any of the Times and Places, libelled, fired a Gun among the People assembled at the Execution, or having given Orders to the Soldiers under his Command, to fire, and thereupon, they, the Soldiers, or any of them, having accordingly fired; and, upon the firing, either by himself, or them, the Persons mentioned in the Indictment, or any of them, were killed or wounded; or, the Pannel's being Art and Part of any of the foresaid Crimes, are, *separatim*, relevant to infer the Pains of Law. I do not pretend, my Lords, to be fully acquainted with the Laws of *Scotland*, but from the Law of Reason, which I take to be the Law of every Country, and, I hope, is the Law of *Scotland*, I must think this Determination too general; I think there ought to have been an Exception, with regard to his having been first attacked or assaulted by the Mob; and, therefore, I must think these Words, or some such Words, ought to have been inserted; 'Unless it should appear, that, he or his Party were violently attacked or assaulted by the Mob, and brought into Danger of their Lives, or of being disabled from performing their Duty.'

* N. B. *What follows was left out in the H—se of C——ns, and instead thereof, only one short Clause inserted, for subjecting the City of* Edinburgh *to a Fine of* 2000*l. to be applied to the Widow of the said* Porteous.

I am ſorry, my Lords, we ſhould ever have Occaſion to imploy a military Force, or any Thing like a military Force, in the Execution of the Law; or, in bringing any Criminal to condign Puniſhment; but, in this Country, as well as in every other Country, the Populace are ſometimes inſtigated by ſelfiſh and deſigning Men, to oppoſe the Diſtribution of Juſtice; or, in ſome Caſes, perhaps, to take upon themſelves an uſurped Power of diſtributing Juſtice; and, when any ſuch Caſe, as either of theſe happens, it becomes neceſſary for the Magiſtrate to make uſe of a military Force, or ſomething like it, in order to execute the Laws, or to protect his Majeſty's innocent Subjects, who happen to be ſo unfortunate as to incur the Reſentment of an enraged and unruly Populace. When either of theſe happens to be the Caſe, I hope it will never be eſtabliſhed as the Law of any Part of this Iſland, or of any of the Dominions belonging to it, that thoſe, who are called to the Aſſiſtance of the Civil Magiſtrate, ſhall be hanged for Murder, in Caſe they ſhould find themſelves under a Neceſſity of firing upon thoſe who violently attack or oppoſe them in the Execution of their Duty; for, if this were eſtabliſhed, or ſuppoſed to be eſtabliſhed, as the Law of the Kingdom, it would not only greatly encourage Tumults and riotous Aſſemblies, but, would make it impoſſible for the Civil Magiſtrate to ſuppreſs them, or to prevent whatever Miſchief, the Fury of a Mob, the Malice of private Men, or, perhaps, the Deſire of Plunder, might ſuggeſt. Even the Civil Magiſtrate himſelf would run the Riſk, either of having his Brains knock'd out by the Mob, or of being afterwards hanged by the Law, if he ſhould take the proper Meaſures, or give to his Aſſiſtants the proper and the only effectual Orders, for defending themſelves and diſperſing a riotous Aſſembly. For this Reaſon, as the Law permits the carrying of Fire-Arms to thoſe who are called as Aſſiſtants to the Civil Magiſtrate, it muſt certainly, in ſome Caſes, allow them to make the proper Uſe of thoſe Arms; and, I cannot think any Caſe can happen more neceſſary, for allowing them that Liberty, than when ſome of them are wounded, and their Bones actually broke, by the Stones thrown at them by the Mob; which was the Caſe when that Accident happened, for which *Porteous* was condemned to die, by the Sentence now under our Conſideration.

As I take it to be the Law of every Country, that neither the Civil Magiſtrate, nor any of his Aſſiſtants ſhall be deemed guilty of Murder, if they happen to kill any of thoſe who oppoſe them, or, who aſſault them in the Execution of their Duty, ſo I find, my Lords, this Caſe is particularly regulated in *Scotland*, by an expreſs Act of Parliament made for that Purpoſe; for, by an Act paſſed in *Scotland* in the Reign of *James* VI. it is expreſly enacted, That, neither the Magiſtrates, nor People of *Edinburgh*, nor any Perſon aſſiſting them, in preſerving the Peace, and preventing Riots or Tumults, ſhall be ſo much as proſecuted for the wounding or killing of any Perſon upon ſuch Occaſions; which is an Act ſo much adapted to the Caſe of *Porteous*, that, I am ſurprized it was not ſo much as mentioned at his Trial. Whether this Law was ever repealed by any future Act of Parliament, is what I do not know; but, if it was never repealed, if it is a Law ſtill in force, I am of Opinion it might have been pleaded even in Bar of the Indictment, becauſe all ſuch Perſons are by that Act indemnified, not only, againſt any Puniſhment, but, againſt any Proſecution to be commenced againſt them for the Wounding or Killing of any Perſon, while they were aſſiſting the Magiſtrates to preſerve the Peace, or to ſuppreſs any Tumult.

The other Objection, my Lords, is againſt that Part of this Interlocutory Sentence, which directs, and really confines, the Priſoner, as to what Evidence he was to bring for his Vindication. What may be the Method of ſuch Trials in *Scotland*, I do not know; but in this Country, it is certain the Priſoner is allowed to examine whatever Witneſſes he pleaſes to call; and, to prove all thoſe Facts and Circumſtances he may think proper for his Juſtification. After all his Witneſſes have given their Evidence, it belongs to the Jury to conſider, whether the Facts and Circumſtances proved, can any Way tend to prove the Innocence of the Perſon accuſed, or to alleviate the Crime laid to his Charge; but, ſurely, the Court is not to tell the Priſoner, or the Jury, that, he ſhall not be allowed to examine any Witneſs as to ſuch a Fact, or ſuch a Circumſtance, becauſe it no Way relates to the Matter in Hand; for, ſometimes, by examining a Witneſs as to a Fact, ſeemingly, very remote, another Fact or Circumſtance comes to light, by which the Innocence of the Perſon accuſed may be made manifeſt. For this Reaſon, I muſt think it a moſt dangerous Method of Proceeding, to lay any Reſtraint upon a Priſoner, with reſpect to the Points he is to be admitted to prove at his Trial; and, it muſt be much more ſo, to confine him to thoſe Facts and Circumſtances only, which happened at the Time, the Crime he is accuſed of was committed. In the Caſe now before us, ſurely, the unfortunate Priſoner ought to have been allowed to adduce what Evidence he could, with reſpect to all Circumſtances which might any Way relate to the Crime of which he was accuſed, whether thoſe Circumſtances happened at, or before or after, the Time, the Crime was ſaid to have

been committed; in which Caſe he might, perhaps, have proved, that he had expreſs Orders from the Magiſtrates to fire upon the Mob, if they made the leaſt Attempt to aſſault him, or his Guard, or to reſcue the Criminal from the Hands of Juſtice; and, if he had proved his having had ſuch Orders, ſurely, he ought not to have ſuffered for obeying them; for upon the Trial it was fully proved, that, both he and his Guard were aſſaulted, and ſome of them wounded, by the Mob, before he or any of the Soldiers attempted, or ſo much as threatned to fire; and, I think, it appears upon the Trial, that a Sort of Reſcue was actually made; for, the Duty of the Guard was not only to ſee the Criminal hung up, but, to ſee him hang by the Neck till dead; that is, till the Executioner ſhould by Order of the proper Magiſtrate cut him down, which never was done: The Criminal, as appears upon the Trial, was cut down by one of the Mob, and was cut down, before any Magiſtrate had given an Order for cutting him down; which was really, in my Opinion, a Sort of Reſcue, and ſuch a Reſcue as would have juſtified the Guard's firing upon thoſe that were guilty of it, if they had had proper Orders for that Purpoſe.

From what I have ſaid, my Lords, it appears, that, the Priſoner in this Caſe, was debarred the Privilege of proving, what might have juſtified him upon his Trial; which was, in my Opinion, doing him a very great Piece of Injuſtice in the very firſt Step of his Trial; and, in all the other Parts of the Trial, the Proceedings againſt him ſeem to have been carried on with the utmoſt Rigour; for, conſidering how widely the ſeveral Witneſſes differ from one another, — and, how eaſy it is for Men to miſtake Words upon ſuch an Occaſion, as well as to miſtake the firing of one Piece for the firing of another, I muſt think the Jury ſhewed him no Favour in their Verdict. However, as they likewiſe found it proved that the Pannel and his Guard were attacked, and ſeveral of the Soldiers bruiſed and wounded, which was a Sort of Special Verdict, they left it to the Judges to do as they thought fit, upon conſidering and arguing that Special Verdict; and conſidering, that there was a Poſſibility of the Captain's being innocent, notwithſtanding the Proof that was againſt him, the Judges ought, I think, to have allowed of that Attack or Aſſault as an Excuſe, ſo far at leaſt as to prevent his being deemed guilty of Murder; therefore, I hope, your Lordſhips will agree to this Reſolution, That the Trial and Condemnation of Capt. *Porteous* was erroneous in ſeveral Particulars.

To this 'twas anſwered in Subſtance as follows, viz.

My Lords, as I am convinced there was no Secret or Myſtery in any Part of the Trial now under your Conſideration, as it was a publick open Trial according to the Laws and the common Methods of Proceeding in ſuch Caſes in that Country, therefore, I believe, we have now all the Lights before us which any future Time can diſcover; and I think we have ſufficient Lights for ſhewing us that the Trial was regular, and the Sentence juſt. I ſhall readily agree with the noble Lord, that the Peace and Tranquillity of the Iſland, and the Safety of his Majeſty's Subjects, were very much concerned in the Iſſue of that Trial; for conſidering how full the Proof was againſt the Priſoner, conſidering how manifeſtly his Guilt appeared to every Man preſent at the Trial, if he had been acquitted either by the Jury or by the Judges, I do not know but it might have occaſioned an Inſurrection in that Part of the Iſland; and it would have given Occaſion to every hot-headed Officer ſent upon any Command, to have murdered his *Majeſty*'s Subjects upon the leaſt Affront offered to him by the Populace.

I have, my Lords, as great an Averſion to Mobs, and to all Sorts of riotous Proceedings, as any Man can have, as any *Man ought to* have; and I as heartily wiſh we never had Occaſion to imploy any Thing like a military Force in the Execution of the Law, or in bringing any Criminal to condign Puniſhment; yet I think the Liberty of firing at Random upon any Multitude of his Majeſty's Subjects, is a Liberty which ought to be moſt cautiouſly granted, and never made uſe of but in Caſes of the moſt abſolute Neceſſity; and in this Way of Thinking I am ſupported by the whole Tenor of the Laws of *England*. It is now 3 or 400 Years ſince Fire Arms firſt became in uſe amongſt us, yet the Law has never ſuffered them to be made uſe of by the common Officers of Juſtice. Pikes, Halberts, Battle-axes, and ſuch like, are the only Weapons that can be made uſe of according to Law by ſuch Officers; and the Reaſon is extremely plain, becauſe with ſuch Weapons they can ſeldom or ever hurt, much leſs kill, any but ſuch as are really oppoſing or aſſaulting them; whereas if you put Fire Arms into their Hands, and allow them to make the proper Uſe of ſuch Arms, they may as probably hurt or kill the Innocent as the Guilty; nay in Cities and Towns, where ſuch Tumults generally happen, they may kill People ſitting in their own Houſes, or looking innocently over their Windows, which all Perſons are apt to do, but eſpecially Women and Children, when they hear any Hubub or Noiſe in the Streets; and which was really the Caſe in the Affair now before us; for one Woman was killed in her Maſter's Houſe, by her being *unfortunately*, but innocently, at the Window when the Soldiers fired.

For

For this Reaſon, my Lords, I hope it will never be laid down as a Maxim in this Houſe, that any Party of Soldiers, or others, aſſiſting the civil Magiſtrate, has a Power to fire at Random upon a Multitude of his Majeſty's Subjects, or in the Streets of any Town or City; or that any Magiſtrate has in any Caſe an unconfined Power to give them any ſuch Orders; and much leſs to give them Orders to fire upon a Multitude which was at firſt lawfully and innocently aſſembled together; for there are two Sorts of Mobs or Aſſemblies of the People; one is, when a Multitude of People aſſembles together upon any lawful or innocent Occaſion, and afterwards happens to become riotous; and the other is when a Multitude of People aſſembles together with Deſign to commit ſome unlawful or wicked Action. With reſpect to the former, the moſt gentle Meaſures ought to be made uſe of for diſperſing them, becauſe many innocent Perſons being inveigled in the Crowd, it may be ſome Time, before they can poſſibly get away; but with reſpect to the latter, as all that are aſſembled together upon ſuch an Occaſion muſt be ſome way guilty, therefore more rough and violent Meaſures may be made uſe of for diſperſing them, and for preventing the Miſchief they intended. But in both theſe Caſes the Law is now certain and indiſputable. Your Lordſhips all know that by a late Statute, which is in force in *Scotland* as well as *England*, the Power of the civil Magiſtrate, in the Caſe of any Mob or riotous Aſſembly, is fully and diſtinctly regulated; yet even by that Law, which I have often heard complained of as a Law not tolerable in a free Country, there is no expreſs Power given to the Magiſtrate or his Aſſiſtants to make uſe of Fire Arms; ſo cautious was the Legiſlature, even at that Time, when Tumults were more frequent and more dangerous than they are at preſent, of giving a legal Authority for the making uſe of ſuch Weapons. After reading the Proclamation, and after giving the Mob an Hour's Time to diſperſe themſelves, and to depart to their Habitations or lawful Buſineſs, the Peace Officers may then, by that Law, ſeize or diſperſe thoſe who ſhall afterwards continue unlawfully aſſembled; and if any Perſon by reſiſting them ſhall happen to be kill'ed, maimed or hurt, the Peace Officers and their Aſſiſtants, are indemnified; but I doubt much if a Magiſtrate would be indemnified, even by this Law, ſhould he take the ſhort Way of diſperſing a Mob, by ordering his Aſſiſtants to fire among them, and ſhould thereby kill any Perſon who had committed no Overt-act of Reſiſtence; eſpecially if it ſhould appear that he had fired upon the Mob without any Neceſſity for ſo doing, and even without any extraordinary Provocation.

In ſuch a Caſe, my Lords, if the Magiſtrate, or any of his Aſſiſtants who did fire, were to be proſecuted by the Laws of *England*, I believe he would be brought in guilty, at leaſt of Manſlaughter; and, as what is deemed Manſlaughter by the Laws of *England* is generally deemed Murder by the Laws of *Scotland*; as every Killing is deemed Murder by the Laws of that Country, unleſs it happens by Chance, or *ſe Defendendo*, therefore the Judges had no Power by the Laws of that Country to add any ſuch Exception as has been mentioned to the Interlocutory Sentence; nor did the Priſoner pretend to found his Innocence or his Defence upon any ſuch Exception; for both he and his Lawyers were very well convinced there was no Pretence for ſuch an Argument from any of the Laws of his Country. And with reſpect to that of King *James* VI. which was mentioned by the Rev. Prelate, I am not at all ſurprized it was not pleaded, or ſo much as mentioned by the Counſel for the Priſoner; on the contrary, I am rather ſurprized it was not made uſe of againſt him; for from that Law it appears, that his firing, or giving Orders to fire, was downright Murder. That Law was made for preventing or quelling Riots and Tumults within the City of *Edinburgh*; for which Purpoſe the Magiſtrates of that City are enabled, with the King's Allowance, to raiſe Soldiers on Pay, to uſe *Haquebuts*, and all other Arms when they ſhall think expedient; and if any Perſon reſiſting the ſaid Magiſtrates in the Quelling of any Riot, ſhall be hurt or ſlain, the Magiſtrates and their Aſſiſtants are indemnified; *providing ſuch Hurt or Killing was with long Weapons, and not by ſhooting* Haquebuts, *or the like*. I need not acquaint your Lordſhips, that *Haquebut* was the Name then uſed in that Country, and formerly in this, for Fire Arms, and that by long Weapons was meant Halberts, Battle-axes, and ſuch Weapons as are commonly uſed by all Aſſiſtants to Officers of Juſtice in that Part of the Iſland as well as this. Thus your Lordſhips ſee that Killing with any Sort of Fire Arms was expreſsly excepted out of that Law; and therefore that Law was ſo far from being in favour of the Priſoner, that there might from thence have been drawn a very ſtrong Argument againſt him.

I know, my Lords, it will be ſaid, that the Officers of Juſtice and their Aſſiſtants, eſpecially his Majeſty's Troops, when they happen to be called to the Aſſiſtance of the civil Magiſtrate, are in a very unlucky Situation, if they are not to be allowed to make uſe of the Arms in their Hands for preventing their being knock'd on the Head with Stones and Brick-bats. This I ſhall readily grant, and I wiſh ſome proper Regulation were made for the Direction and Security

curity of the Gentlemen of the Army; but we are now to conſider the Law as it ſtands at preſent; and as the Law now ſtands in *England* as well as *Scotland*, if an innocent Perſon ſuffers Death by Firing, eſpecially if that Firing was before any Proclamation read, the Perſon that fired, and he who gave him Orders to fire, might both be proſecuted for Murder; I am afraid neither of them would have any Reſource but in the King's Mercy. The Soldiers may upon ſuch Occaſions make uſe of their ſcrewed Bayonets for diſperſing or ſeizing the Rioters; by ſo doing they can hurt none but thoſe that reſiſt them; but I would not adviſe them to fire, unleſs they ſhould find themſelves in very great Danger of being over-powered, and perhaps murdered by the Mob.

As for the other Objection againſt this Interlocutory Sentence, it is founded entirely, my Lords, upon the Method of Proceeding, and may be an Objection againſt the Laws of that Country, but can be no Objection againſt this Trial in particular. In that Country the Priſoner has a Copy of his Libel or Indictment delivered to him, and has Time allowed him to conſider and conſult with his Lawyers what Defences he thinks proper to make. Theſe Defences are afterwards conſidered by the Court, and if they contain any Facts that can any manner of way contribute towards his Juſtification, he is allowed Proceſs for ſummoning Witneſſes to prove ſuch of them as are denied by the Proſecutors; but if they be ſuch as can no manner of Way contribute towards his Juſtification, or ſuch as are admitted by the Proſecutors, he is not allowed to take up the Time of the Court with impertinent or needleſs Examinations; and the Reaſon of this is, becauſe the Examination of Witneſſes is in that Country carried on in a more tedious, but a much more certain and ſolemn Manner, than in this. The Evidence of every Witneſs is taken down in Writing by the Clerks at the Table, and after he has been fully examined and croſs-examined, his Evidence is read over to him, and he muſt ſign or put his Mark to it, in order that it may remain as a Record againſt him, in caſe it ſhould ever afterwards appear that he had wilfully perjured himſelf in the leaſt Article of his Evidence. Tho' this Method carries along with it a great Security againſt Perjury, yet it has laid the criminal Courts there under a Neceſſity of reſtraining the Priſoner, and confining him to the Proving of thoſe Facts that are material, and denied by the Proſecutor; but this can never be any Diſadvantage to a Priſoner, or to a Perſon indicted, unleſs the Court ſhould exclude him from proving what was really material; and if the Court ſhould do any ſuch Thing, the Jury would probably conſider it in their Verdict.

This Method of Proceeding, my Lords, may perhaps appear a little extraordinary to moſt of your Lordſhips, who have always been accuſtomed to a different Method; but this Method has certainly ſome Advantages, which the Method obſerved in this Country has not; and let this Method be good or bad, it is the Method of Proceeding eſtabliſhed by the Laws of that Country, which cannot be altered by any Court or by any Judge. If it could be ſaid that the Court of Juſticiary in *Scotland* had debarred *Porteous* from proving any Facts he deſired leave to prove, ſome Objection might then be made to the Trial; but the Truth is, as will appear upon the Face of the Trial, there was not any Fact he deſired leave to prove, but what was either admitted by the Proſecutors, or he was admitted to prove; and particularly as to his having had previous Orders from the Magiſtrates, all he contended was, That he had Orders from the Magiſtrates to make his Guard charge with Shot, and even to fire among the Mob in caſe of Reſiſtance; and he did not ſo much as deſire, nor was there any Occaſion for his deſiring leave to prove this Fact, becauſe it was admitted by the Proſecutors in their Pleadings, and was likewiſe expreſsly admitted in their printed Information; nay there was not any one Fact, nor any Circumſtance in his Behaviour, either before or after the Committing of that Crime, upon which he could pretend to lay the leaſt Streſs, with reſpect to his Vindication, but what was either admitted by the Proſecutors, or he was admitted to prove; ſo that I am ſurprized to hear it ſo much as inſinuated, that the leaſt Injuſtice was done him in this Reſpect. On the contrary, by the whole Tenor of the Trial, it appears, he reſted his Innocence entirely upon a flat Denial that he either fired, or gave Orders to fire.

And now, my Lords, with reſpect to the Jury, I muſt think it a little hard; I believe it is not uſual for your Lordſhips to paſs any Cenſure upon the Verdict of twelve Men delivered upon Oath. Beſides, theſe twelve Men were all either Gentlemen, or ſubſtantial Merchants or Tradeſmen; they were none of the Mob, nor were there any *Taliſmen* among them: They have no ſuch Thing in that Country; when it comes to a Gentleman's Turn to attend upon a Jury, he muſt attend, he cannot excuſe himſelf by giving *a Shilling* or *Half a Crown* to the *Sheriff*'s Officer. Theſe Gentlemen were, perhaps, perſonally acquainted with many of the Witneſſes; ſome of them were, perhaps, themſelves at the Execution; and therefore, it muſt be allowed they were better Judges, what Credit was to be given to the ſeveral Witneſſes, than any of your Lordſhips can be. It was poſitively affirmed by ſeveral Witneſſes, that they ſaw *Porteous* fire; it was poſitively affirmed by

ſeveral

ſeveral others that they heard him give Orders to his Guard to fire; other Witneſſes ſaid they did not ſee him fire, and, that they heard him call to his Men not to fire. Both theſe might have been true, but ſuppoſe they could not, ſurely the Gentlemen of the Jury were better Judges which Side they ought to give credit to, than any Lord of this Houſe can now pretend to be; and their having brought in a Special Verdict, is to me a full Proof they were, what every Jury ought to be, altogether impartial.

But, my Lords, from this Special Verdict, I find, an Occaſion is taken to find fault with the Severity of the Sentence. I ſhould be glad to know from thoſe noble Lords, who have found fault with this Sentence, what they think the Judges might have done; for, in my Opinion, they could do nothing but what they have done. I have told your Lordſhips we have no ſuch Thing as Manſlaughter in *Scotland*; the Jury by their Verdict had found the Priſoner guilty of killing and wounding a great many of his Majeſty's Subjects, but that he had been provoked by the Throwing of Stones, by which ſome of his Men were wounded. What could the Judges do in this Caſe? They muſt either determine, that the Killing was Murder, or they muſt have ſaid it was *ſe Defendendo*, or by Chance: No Law in the World could have juſtified them, in determining that the Priſoner had killed theſe People by Chance, or *ſe Defendendo*; therefore they were obliged to determine it was Murder, and to paſs Sentence accordingly. They might perhaps have recommended him to the Crown as a proper Object of Mercy; but I do not find they did, and I muſt beg leave to ſay, I do not think they had any Reaſon to do ſo; for, tho' I would go as far as any Man, in juſtifying an Officer for executing his Orders, and performing his Duty with Courage and Reſolution; yet, in our own Dominions, and among our own Subjects, except in Caſes of an open Rebellion, I think, a great Tenderneſs ought to be ſhewn towards the People: I am ſure a Man of real Courage always will; and tho' the unfortunate Man, whoſe Trial is under our Conſideration is now dead, yet I cannot help ſaying, that upon the Occaſion for which he was afterwards condemned to die, he behaved more like a Madman, than like a prudent and brave Officer.

I ſhall not pretend, my Lords, to juſtify every Part of the Law of *Scotland*, or every Method they have of proceeding in their Courts of Juſtice. There is not, there never was, I believe, a Body of Laws in the World, againſt which a great many Objections may not be made. In every Country, the Inhabitants are apt to extol the Juſtice and Perfection of their own Laws, and thoſe who are of a different Country are ſometimes apt to miſtake the greateſt Beauties for great Imperfections. I do not pretend to underſtand the Law of this Country, it is none of my Buſineſs; but I think I could point out ſeveral Imperfections; I ſhall only mention one, which I really take to be not only an Imperfection but an Abſurdity. By the Law of this Kingdom, if a rich Man is convicted of Felony, the Sheriff is to be a great Gainer by his Conviction; he may perhaps acquire an opulent Fortune by ſuch Conviction, and yet, that very Sheriff is the Man who is to name the Jury who are to try him, and may name ſuch Perſons as he thinks fit. According to this Method, a rich Man muſt take great Care never to be indicted for Felony, or at leaſt, never to let it come to a Trial, however falſe and malicious the Proſecution may appear to be; for, if he ſhould allow it to come to a Trial, I think he ſtands more than an equal Chance of having a Verdict againſt him; becauſe as ſoon as that Verdict is returned, the Sheriff becomes his Heir, or, at leaſt, his Executor, and may immediately take Poſſeſſion of his perſonal Eſtate. I could mention many other Imperfections, and, perhaps, Errors, in the Law of *England*; and, I do not doubt but there are as many in the Law of *Scotland*; but, neither the one, nor the other ought to be altered in any material Point, without very mature Conſideration; otherwiſe we may happen to create two new Imperfections for every one of the old, we attempt to remove. The Laws of *Scotland*, upon which the unfortunate Man, whoſe Caſe is now under our Conſideration, was condemned, may be wrong; the Methods of Proceeding, by which he was tried may be ſevere; but ſuch as they are, they were then, and are ſtill, the Laws of that Country, according to which the Judges were bound by their Oath to proceed and determine; therefore, if your Lordſhips come to any Reſolution relating to that Trial, your Reſolution ought, in my Opinion, to be, That it was regular and juſt; and, ſuch a Reſolution will, I am ſure, contribute more to the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and to the Safety of his Majeſty's Subjects, than any Cenſure you can put upon it.

As this Motion was not much inſiſted on, there was not any Thing ſaid by Way of Reply, nor any Diviſion upon it.

The chief Speakers for the Motion, were the L—d *C——t*, the L—d *B——ſ*, the E—l of *W——ea*, and the L—d *L——l*. The L—d C——r, and the E—p of *S——ry* ſpoke againſt the Trial, but thought they had not ſufficient Lights to paſs any Cenſure upon it; and the chief Speakers againſt the Motion, and in Favour of the Trial, were, the L—d *H——y*, the E—l of *F——r*, the E—l of *I—a*, the D—ke of *A——le*, and the E—l of *S——gt*. (See the Trial at large, Vol. V. p. 498.)

Upon

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Upon Occasion of this Debate, the D—ke of *A——le*, proposed, That the Judges should be ordered to deliver their Opinions upon the following Questions, *viz.*

1. If an Execution were to be performed in *Stocks-Market*, and a Guard of regular Troops drawn up there by lawful Command, to prevent a Rescue of the Criminal; and, if several Stones thrown from among the Crowd should light among the Soldiers, by which several of them should be bruised and wounded; Would such a Guard be guilty of a Crime, if by firing among the Crowd, they should kill several Persons? And, if guilty of a Crime,—What Crime it would be?

2. Upon Occasion of a Riot in, or near a Town, where a Regiment is quartered, should the Sheriff of the County order the Commanding-Officer to assemble the Regiment, and march to his Assistance against the Rioters, Is such Officer obliged to obey? Or, may he obey? And what Penalty there is, if he should refuse?

3. If a Detachment of the Army, is ordered to prevent a Number of People from pulling down Houses, or from committing any other illegal Action, and that the Commanding-Officer has Orders to repel Force by Force, Can such Detachment lawfully make use of Force by Firing, unless they are attacked by the Rioters?

4. In Case Rioters should be pulling down Houses, or doing any other Mischief in one Part of the Town, and a Detachment of the Army should be ordered, in Aid of the Civil Magistrate, to march thither to disperse them; and a Number of People should assemble, and stop up such of the Passages through which such Detachment must necessarily pass; Whether such Detachment may use Force to disperse the People so assembled, in order to pass that Way, without being first attacked by them?

Which was agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

Then his G—ce proposed, That supposing such an Execution in *Edinburgh Grass-Market*, the *Scotch* Judges might be ordered to answer the same Questions by the *Scotch* Laws, and to sign their Opinions.

Which was likewise agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

The three Judges before-mentioned, being arrived from *Scotland*, according to Order, there arose a Question in the H—se of L—ds, whether they ought to be examined at the Bar, at the Table, or upon the Wool-Sacks; which Question was debated for some Time on *Friday*, *April* 29; but, the E—l of *I—a* having proposed, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee, to search Precedents in Relation to that Question, the same was agreed to, and 'twas Resolved, That the House would, on the *Monday* following, resolve itself into the said Committee; and, accordingly, on that Day, the House being Resolved into the said Committee, the Question was again fully debated, in which Debate the Arguments for examining them at the Table, or upon the Wool-Sacks, were to the Effect, as follow, *viz.*

My Lords, as I was not one of those Lords who desired the Attendance of any Judge or Judges from *Scotland*, I cannot certainly tell what was the true Meaning of their being ordered to attend; but as no Enquiry has been made into any Part of their Conduct, as no Resolution of the Committee seemed to be directed against either of them, I cannot think they were called up, or meant to be called up, as Persons guilty of any Crime or Misdemeanor; and as they had nothing to do with any Thing that happened when *Porteous* committed that Crime for which he was condemned to die, nor with any Thing that happened at the Time that unfortunate Man was murdered, I cannot think they were called up as Witnesses in any Part of that Affair; therefore I must suppose the only Reason for desiring their Attendance proceeded from the authentick Copy of *Porteous*'s Trial now upon your Table. I suppose, from that Trial some Doubts and Difficulties had occurred to your Lordships with regard to the Laws of *Scotland*, and the judicial Proceedings of the supreme Court of Justiciary in that Country; and that therefore you desired the Attendance of those three Judges, in order to resolve those Doubts, and remove those Difficulties.

If this be the Case, my Lords, I must think you can ask those Judges no Questions, nor can they answer any Questions, till they are brought into the House in a regular Manner, and placed according to their Rank upon the Wool-Sacks. I am indeed surprized that no Regulation for this Purpose was made by the Articles of Union, and I am as much surprized to find we have continued for so many Years without making such a Regulation; for as the Laws of *Scotland* are very different from those of *England*; there is as great a Necessity for this House's being always provided with the Attendance of some at least of the *Scotch* Judges, as there is for our having some of the *English* Judges always among us. In this House, Laws are to be passed relating to *Scotland* as well as *England*; in this House, Appeals in all Causes from *Scotland* as well as *England* are to be ultimately and finally determined; in this House, a Peer of *Scotland* may come to be tried for a Crime committed in *Scotland*, and for which he is to be tried according to the Laws of *Scotland*; nay in this House, we may have Occasion to pass Laws for regulating the Courts of Justice in *Scotland*; and how we can justly and conscientiously answer either

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either of theſe Purpoſes, without having ſome of the *Scotch* Judges amongſt us, is what I can no way comprehend. 'Tis true, we have at preſent, we have had ever ſince the Union, ſome of the *ſixteen* Repreſentatives of the Peerage of *Scotland*, who are, or have been great Maſters of the Laws of their own Country, as well as of the Laws of many other Countries, but this is a good Fortune we are far from being ſure of. We may have *ſixteen* Peers ſent up from *Scotland*, neither of whom may know more of the Laws of *Scotland* than moſt of us can pretend to know of the Laws of *England*; and in that Caſe, I ſhould be glad to know, how it would be poſſible for us to proceed upon, or determine any Affair which required a thorough Knowledge, or at leaſt a full Information, as to the Laws of that Country?

From this Conſideration, my Lords, I really think it inconſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe, and with the Honour and Character of our Proceedings, not to have the Attendance of ſome of the *Scotch* Judges, in order to give us proper Lights, and ſuch as may be depended on, into the Laws and Cuſtoms of that Country; for ſurely no Man can form a good Opinion of the Proceedings of any Aſſembly, where the Members determine without either Knowledge or Information; and for this Reaſon I am ſurprized this Affair was not particularly thought of, and expreſsly regulated, at the Time the Union was concluded. If it had been thought of at that Time, I believe there is no doubt to be made, but that the Judges from *Scotland* appointed or ordered to attend this Houſe, would have had Places aſſigned them upon the Wool-Sacks, next to the Judges of the ſame Rank in *England*; and tho' this Affair was at that Time neglected to be expreſsly and particularly regulated, yet it is an Affair which I think the People of *Scotland* may inſiſt on from the general Terms of the Union; and it is an Affair which, in my Opinion, your Lordſhips cannot well refuſe. By the Articles of Union it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that there ſhall be but one Parliament for the United Kingdom, and that the Subjects ſhall have a Communication of all Advantages, except where otherwiſe agreed in the Articles of Union. Is it not a great Advantage to the People of *England*, to have their learned Judges always preſent in this Houſe, in order to give us that Information, which is neceſſary in all Caſes where a Doubt ariſes about the eſtabliſhed Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*? If this be an Advantage, as it certainly is, the People of *Scotland* have a good Title to claim the ſame Advantage, and to inſiſt upon having ſome of their Judges likewiſe preſent in Parliament, for the ſame neceſſary Purpoſe. This is an Advantage, I ſay, they have a good Title, from theſe general Words, to claim; becauſe it is no way excepted by any Article of the Union; and as every Honour is an Advantage, they have a Right to claim that the ſame Honours, the ſame Reſpect, may be ſhewn by this Houſe to the Judges of *Scotland*, as are ſhewn to the Judges of *England*, except that only of allowing a Preference to the latter, with reſpect to their reſpective Ranks or Degrees.

As this Houſe has ever ſince the Union had the good Fortune to be ſupplied, from Time to Time, with noble Lords eminent for their Knowledge and Experience in the Laws of their Country, who happened to be of the *ſixteen* choſen to repreſent the Peerage of *Scotland*, it has prevented our taking notice of this Defect in the Union; and it has prevented the People of *Scotland*'s laying claim to that Advantage, which they certainly, in my Opinion, have a Title to claim; it has even prevented their being ſenſible of any Want in this Reſpect: This, my Lords, contributes greatly to the Honour of ſome Lords we have had amongſt us from that Country, and likewiſe to the Honour of ſome we have ſtill the Happineſs to have amongſt us; for I muſt do ſo much Juſtice to ſome of the noble Lords of that Country we have now amongſt us, as to ſay, that I believe we ſtand now as little in need of Information from the learned Judges of *Scotland*, as ever we did in any former Parliament; but this Advantage muſt of courſe ceaſe in a Generation or two; for as no new Titles of Honour can be granted in *Scotland*, we can expect few or no Lawyers from that Country in the very next Age. I believe your Lordſhips are all ſenſible, we would often be at a great Loſs, even with reſpect to the Laws of *England*, if we had no learned Judges to have recourſe to, nor any Peers who had been raiſed to the Honour of Peerage, on account of their profound Skill and Experience in the Laws of their Country; and from thence your Lordſhips muſt ſee how neceſſary it will probably be for this Houſe, in future Times, to have always ſome of the learned Judges of *Scotland* attending. This is the firſt Time any of them have ever been called to attend, it is the firſt Time it has ever been thought neceſſary to aſk them any Queſtions; and if your Lordſhips oblige them now to attend, if you think proper to aſk them any Queſtions, I hope you will ſhew them the ſame Honours, the ſame Reſpect, you would do to the Judges of any of the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, if they ſhould be ordered to attend for the like Purpoſe.

To put this Matter in a clear Light, give me Leave, my Lords, to ſuppoſe a Writ of Error brought into this Houſe from any of the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, from the Court of *King's Bench*, for Example; ſuppoſe upon reading the Caſes, various Doubts and Scruples ſhould occur to ſome of your

Lordſhips, with regard to the Laws relating to that particular Caſe, and with regard to the Proceedings below, for the clearing up of which, you ſhould deſire to aſk the Judges ſome Queſtions, and for that Purpoſe ſhould order them to attend at the Hearing; ſurely, you would not call them to the Bar, you would deſire them to attend only in their Places upon the Wool-Sacks. Again, ſuppoſe this very Affair of *Porteous* had happened at *Newcaſtle* inſtead of *Edinburgh*; ſuppoſe he had been tried and condemned by the Judges upon the Aſſizes there; and, ſuppoſe you ſhould order the Judges, by whom he was condemned, to attend, in order to anſwer ſome Queſtions, and to explain ſome Doubts, relating to his Trial and Condemnation; Would, your Lordſhips order them to attend at the Bar? No, my Lords; you could not; you, at leaſt, would not deſire their Attendance any where, but in their uſual Places upon the Wool-Sacks. Therefore, from a Parity of Reaſon; if, your Lordſhips deſire the Judges of the ſupreme Court of *Juſticiary* in *Scotland*, which is the ſame with the Court of *King's-Bench* in *England*; I ſay, if you deſire thoſe Judges to attend, if you deſire to aſk them any Queſtions about the Laws and Cuſtoms of *Scotland*, you ought firſt, in my Opinion, to take the proper Method, for giving them the Places due to them upon the Wool-Sacks; in order, that they may from thence anſwer ſuch Queſtions, as you have a Mind to put to them; for, if they ſhould anſwer Queſtions from any other Place, I am afraid, the greateſt Part of their Countrymen will be apt to ſay, they have done what I ſhall not chuſe to expreſs.

But now, my Lords, ſuppoſe the Judges you have called up, are not to have any Queſtions put to them as Judges, but that they are to be examined as Witneſſes, in order to ſee if they can give you any Light into the Affair now depending before you; yet as Judges of one of the ſupreme Courts of *Scotland*, and, conſequently, as having a Right to be within the Houſe, they ought to be examined at your Table, which is the Place, I believe, where the Judges of *England* would be examined, if they were to give Evidence in any Affair before you; for, it appears upon your Journals, that in the Year 1689, two Gentlemen had the Honour of being examined at your Table, tho' they were not then Judges, but, only becauſe they had been Judges, and, as ſuch, had had Places within the Houſe. For this Reaſon, the Gentlemen who are attending by your Order, if they are to be examined as Witneſſes, ought, I think, to be examined at the Table; it is what, in my Opinion, they have a Right to inſiſt on, by the Articles of the Union between the two Nations, which I hope your Lordſhips will never break through, in the moſt trifling Circumſtance, without the unanimous Conſent of both.

I hope, my Lords, no Incroachment will ever be made in this Houſe upon the Right of any private Man; I hope the meaneſt Subject will always be able to ſue with Succeſs in this Houſe, for any Right or Privilege he can ſhew a juſt Claim to; but, the Right now in diſpute before your Lordſhips, is not the Right of a private Man, nor is it a Right of a private Nature; it is the Right of a whole People, it is the Right of a Nation once free and independent, and, it is a Right ſtipulated by one of the moſt publick and moſt ſolemn Contracts that was ever made; a Contract which, on our Parts, we are obliged to obſerve and fulfil with the greateſt Nicety, becauſe the People of *Scotland* truſted entirely to our Honour for a faithful Performance; their ſubmitting to be governed by one and the ſame Parliament, in which they knew we would always have a great Majority, was really in Effect ſubmitting every Thing to our Honour; and I hope, they ſhall never have the leaſt Occaſion to repent of the Confidence they have repoſed in us. For this Reaſon, in all Caſes, where the Rights or the Privileges of the People of *Scotland*, by Virtue of the Articles of Union, come to be queſtioned, I ſhall always have a ſtrong Biaſs in their Favour, eſpecially when the Matter in queſtion relates to a Piece of mere Ceremony. But in the preſent Caſe, I muſt think, there can be properly no Queſtion; for, whether the Judges of *Scotland* ought to be in this Houſe as Aſſiſtants, to give their Opinions upon ſuch Matters of Law as may ariſe in the Courſe of our Proceedings, in the ſame Manner as the Judges of *England* do, is a Queſtion, I think, determined not only by the Articles of Union, but, by the very Nature of the Thing itſelf; becauſe, while *Scotland* continues to be governed by Laws different from *England*, it will be impoſſible for us to do our Duty without ſuch Aſſiſtance.

My Lords, as nothing contributed more than the Union between the two Kingdoms, towards ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the preſent Illuſtrious Family, ſo there is nothing can contribute more to the Preſervation of that Succeſſion, than the rendering that Union, every Day more firm and unalterable; which can no Way be done more effectually, than by cementing the People by an Union in Hearts and Affections, as well as an Union eſtabliſhed by Law. While we have ſuch a Majority in both Houſes of Parliament, the People of *Scotland* will always find it impoſſible to break through or diſſolve the legal Union that ſubſiſts between us; but, if we ſhould ever make uſe of that Majority, which I hope we never ſhall, to break through or incroach upon thoſe Articles, which have been

been ſtipulated between us; the legal Union will be of little Force, it will only ſerve to make them deſperate, and to run the Riſk even of their own Perdition, in order to rid themſelves of the Yoke they groan under. They will be apt to aſcribe to the preſent Royal Family all the Ills they feel, or imagine they feel; and, if they ſhould unanimouſly join in a contrary Intereſt, we know they wou'd be ſupported by a numerous Party in this Part of the Iſland, as well as by a powerful Party beyond Seas; for which Reaſon we ought to take all poſſible Care not to give them any juſt Ground of Complaint; we ought, even, to avoid a Meaſure which may be made uſe of by the Enemies of the Government, for ſowing Diſcontent and Diſaffection in that Part of the Iſland. The Minds of the People in that Country are at preſent in great Agitation; the bringing up of ſo many Gentlemen, on Account of a Murder, committed by the very Dregs of the People, muſt give them a good deal of Concern; and, we may ſuppoſe that every Man's Attention is fixed upon the Behaviour of this Houſe towards their Judges: If we treat them with any ſeeming Diſreſpect, if we treat them in any Manner different from that, in which the Judges of *England* would be treated upon a like Occaſion, I am afraid the People in general will look on it as an Indignity offered to the whole Nation, and, as a Violation of the Articles of Union; therefore, I hope your Lordſhips will either not examine them at all, or examine them in a Manner to which no Exception can be taken.

As I am not of that Country, I have ſpoke with the more Freedom in this Debate, becauſe I think I cannot be ſuſpected of Prejudice or Partiality. If I have any, I confeſs it is upon that Side, on which I think my own Honour and the Honour of my Country moſt deeply concerned, which I take to be in a moſt exact Obſervance, not only of the Words, but of the Spirit and Intention of the Articles of Union. We contracted together as Nations quite independent of one another, and by the whole Tenor of the Contract it appears, that the Subjects of both Kingdoms are intitled to equal Honours, Privileges, and Advantages. We have no Pretence to any Pre-eminence, but only that thoſe of any Rank in *England* ſhall have the Precedence of thoſe of the ſame Rank in *Scotland*. This they have always ſince the Union allowed us, and I hope we ſhall never diſpute conferring upon any Gentleman of Rank in *Scotland*, thoſe Marks of Honour or Reſpect, which are beſtowed upon Gentlemen of the ſame Rank in *England*. I ſhall not pretend to preſcribe to your Lordſhips, what Method you are to take for conferring thoſe Marks of Honour or Reſpect; as the Judges of *England* ſit here by Virtue of the King's Writ, I ſhould think the moſt regular Way would be, to addreſs his Majeſty to order ſuch Writs to be iſſued as may be thought proper, for enabling the three *Scotch* Judges now attending by your Lordſhips Order, to come and take their Places upon the Wool-Sacks; but I ſhall make no Motion for this Purpoſe, till I hear the Sentiments of other Lords upon the ſame Subject.

To this it was anſwered in Subſtance thus, viz.

My Lords, I am ſure I am as ignorant as the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, how the three *Scotch* Judges came to be ſent for, or what were the Reaſons for ſending for them. Whether their Attendance was deſired, in order that they might be examined as Witneſſes in the Affair now depending before us, or in order that thry might anſwer Queſtions and give their Opinions as Judges learned in the Laws of *Scotland*, is what I know nothing of; for I was no ways privy to the Deſign of making ſuch a Motion, nor did I know any Thing of it till I heard it made; and I gave my Conſent to it, only becauſe I ſuppoſed the noble D—ke who made it, had good Reaſons for ſending for them, which would appear at the proper Time from the Queſtions he ſhould aſk, and the Caſes he ſhould put to them. I very well remember, that a few Days before the Motion was made, for ordering theſe three Judges to attend, a Motion was made by a noble Lord near me, for ordering one of theſe Judges, I mean the *Lord Juſtice Clerk*, to attend, which Motion was upon a Diviſion diſagreed to; but if I did not miſtake the noble Lord who made that Motion, he did not mean to ſend for that Gentleman as a Judge, but as an Officer of State, and as one very much entruſted, by Virtue of his Office, with the civil Government of that Country; he did not mean to ſend for that Gentleman to anſwer any Queſtions about the Laws of *Scotland*, but to anſwer for his own Conduct about the Time *Porteous* was murdered; and as I thought the Conduct of that Gentleman was not ſuch as it ought to have been upon that Occaſion, I joined with the noble Lord in his Motion; but I then had, as I generally have, the Misfortune to be of the wrong Side of the Queſtion.

Notwithſtanding the ill Fate of this Motion at firſt, yet, my Lords, it might probably have been renewed in the Courſe of our Enquiry; but in a few Days after, a noble D—ke flood up and moved that this very *Lord Juſtice Clerk*, together with the two Senior Judges of the ſame Court, might be ordered to attend; which was accordingly agreed to, and this made the Renewal of the firſt Motion unneceſſary. This different Method of ſending for him appeared to me at firſt as a Matter of no great Moment; but now

I must say, I wish the first Motion had been agreed to, because in that Case, I believe we should have had no such second Motion, I believe none other of the *Scotch* Judges would have been sent for; and if none other of them had been sent for, we should at this Time at least have had no such Question as the present before us; for tho' I am in my own Opinion very clear in the Question now before us, yet I wish with all my Heart no such Question had upon this Occasion occurred.

Whether the Judges of *Scotland*, my Lords, have a Right by the Articles of Union, to insist upon having the King's Writ for being present in this House, and for having Places among the other Judges upon the Wool-Sacks; or whether it be necessary for us to have their Attendance, are Questions, which, I think, are not properly now before us; and therefore I shall not take up your Lordships Time with inquiring into them; but I am sure no Judge of *Scotland* was ever yet admitted to be present, nor have any of them now a Right to come within this House; for no Man can come within our Bar but by Patent, by Writ, or by Custom. The Judges of *England* have their Places upon the Wool-Sacks by the King's Writ, and till the Judges of *Scotland* get Writs of the same Nature, they have no Right to come within our Bar, nor have we, I think, a Power to bring them within the Bar, because it would, in my Opinion, be an Incroachment upon the King's Prerogative. Nay, I must go farther, I do not think the King himself, even with the Consent of this House, can issue out any such Writ; for even the King's Power of issuing such Writs is limited by Custom. His Majesty may by Custom, and by his Prerogative, create as many Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, or Barons as he pleases; but I do not think he can grant, or rather create, a new Title of Honour in *Great Britain* without an Act of Parliament. So he may by Writ call the Judges of *England* to be Assistants to this House: He might likewise according to the antient Custom issue Writs for his Serjeants at Law, his Counsel Learned in the Law, and some other Officers, to attend as Assistants; but I do not think that he can issue Writs for the Attendance of any Judges, Serjeants, Counsellors, or Officers, not warranted by antient Custom: For the Issuing of any Writ not warranted by Custom, there must be an Act of Parliament; because it is a Matter which concerns the whole Nation, it concerns the other House as well as this; and any such Attempt would certainly meet with Opposition from the other House. Therefore, as the Issuing of any Writ for summoning the Judges of *Scotland* to attend in Parliament was not particularly and expresly established by the Articles of Union, it cannot now be done but by an Act agreed to by all the Branches of our Legislature; and as it cannot be done without such an Act, it would be very improper for us to present to his Majesty any such Address as has been proposed.

If the Judges of *Scotland* had ever had any such Writs as the Judges of *England* have, for summoning them to Parliament, if they had ever had the Honour of having a Seat within the Bar, they would then have had a Right to claim giving their Opinions upon the Wool-Sacks, or to be examined at the Table; but, my Lords, as they have never yet had any such Honour, they have certainly no Right to claim any such Privilege; for it is upon the Honour of having a Seat in the House, and upon that only, the Privilege of being examined at the Table depends. To the highest Officer in the Kingdom, if he has no Seat in the House, we cannot grant that Privilege, without sacrificing the Honour and Dignity of the House, and, in my Opinion, incroaching upon the Prerogative of the Crown; and if we should once begin to make any such Sacrifice, or any such Incroachment, God only knows how far we may be induced or obliged to go. If we once break through this antient Rule, if we once begin to grant the Privilege of being examined at the Table, to any one Officer who has not the Honour of having a Seat in the House, many other Officers will claim the same Privilege; and I make no doubt but the other House would immediately set up such a Claim, with respect to every one of its own Members. The Judges of *Scotland* now attending we may compel to appear before us in such Manner as we think proper; but let us consider, my Lords, we cannot compel the Members of the other House to come to be examined at all before us; and therefore if we give that House a Pretence for setting up and insisting upon any new Privilege, we must comply with it, or we shall be deprived of every Evidence any Member of that House may hereafter be able to give, with respect to any Affair depending before us; for as no Member of the other House is obliged to come to be examined before us, as he cannot come without the Leave of the House to which he belongs, we may depend on it, that House will never grant Leave to any of their Members to be examined at our Bar, after we have once furnished them with a Pretence for being examined at the Table.

As that, my Lords, of having a Seat in the House is the only Title, upon which any Person can claim being examined at the Table, so this is a Rule which we have hitherto most strictly and most uniformly observed; in so much that the highest Officers in the Kingdom have been examined at our Bar, without any regard to the Office they bore, and without shewing them the least Respect

on that Account. It appears upon our Journals that the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal were examined at our Bar, and without any more Ceremony or Reſpect, than would have been ſhewn to the moſt private Gentleman in the Kingdom. It likewiſe appears upon our Journals, that an Hon. Gentleman was examined at our Bar, who was at that very Time firſt Commiſſioner to the Treaſury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and not only a Privy Counſellor, but, I believe, a Cabinet Counſellor to the King then upon the Throne; and tho' that Gentleman ſtill poſſeſſes the ſame Employments, tho' he enjoys as many Honours, and is as much reſpected by this Houſe, as any Gentleman ever was in *England*, yet, if he were again to be examined as a Witneſs in any Affair before us, I hope he would, I think he ought to be examined in the ſame Manner.

This ſhews that no Poſt a Man poſſeſſes, no Honour he can have, except that of having had a Seat in the Houſe, can entitle him to the Privilege of being examined at the Table; and the Example of the two Gentlemen mentioned, who were admitted to read ſome Records at our Table, inſtead of reading them at the Bar, in the Convention of Eſtates in 1688, is no Exception to this Rule; for thoſe two Gentlemen, my Lords, had both been Judges, they had both had Seats in the Houſe, and the Convention were certainly of Opinion, they had been illegally turned out, therefore they ſtill look'd on them as having a Right to a Seat in the Houſe; and having called, or rather deſired the Favour of them to come and aſſiſt the Houſe in reading ſome old Records, they could do no leſs than allow them that Privilege which they were in Equity, tho' not in Law, entitled to. But ſuppoſe theſe two Gentlemen had had no Pretence to have been admitted within the Houſe, that Convention was no Parliament, nor was that Aſſembly of Lords properly a Houſe of Lords: They were not conſidered as ſuch by the Nation, becauſe their Acts or Orders were confirmed by an expreſs Law paſſed in the next enſuing Parliament, for which there would have been no Occaſion, if the Parliament or Nation had look'd upon that Convention as a legal and regular Parliament; therefore nothing that was done in that Convention can be a Precedent for us, and much leſs can it be a Foundation for our breaking thro' a Rule that has been eſtabliſhed, and conſtantly obſerved ever ſince we have any Records of Parliament.

I have as great a Regard, my Lords, as any Man can have for the Articles of Union, I have as great a Regard for the People of *Scotland*, and would be as loth as any Man to give them a juſt Cauſe of Complaint; but, I have an equal Regard for the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe; and, I am ſure, my ſhewing a due Regard to the Houſe of Peers, of which I have the Honour to be a Member, can never give Offence to any Man of common Underſtanding in *Scotland*; therefore, I am certain, our ſhewing a ſtrict Regard to our own Privileges on this Occaſion, can never diſoblige any great Number of Perſons in that Country, where good Senſe abounds as much among the People, as it does, I believe, in any Country in the World. Nay, I am convinced, a Sacrifice of the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe, on any Account whatſoever, would generally diſoblige the People of that Country, as well as the People of this; for, we are now intruſted with the Honour and Privileges of the Peerage of both Nations; and, to proſtitute the Dignity of this Houſe in any Reſpect, or for any Conſideration, would be a Proſtitution of the Honour and Privileges of the Peerage of *Scotland*, as well as *England*.

What Benefit or Advantage might accrue to the People of *Scotland*, from having their Judges preſent in this Houſe, what Right the People may have from the Intention and Spirit of the Articles of Union, to claim that Benefit, and what Neceſſity or Occaſion this Houſe may hereafter have for the Attendance of ſome of thoſe Judges, are Queſtions, which I am ſure we have not Time to inquire into in this Seſſion, and much leſs can we inquire into, or regulate this Affair, before it will be neceſſary for us to examine the *Scotch* Judges, who are now attending by our Order. I ſhould, with all my Heart, agree to our inquiring into that Affair, if I thought it poſſible for us to go through with it before the End of the Seſſion; I ſhould readily join in granting the People of *Scotland*, all the Right they could claim, nay, all the Favour they could expect, upon the Iſſue of ſuch an Inquiry; but, I believe, it will be granted that every one of theſe Queſtions is a little doubtful, and of great Moment; therefore, it will be neceſſary to inquire into them with great Calmneſs and Exactneſs, and, not to reſolve either of them till after the moſt mature Deliberation. It would be neceſſary to inquire into the antient Cuſtoms and Uſages of the Parliaments of *Scotland*, in order to ſee, whether the Judges of *Scotland* had any Seats as ſuch, in their Parliaments; ſeveral other Matters would be neceſſary to be enquired into; and, we ſhould certainly meet with a good deal of Difficulty in allotting them their proper Places upon the Wool-Sacks, in determining what Number of them ſhould always attend, and, in regulating how they ſhould take their Turns in attending; for, I hope, you would not have them all to attend, ſo as to make every Seſſion of Parliament an abſolute Ceſſation of all Manner of Juſtice in *Scotland*. Many other difficult Queſtions would certainly occur in the Courſe of

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of that Affair; and, it would be neceſſary to manage every one of them with great Tenderneſs, in order to prevent any poſſible Breach between the two Houſes of Parliament, as well as to prevent raiſing any freſh Animoſity between the two Nations. From all which, I muſt conclude it impoſſible for us to paſs any Bill in this Seſſion, for bringing any Judges from *Scotland* into this Houſe; and, as there is no Method of doing it, but by an Act of Parliament, therefore, it cannot be proper for us to enter upon any ſuch Affair at preſent.

Thus, your Lordſhips muſt, I think, all ſee, that it is impoſſible for us to grant thoſe Honours, or to ſhew that Reſpect to the *three Scotch* Judges now attending, which ſome Lords ſeem to deſire, and, which I ſhould willingly agree to, if we could poſſibly do it without ſacrificing the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe, and expoſing both ourſelves and our Poſterity to numberleſs Inconveniencies. I am ſorry, any Queſtion of this Nature ſhould have happened: I am now more ſorry, my Lords, than I was at firſt, that the Motion for bringing up the *Lord Juſtice Clerk*, was not agreed to; becauſe, I believe, it would have prevented any ſuch Queſtion as the preſent; but, now the Queſtion has occurred, I hope, your Lordſhips will ſhew a due Regard to the Honour and Dignity of your own Houſe, by reſolving to examine theſe Judges at the Bar, in the ſame Manner as you have examined the greateſt Officers in *England*, who happened not to have the Honour of having a Seat amongſt us. As ſuch a Reſolution can offend no Man of common Senſe, it can raiſe no general Diſcontent in *Scotland*, nor occaſion any Diſaffection to the Illuſtrious Family, we have now the Happineſs to have upon the Throne. If any unthinking People in *Scotland* ſhould be miſled by the Enemies to our happy Eſtabliſhment, it will be eaſy for the noble Lords of that Country we have now amongſt us to undeceive them, and to convince them that no Indignity or Affront was intended by any ſuch Reſolution. The Abilities of all theſe noble Lords are apparent, I am ſure their Inclination will not be wanting, and I do not queſtion but their Intereſt and Authority among the People of their Country are equal to their Abilities.

Therefore, my Lords, as no Danger is to be apprehended, from our examining the Judges now attending, in the uſual Manner in which all Perſons, who have not a Seat in this Houſe, are examined; and, as great Danger is to be apprehended, and many Inconveniencies muſt neceſſarily enſue, from examining them in any different Manner, I ſhall conclude with this Motion, That the *Lord Juſtice Clerk*, and the two Senior Judges of the Court of *Juſticiary* in *Scotland*, now attending according to Order, be examined at the Bar of this Houſe.

To this it was replied in Subſtance as follows, viz.

My Lords, I am ſorry, not on Account of the preſent Queſtion's having now happened, nor on Account of its having happened on this Occaſion, but, on Account of its being made a Queſtion at all. I am ſorry, the Right the *Scotch* Nation has to have their Judges in this Houſe ſhould have ever been brought into diſpute; for, I am ſure, ſuch a Conteſt can no Way contribute to the Welfare of the United Kingdom, or to the Eſtabliſhment of that Harmony, which ought to be kept up between the People of thoſe two Kingdoms, which were long ſeparate and independent, but, are now, for the Benefit of both, happily united into one. Unreaſonable Feuds and Animoſities are but too apt to ariſe between any two People, who have been long accuſtomed to live under diſtinct Governments, and are but juſt united under one and the ſame. The Flames of Diſſenſion may ceaſe or diſappear, but it is a long Time before the Fire can be entirely extinguiſhed; and, therefore, thoſe who have the Honour of being entruſted with the Government of any ſuch two People, ought to be extremely cautious of engaging in any Meaſure, or, of bringing any Queſtion upon the Carpet, which may blow up thoſe Coals that have been but lately covered with the Aſhes of Wiſdom and Good-Policy, and cannot, therefore, be ſuppoſed to be abſolutely extinguiſhed. If the bringing up of all, or any of the Judges of *Scotland*, as Aſſiſtants to this Houſe, could poſſibly be of any Prejudice to the People of *England*; or, if it could be look'd on as any Way diſhonourable to, or beneath the Dignity of this Houſe, I ſhould not at all have been ſurprized to have heard it conteſted; but, when it can be no Way prejudicial to the People of *England*, nor any Way diſhonourable to this Houſe; when it may ſo greatly contribute to the Advantage of the People of *Scotland*; and, when it appears in itſelf ſo neceſſary, for enabling us to determine many Queſtions that may come before us; I confeſs, I am not only ſurprized, but I am ſorry to find it ſo much as conteſted.

I remember, my Lords, the firſt Motion in this Houſe, relating to any of the *Scotch* Judges, was for bringing up the *Lord Juſtice Clerk* only. I was againſt that Motion, for the very Reaſon, it ſeems, which made other Lords for it. I was againſt it, becauſe it ſeemed to be a Motion for bringing him up as a Criminal, and not as a Judge; and, I was againſt his being brought up as a Criminal, becauſe there was nothing then appeared before us, which could give the leaſt Foundation for ſuch an Accuſation. I agreed with the Motion for bringing him and the two Senior Judges of the ſame Court up; becauſe,

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becauſe, I knew your Lordſhips had a Power of requiring the Attendance of any of the Judges of *Scotland*, as well as you may require the Attendance of any of the Judges of *England*; and, I have always obſerved, that no ſuch Order has ever been refuſed, when any Lord of this Houſe pleaſed to aſk for it. Theſe, my Lords, were my Reaſons, and I ſtill think they were good Reaſons, for agreeing to the ſecond Motion, and for diſagreeing to the firſt. But, ſuppoſe the firſt had been agreed to by the Houſe, it could not have prevented the ſecond; becauſe, any Lord of this Houſe had a Power to deſire that any of the Judges of *Scotland* might be ordered to attend, in order to explain ſome Doubts that had occurred to him relating to the Law of *Scotland*; and, ſurely, no Lord who wanted to have ſuch Doubts explained, would have truſted the Explanation of them to a Judge, who had been brought up as a Criminal. Again, ſuppoſe the *Lord Juſtice Clerk* had been brought up by himſelf alone, ſuppoſe he had been brought up, not as a Judge, but as a Criminal, the ſame Queſtion would have occurred; becauſe, as he is a *Scotch* Judge, and one of the chief of them too, he muſt have been conſidered as ſuch, till ſome Reſolution, at leaſt, of this Houſe had paſſed againſt him; therefore, in his firſt Examination he might have inſiſted, he ought to have inſiſted, on his being examined at your Table; for, I am ſure, your Lordſhips would not have made a new Precedent for condemning a Man without Hearing him. Our having agreed to the firſt Motion relating to any of the *Scotch* Judges, could not, therefore, have prevented the preſent Queſtion; there was no Way of preventing it, but by a previous, and what I muſt call a prudent Care, to give the Judges of *Scotland* what, I think, of right belongs to them, I mean, their Places upon the Wool-Sacks, before you reſolved to deſire their Attendance, either as Judges, as Witneſſes, or as Criminals. Their Conduct as Judges has been already approved, or, at leaſt, not condemned, by your Lordſhips; and, if any of your Lordſhips are of Opinion the *Lord Juſtice Clerk* has miſbehaved in any other Part of his Duty, you have him now attending; you may revive the Committee, and may proceed to enquire into his Conduct; but, before you begin to proceed againſt him as an Officer of State, I hope you will grant him what, I think, of Right belongs to him as a Judge of *Scotland*.

The Right, my Lords, which the Judges of *Scotland* have by the Articles of Union, to inſiſt upon having the King's Writ for being preſent in this Houſe, and for having Places among the other Judges upon the Wool-Sacks, or rather the Right, which the People of *Scotland* may claim, of having ſome of their Judges always attending as Aſſiſtants to this Houſe, is the firſt and chief Queſtion now before us; becauſe, without firſt determining this, you cannot determine the other, as to the Place in which they are to be examined; nay the Determination of the ſecond, determine it which Way you will, muſt be a full and a final Determination of the firſt. If the Judges or People of *Scotland* have any ſuch Right by the Articles of Union, they have had it ever ſince thoſe Articles were agreed to; and if they have had ſuch a Right ever ſince that Time, the Judges now attending have had an undoubted Right to Seats in this Houſe for many Years, tho' they have never hitherto had Occaſion to take Poſſeſſion of them. It has never been eſtabliſhed as a Rule, not to admit any Perſon to be examined within the Bar, but ſuch as were actually in Poſſeſſion of a Seat in the Houſe. On the contrary, any Sort of Right to a Seat in the Houſe, has always been looked on as a Right that intitles a Man to be examined within the Bar.

The famous Caſe of the Lord *Forreſter*, who was a Lord of *Scotland*, but not one of the Sixteen, is a full Proof of this Rule; and the Caſe of the two Gentlemen who were called to read ſome Records to this Houſe in the Year 1688, and who were for that Purpoſe admitted to your Table, is a Proof that an equitable Right to a Seat in the Houſe is as good as a legal. Thoſe two Gentlemen had, 'tis true, been Judges, and the Convention as well as moſt of the Nation probably, and, I think, rightly, were of Opinion, they had been unjuſtly turned out from being Judges; but ſuppoſe they were unjuſtly turned out, 'tis certain they had then no legal Title to a Seat, nor were they in Poſſeſſion of any Seat in the Houſe; the only Reaſon for admitting them to the Table, was on Account of the equitable Title they had to Seats upon the Wool-Sacks. That Convention indeed was not at firſt a Parliament, but I am ſure none of your Lordſhips will queſtion their Power, nor will this Houſe, I hope, ever refuſe to admit any Proceeding of theirs as a good Precedent, in any Caſe of the ſame Nature. It was not for any Deficiency of Power that their Acts and Proceedings were confirmed by the next Parliament; that Act of Confirmation was paſſed only to ſatisfy the unreaſonable Scruples of ſome Men, and upon this Maxim, That Abundance of Law never breaks the Law; for ſurely no Man imagines that any of the Acts or Reſolutions of the firſt Parliament after the Revolution, received any new or additional Force from this Act of Confirmation, which was paſſed in the ſecond. And I muſt obſerve, that the Precedent now under our Conſideration, was not a Precedent made by the Convention, while it continued a Convention, but after it was declared to be a Parliament; ſo that it is a Precedent which deſerves

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ſerves as much Regard as any Precedent ſince that Time.

Now, my Lords, as your reſolving to examine the *Scotch* Judges at your Table, if you do come to any ſuch Reſolution, will be founded upon the Right they have to Seats within your Houſe, therefore their being examined in ſuch a Manner can never afford a Pretence for any Man in the Kingdom to be examined at your Table, if he has no Manner of Right to a Seat within your Houſe: Conſequently, there is no Ground for ſaying that your coming to any ſuch Reſolution, or your examining them in any ſuch Manner, can ſubject you or your Poſterity to any one Inconvenience. As for the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or any Privy or Cabinet Counſellor, I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid that your Lordſhips having examined all or either of them at your Bar, can be an Argument for examining the Judges of *Scotland* in the ſame Manner. Is there any one of theſe Officers that, as ſuch, has the leaſt Pretence to a Seat in this Houſe? therefore, according to the Rule that has been eſtabliſhed, and which ſeems to be agreed on by every one of your Lordſhips, they had no Pretence to be examined within the Bar; but from that very Rule, the Judges of *Scotland* have a Pretence to be examined within the Bar, becauſe they claim from the Articles of Union a Right to ſit in the Houſe as Aſſiſtants, in the ſame Manner as the Judges of *England* do; and if they have but an equitable Right, it will certainly be not only a Piece of Injuſtice, but an Indignity done to them, to examine them at your Bar; for which Reaſon their Claim of Right ought to be firſt determin'd, becauſe upon that, and upon that only, the other Queſtion muſt neceſſarily depend.

That the Judges of *Scotland* ought to be ſummoned as Aſſiſtants to this Houſe, that the People of *Scotland* have a Right to have ſome of their Judges preſent in this Houſe, appears, my Lords, not only from the two Articles that have been mentioned, by which it is provided that the United Kingdom ſhall be repreſented by one Parliament; and that the Subjects ſhall have a Communication of all Advantages not excepted in the Articles; but likewiſe from the 18th and 19th Articles of the Union, by which it is expreſly provided, that all Matters of private Right ſhall be determined by the Laws of *Scotland*, and before the proper Courts there; ſo that, tho' there lies an Appeal to this Houſe, yet in all ſuch Appeals we are, by the Articles of Union, obliged to determine according to the Laws of *Scotland*; and how is it poſſible for us to determine according to thoſe Laws, if we have no Lord nor any Aſſiſtant in the Houſe, who can inform us what thoſe Laws are, and explain thoſe Paſſages which may appear a little dark or doubtful? From theſe Articles, and indeed from the whole Tenor of the Treaty, this Right appears ſo manifeſt, that I am ſurprized to hear any Doubts made about it; and I am as much ſurprized to hear ſo many Difficulties ſtarted about the Manner of making it effectual.

I ſhall agree, my Lords, that no Man can come into this Houſe but by his Majeſty's Writ of Summons, and in iſſuing of ſuch Writs it may be true that the Power of the Crown is limited by Cuſtom. But with reſpect to that which depends upon the Articles of Union, the Power of the Crown can neither be limited nor directed by the Cuſtom of *England*, or the Cuſtom of *Scotland*; it can be directed by nothing but the Articles themſelves, and as thoſe Articles made it neceſſary to have the Judges of *Scotland* called to the Aſſiſtance of this Houſe, as well as the Judges of *England*, ſurely the King got by thoſe Articles a Power to iſſue Writs for calling them accordingly. Suppoſe then a Writ of Summons ſhould be directed to every one of them, it could be attended with no Inconvenience; it would not be neceſſary for them all to come up here, and to attend the whole Time of the Seſſion; ſuch as pleaſed only would come, unleſs your Lordſhips ſhould upon any great Occaſion, ſuch as the preſent, make an expreſs Order for the Attendance of all or ſome of them: The Iſſuing of ſuch Writs could not therefore occaſion any Surceaſe of Juſtice in *Scotland*, or impede or interrupt the Proceedings at Law there, no more than the Iſſuing of ſuch Writs to the Judges of *England* interrupts or prevents the Courſe of Proceedings at the Aſſizes, which are held in all Parts of *England* as regularly when the Parliament is ſitting, as when it is not.

For my Part, my Lords, I cannot think there is the leaſt Occaſion for any new Act of Parliament in this Caſe. The Act of Parliament which ratifies and confirms the Articles of Union has certainly already given to his Majeſty a full Power to do that, without which ſome of thoſe Articles cannot poſſibly be complied with or fulfilled; and tho' his Majeſty has not yet executed that Power, tho' there has never been before now a Neceſſity for his executing that Power, yet he may certainly execute it whenever he thinks proper, or as ſoon as this Houſe ſhall by an Addreſs deſire him to do ſo. But ſuppoſe a new Act of Parliament were really neceſſary, that Act of Parliament can depend upon none of the antient Cuſtoms of the Parliament either of *Scotland* or *England*, nor can any Part of it be founded upon any of thoſe antient Cuſtoms or Uſages; the Act to be paſſed can be founded upon nothing but the Articles of Union, and the Neceſſity there appears to

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be for having the Judges of *Scotland* called as Aſſiſtants to this Houſe, in order that we may be enabled to do Juſtice to the People of *Scotland* according to their own Laws, which is what we are bound to do by the Articles of Union. The Method of holding Parliaments in *Scotland* was quite different from the Method now eſtabliſhed for holding the Parliaments of *Great Britain*: There the Lords and Commons ſate together in one Houſe, and as the Judges were capable of being choſen by any County, City, or Borough, in that Kingdom, moſt of them were generally Members of Parliament, ſo that there was no Neceſſity or Occaſion for calling them by Writ as Aſſiſtants. With reſpect therefore to any new Act of Parliament to be paſſed on this Occaſion, we can take no Direction from any Cuſtom or Uſage of the Parliaments of *Scotland*, and conſequently can have no Occaſion to enquire into any of them. We can have regard to nothing but the Articles of Union, and the Rights and Privileges, or Obligations, which naturally and neceſſarily ariſe from them: This can require no tedious Enquiry, nor can any Difficulty ariſe in the drawing up or paſſing ſuch an Act, but what may be ſoon got over, if no Partiality or Animoſity be allowed to enter into the Affair, which I am ſure we have not the leaſt Ground to fear in this Houſe; and as the other Houſe is very little concerned in the Queſtion, it is to be hoped they would agree to what we ſhould think proper, without any great Difficulty. For this Reaſon I muſt think, that, if an Act of Parliament be neceſſary for impowering his Majeſty to ſummon the Judges of *Scotland* as Aſſiſtants to this Houſe, ſuch an Act may be paſſed, the Writs may be iſſued, and the Judges may have taken their Places upon the Woolſacks, not only before this Seſſion is at an End, but before it may become abſolutely neceſſary for us to examine them; and then the Examining of them can bring us into no Dilemma, nor into the Danger of committing what may be thought a Breach of the Articles of Union, or of agreeing to that which may be thought a Sacrificing the Honour and Dignity of the Peerage of *Great Britain*.

But, my Lords, if your Lordſhips be of Opinion, that all or ſome of the Judges of *Scotland* ought to be called as Aſſiſtants to this Houſe, if you are of Opinion the People of *Scotland* have a Right to inſiſt upon their Judges being called as Aſſiſtants to this Houſe, can the ſuppoſed Difficulty you will meet with in enquiring into the Affair, or getting an Act of Parliament paſſed, be any Reaſon for your not attempting it? Suppoſe you ſhould not be able to bring ſuch an Affair to Perfection in this Seſſion, yet your entering upon it, and making ſome Progreſs, will certainly pave the Way, and make it eaſy to paſs a proper Bill the next Seſſion. Suppoſe this Right which the Judges of *Scotland*, in the Name of themſelves and the whole People of *Scotland*, now lay claim to, were a great deal more doubtful than, I think, it is; yet it muſt be allowed to be a Matter of Right; and will your Lordſhips proceed to determine that Right, or to determine any collateral Queſtion, by which the principal Queſtion will at leaſt receive a dangerous Blow, without hearing Parties either by themſelves or their Counſel upon the Right they contend for? This is ſo contrary to your Lordſhips known Juſtice and Equity, and to your uſual Method of Proceeding in Caſes of the like Nature, that I cannot allow myſelf to imagine you will agree to it. If you think you have not Time to enquire into this Affair, or to hear Parties upon the Matter of Right contended for, ſome Expedient may be found for putting it off, or for avoiding any Thing that may look like a Deciſion of the Affair. What Queſtions the noble Lords may have to put to the Judges now attending, I do not know; what Lights any Lord can expect from them, I cannot comprehend; but if thoſe Queſtions are not very material, if the Lights expected from them are not thought to be of great Importance, I wiſh the noble Lords would paſs from the Order made for their Attendance, and give over all Thoughts of putting any Queſtions to them, or of calling them either to the Bar or the Table for that Purpoſe; for tho' we have made an Order for their Attendance, tho' they are come up here in Obedience to that Order, yet we may paſs from, or delay calling them till the Seſſion is expired; and I muſt obſerve that, if your Lordſhips ſhould order them to the Bar, and it ſhould then appear, you had no Matters of great Importance to interrogate them about, the whole People of *Scotland* will conclude, you called them to the Bar for no other Purpoſe but to put an Indignity upon them.

I am glad to hear every noble Lord that has ſpoke in this Debate profeſs ſuch a Regard for the Articles of Union, and for the People of *Scotland*; I am convinced their Lordſhips have all ſpoke ſincerely upon this Occaſion: This I am convinced of, becauſe I have the Happineſs to be perſonally acquainted with their Lordſhips; but, my Lords, the People of *Scotland*, who hear nothing of what is ſaid, but of what is done, will, I am afraid, conclude, that we have no Regard for them, and as little for the Articles of Union, if they ſhould hear we have determined a Right, pretended to be founded upon thoſe very Articles, without ſo much as hearing any of the Parties concerned, in Vindication of the Right they claim. They look upon themſelves as intitled to all the

Advantages, Privileges, and Honours, not expreſsly excepted in the Articles of Union, which the People of *England* are intitled to; and it will be impoſſible to perſuade them, no Injuſtice has been done them, nor any Indignity put upon them, when they hear, that their Judges were kept ſtanding at your Lordſhips Bar, while the Judges of *England* were ſitting within the Houſe. This is a Diſtinction, my Lords, which it is impoſſible to palliate or excuſe, and if you deſign to keep up that Harmony and Unanimity which ought to be kept up between the two Nations, ſo lately made one, I am ſure you ſhould avoid, as much as poſſible, all national Diſtinctions. If the People of *Scotland* ſhould think themſelves injured, they cannot, 'tis true, vindicate themſelves as a Nation; they muſt put themſelves upon a Footing as Rebels againſt a legal eſtabliſhed Government, if they ſhould attempt to oppoſe any Thing reſolved on by the Parliament of *Great Britain*; but this is owing to the great Confidence they put, at the Time of the Union, in the Honour and Juſtice of the People of *England*; for they could not then ſuppoſe that the Number of Members they were to ſend to either Houſe, could prevent that Houſe's being guilty of any Partiality or Injuſtice towards them; and I hope your Lordſhips will always be extremely cautious of giving the People of *Scotland* the leaſt Cauſe to repent of that Confidence they then put in the Honour and Juſtice of their Neighbours of *England*.

One of the chief Cauſes, my Lords, which produced the Union was, we all know, the Eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Succeſſion. The Settlement of the Crown upon the preſent Illuſtrious Family had been eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament in *England*, long before the Union, but the *Scotch* Parliament could never be induced to agree to it; on the contrary, they ſeemed to be taking Meaſures to prevent its being forced upon them. This made every wiſe Man in *England* as well as *Scotland* more fond of an Union than otherwiſe they would have been, and made them all labour more heartily and more cordially to bring it about. Accordingly, by the very ſecond Article of the Union, the Succeſſion was ſettled upon the preſent Illuſtrious Family, and by Virtue of that Settlement we have now the Happineſs to ſee his preſent Majeſty in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of the United Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. It is therefore the Buſineſs, it is the Duty of every Man who is a true Friend to the Illuſtrious Family now upon the Throne, to endeavour as much as he can to render the Union agreeable to the People of *Scotland*; becauſe if they ſhould ever begin to repent of having agreed to the Union, they will naturally begin at the ſame Time to repent of having agreed to the Succeſſion; if they ſhould ever begin to entertain a Deſire of being rid of the one, they will of Courſe begin to entertain a Deſire of getting rid of the other; and if this ſhould ever come to be the Deſire of the People of that Part of the Iſland in general, it may, in Caſe of a War, be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the preſent Royal Family. For this Reaſon, I think, your Lordſhips ſhould avoid every Thing that may look like doing an Injuſtice to the whole People of *Scotland*, or that may look like making an invidious Diſtinction between that People and the People of *England*; and as I think the making of any Difference between the Judges of *Scotland* and the Judges of *England*, or the ſhewing of any leſs Reſpect to the former than you uſually do to the latter, will be look'd on by the whole People of *Scotland*, not only as an invidious Diſtinction between the two Nations, but as a real Indignity put upon them, therefore, I hope it will be avoided, if poſſible; which may very eaſily be done, if your Lordſhips have no Matters of very great Importance to interrogate theſe Judges about.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, you have Queſtions of the utmoſt Importance to put to them, ſuppoſe you think it abſolutely neceſſary to examine them in relation to this Affair of *Porteous*; and ſuppoſe you think it abſolutely impoſſible for you now to take Time to enquire, whether they have any Right, by the Articles of Union, to be called as Aſſiſtants to this Houſe, and as ſuch to have Places upon the Wool-Sacks, according to their Ranks, next to the Judges of *England*; yet as this Claim of theirs is a Matter of Right, as it is a Matter of Right, in which the People of *Scotland* have a very deep Concern, I hope, your Lordſhips will not determine it without hearing Parties very fully upon it; and therefore, if you now come to a Reſolution to examine them at your Bar, I hope you will add a ſaving Clauſe to that Reſolution, ſaving and reſerving to the Judges of *Scotland* all Manner of Right which they may have, or lay Claim to by the Articles of Union, for being called by his Majeſty's Writ as Aſſiſtants to this Houſe, and for being placed as ſuch upon the Wool-Sacks, according to their Ranks, next to the Judges of *England*.

To conclude, my Lords, I wiſh this Affair had been expreſly and particularly regulated by the Articles of Union, I wiſh a proper Clauſe had been added expreſly impowering his Majeſty to call the Judges of *Scotland* as Aſſiſtants to this Houſe, and to place them upon the Wool-Sacks, according to their Ranks, next to the Judges of *England*: If it had been then thought of, I am convinced it would have been readily agreed to; conſidering the Circumſtances the two Nations were then in, I am ſure none of your Lordſhips can think, this Piece of Reſpect, which could

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could not poſſibly be of any Diſadvantage to the People of *England*, and which was ſo neceſſary for the People of *Scotland*, would have prevented an Union, which was ſo much for the Advantage of both Nations. But in Treaties of ſuch a Nature, it is impoſſible to foreſee, or to provide for all the Queſtions that may afterwards occur; the Spirit and Intention of the Treaty muſt be conſidered, in order to form from thence a Rule for deciding any Queſtion that may afterwards ariſe, which does not appear to have been expreſly provided for in the Treaty; and to me it appears evident that, by the Spirit and whole Tenor of the Treaty of Union, it was intended, that no Diſtinctions ſhould afterwards be made between the People of the two Nations, or between any Rank of Men in the one and the ſame Rank of Men in the other, but ſuch as were expreſly regulated in the Treaty; or that any Advantages ſhould be enjoyed by the People of the one Country, but what ſhould be enjoyed by the People of the other, unleſs otherwiſe ſtipulated in the Treaty; and as it is a very great Advantage to the People of *England*, to have their Judges called as Aſſiſtants to this Houſe, your Lordſhips muſt allow the People of *Scotland* are intitled to the ſame Advantage by the Articles of Union; you muſt allow that no Diſtinction ought to be made between the Judges of the ſupreme Courts in *Scotland*, and the Judges of the ſupreme Courts in *England*; therefore, I think, you cannot agree to the Reſolution that has been propoſed, I hope you will not agree to it, without the ſaving Clauſe I have mentioned.

This was the Subſtance of the Debate upon this important Occaſion, and the Queſtion being at laſt put upon the Motion for reſolving as before-mentioned, to examine the *Scotch* Judges at the Bar, it was upon a Diviſion carried in the Affirmative by 48 to 37. Then the Houſe being reſumed, the L—d *D*——*r*, who was in the Chair, reported the Reſolution of the Committee, which, after ſome little Debate, was carried in the Affirmative, upon a Diviſion as follows, *viz.*

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After which the *three Scotch* Judges were called to the Bar, where they appeared in their Robes, and ſome few Queſtions were aſked them; but as neither of the Queſtions ſeemed to be of great Importance, we do not think it neceſſary to give an Account of them, or of the Anſwers that were made to them.

The principal Speakers in this Debate for calling the *Scotch* Judges to the Bar, were, The E—l of *A*——*n*, the E—l of *A*——*d*, the E—l of *C*——*d*, the E—l of *S*——*rd*, the E—l of *W*——*ea*, the L—d Ch——*r*, the L—d *D*——*r*, and the L—d *B*——*ſt*; and the principal Speakers againſt it were the D—ke of *A*——*le*, the E—l of *I*——*a*, the D—ke of *N*——*tle*, the L—d *H*——*y*, the D—ke of *A*——*l*, the E—l of *C*——*rd*, and the E—l of *F*——*r*.

We ſhall now proceed to give a ſhort Hiſtory of the paſſing of that Law, which now ſtands upon Record, againſt the *Lord Provoſt* and City of *Edinburgh*; after which, we ſhall give the Subſtance of all the Debates, which happened in either Houſe on the paſſing of that Bill.

The *Lord Provoſt* and City of *Edinburgh* having been admitted to be heard by their Counſel againſt the ſaid Bill, upon its being read a ſecond Time in the H—ſe of L—ds, that Hearing began on *Wedneſday*, *May* 4, and continued all that Week: On *Saturday*, being the 9th, the Bill was committed for *Monday*, when it paſſed through the Committee; and on *Wedneſday*, *May* 13, it was read a third Time and paſſed in that Houſe, on a Diviſion, 54 Contents, to 22 Not Contents.

On *Monday*, *May* 16, the ſaid Bill, in the Form and with the Title as before-mentioned, was ſent down to the H—ſe of C——ns, where, after ſome Debate, it was read a firſt Time, and ordered to be read a ſecond Time on the *Wedneſday* Se'nnight after: Then 'twas reſolved, That the Lords ſhould be deſired at a Conference, that the Grounds, upon which the ſaid Bill proceeded in their Houſe, might be communicated to the Houſe of Commons; and 'twas ordered, That a Committee ſhould be appointed to prepare Matter, to be offered to the Lords at a Conference for that Purpoſe; which Committee being accordingly appointed, Mr. *Attorney General* reported next Day from the ſaid Committee, That they had prepared Matter accordingly, which the Committee had directed him to report to the Houſe; and having read the Report in his Place, and delivered it in at the Table, it was there again read, and agreed to by the Houſe; whereupon 'twas reſolved, That a Conference ſhould be deſired with the Lords upon the ſubject Matter of the Bill, intituled, (as before-mentioned;) and Mr. *Townſhend* was ordered to go to the Lords, and deſire the ſaid Conference; whither he accordingly went immediately; and being returned, reported, That the Lords did agree to a Conference, and had appointed the ſame preſently in the *Painted Chamber*. Upon this 'twas ordered, That the Committee, who had been appointed the Day before to prepare Matter to be offered to the Lords at a Conference, ſhould manage the ſaid Conference; and

their Names being called over, they went to the Conference; and being returned Mr. *Attorney General* reported, that the Managers had been at the Conference, and had delivered to the Lords what the Houſe had directed.

Next Day, being *Wedneſday*, *May* 18, the Houſe of Commons received a Meſſage from the Lords, *viz.* That their Lordſhips did deſire a preſent Conference with them in the *Painted-Chamber*, upon the ſubject Matter of the laſt Conference; which was immediately reſolved, and the Meſſengers being again called in, were acquainted therewith. Then 'twas ordered, That the Committee who managed the laſt Conference, ſhould manage that Conference; and the Names of the Managers being called over, they went to the Conference; and being returned, Mr. *Attorney General* reported the Conference, and that the Lords had delivered to the Managers an authentick Extract of the Proceedings in the Trial of Captain *John Porteous*, wherein was contained the Verdict againſt the ſaid Capt. *Porteous*, the Sentence of the Lords of Juſticiary in *Scotland* againſt him, and the Reprieve of the ſaid Capt. *Porteous*, granted by her Majeſty, as Guardian of the Realm; and alſo a Letter from *Alexander Wilſon*, Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, to Major-General *Moyle*, Dated, *Edinburgh*, *April* 13, 1736. which authentick Extract and Letter were brought up to the Table; and the Report being read, 'twas ordered, That Mr. *Attorney General* and Mr. *Solicitor General*, ſhould take care, that the Evidence for the Ingroſſed Bill from the Lords, intitled, (as before mentioned) ſhould be ready to be produced to that Houſe upon that Day ſevennight; and likewiſe, that Mr. *Attorney-General* ſhould appoint Counſel learned in the Law, to produce and manage the Evidence at the Bar of that Houſe, upon that Day ſevennight, to make good the Allegations of the ſaid Bill; and that the following Perſons ſhould attend that Houſe on that Day ſe'nnight, *viz.* Major General *Moyle*, Colonel *Drurcure*, Major *Roberton*, Major *Poole*, Captain *Bendiſh*, Lieutenant *Aſhton*, Mr. *John Din*, Mr. *John Baily*, Mr. *Alexander Niſbett*, Mr. *Robert Stuart*, Mr. *George Irvine*, Mr. *Thomas Young*, Mr. *Roderick Brown*, and Mr. *Chriſtopher Chriſholm*.

On *Friday* the 20th was preſented to the Houſe and read, a Petition of *Alexander Wilſon*, Eſq; Lord Provoſt of the City of *Edinburgh*, averring his intire Innocence of the ſeveral Matters alledged againſt him in the Preamble of a Bill then depending in that Houſe, intituled, (as before mentioned;) and therefore praying, that he might be heard by his Counſel againſt the ſaid Bill, at the ſecond reading thereof; which was accordingly ordered. And on the *Tueſday* following was preſented to the Houſe and read, a Petition of the Magiſtrates and Town-Council of the City of *Edinburgh*, in Name of themſelves and Community of the ſame; ſetting forth, that the Petitioners apprehended, that if the Bill then depending in that Houſe, intituled, (as before mentioned) ſhould paſs into a Law, it would greatly affect and tend to deſtroy the Rights Franchiſes, Privileges, and Liberties of the ſaid City of *Edinburgh*; and therefore praying, that the Premiſſes might be taken into Conſideration, and that the Petitioners might be heard by their Counſel againſt ſuch Parts of the ſaid Bill, as affected the ſaid City; which was accordingly ordered; and then Captain *Lind* and Mr. *James Allen* were ordered to attend that Houſe next Morning; when upon reading the Order of the Day, for the ſaid Bill's being read a ſecond Time, 'twas propoſed to put off the ſecond Reading of it for a Month; but a Motion being made for reading it a ſecond Time on that Day ſe'nnight, after ſome Debate the Queſtion was put upon the Motion for reading it a ſecond Time on that Day ſe'nnight, which upon a Diviſion was carried in the Affirmative by 140 to 99. After which the ſeveral Perſons who were ordered to attend on that Day, were ordered to attend on that Day ſe'nnight.

Accordingly on *Wedneſday*, *June* 1. the Order of the Day being read, the Counſel for and againſt the Bill were called in, and the Bill being then read a ſecond Time, the Hearing of Counſel, and Examination of Witneſſes began, and was continued all that Day, all *Thurſday*, *Friday*, *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and *Wedneſday* following: on which laſt Day, the Hearing of Counſel for and againſt the Bill being ended, and the Counſel withdrawn, Mr. *Speaker* opened the Bill, whereupon a Motion was made for its being committed; but a Debate ariſing, and it being then late, the Conſideration of the ſaid Motion was adjourned till next Morning, being the 9th of *June*; when the ſame was reſumed, and after a long Debate, the Motion was upon a Diviſion agreed to by 124 to 118; and it being reſolved, that the Bill ſhould be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, it was next reſolved, that the Houſe would on the *Monday* following reſolve itſelf into a Committee upon the ſaid Bill.

Upon this Occaſion it was at firſt propoſed, that the Houſe ſhould next Day reſolve itſelf into the ſaid Committee; but ſome Members took Notice, that next Day, being the 10th of *June*, they thought it a very improper Day for them to go into a Committee on ſuch a Bill. The Scope of the Bill, as it then ſtood, was for demoliſhing the Ports and diſmiſſing the Guard of the City of *Edinburgh*, thoſe very Ports, and that very Guard which had enabled that City to keep the

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Pretender out in the Year 1715; and for doing this they were to chuſe that very Day which was celebrated by all *Jacobites* as the *Pretender*'s Birth-Day. This they thought was not very prudent; it would be a Matter of Triumph to all *Jacobites*, who would not fail to repreſent it as a Judgment upon the City of *Edinburgh* for ſhutting their Gates againſt their lawful and rightful Sovereign, as *Jacobites* were pleaſed to call the *Pretender* to his Majeſty's Crown and Kingdoms. This Conſideration, they hoped, would have ſome Weight againſt agreeing to that Part of the Bill, when they went into a Committee upon it; but they took notice of it at that Time only to prevent the Houſe's going into a Committee upon ſuch a Bill on ſuch a Day. For this Purpoſe they hoped it would be of ſufficient Weight; and that therefore no Gentleman would inſiſt upon the Houſe's going into a Committee upon that Bill till *Monday* then next.

This ſeemed to be the Occaſion of putting off the Commitment of the Bill till *Monday*; and on *Monday* the Houſe having reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Committee, the Preamble and every Clauſe of it was oppoſed, and upon each there was a Sort of diſtinct Debate, ſeveral of which were puſhed ſo vigorouſly, and with ſo much Succeſs by the oppoſing Party, that the Bill not only changed its Name, but in ſome Manner its Form; as may be ſeen by comparing the Copy we have given as it was ſent from the other Houſe, with that which is now paſſed into a Law.

Nay in the Committee, the Bill run a very great Riſk of being quite loſt; for after all the Amendments had been made, the Bill then appeared to be ſo very different from what had been ſent them by the Lords, that when a Motion was made for reporting the Bill with the Amendments to the Houſe, the ſame was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed; and after a long Debate, when the Queſtion was put, the Diviſion was 130 for reporting, and 130 againſt it; ſo that it came to the caſting Vote of C——l *B*——*n*, who was Chairman of the Committee, and who gave his Vote in favour of the Bill; tho' it has generally been obſerved, that where ſuch a Caſe happens, the Chairman has always given his Vote for that Side of the Queſtion which is againſt any Alteration of our Laws, or in Favour of any Perſon that is to ſuffer by a new Law. But there was another Circumſtance which contributed to the paſſing of this Bill, or rather prevented its being loſt; for at this very Time, when this equal Diviſion happened, *J*——*s E*——*ne* of *G*——*ſe*, Eſq; and Mr. S——*t* G——l for *Scotland*, were both in the H—ſe of P—rs engaged as Counſel in the Hearing of an Appeal there; which both of them endeavoured as much as they could to have put off, in order that they might be preſent and upon their Duty in the H—ſe of C—ns; but this Requeſt was refuſed; ſo that neither of them was preſent upon this Debate or Diviſion in the H—ſe of C——ns; and as both of them had often before declared themſelves againſt every Part of this Bill, it is probable, if they had been preſent, they would have voted againſt reporting the Bill, which would have prevented its being in the Chairman's Power to do what he did.

The Motion being thus carried for reporting the Bill with the Amendments, the Report was ordered to be received the next Morning; and C—l *B*——*n* having accordingly reported the Amendments that Day, the firſt Amendment made by the Committee, which was that for leaving out the ſeveral Clauſes for Demoliſhing the *Nether-bow Port*, and for taking away the Guard of the City of *Edinburgh*, was read a ſecond Time and agreed to by the Houſe; then the other Amendment made by the Committee, being the Clauſe for impoſing a Fine upon the Corporation of the City of *Edinburgh*, was read a ſecond Time; and a Motion being made for re-committing that Amendment, after a long Debate, the Queſtion was put upon the Motion, and was carried in the Negative, by 144 to 123; after which this Amendment was afterwards agreed to by the Houſe; and then the Bill was ordered to be read a third Time next Morning.

On *Wedneſday*, *June* 13, this famous Bill was read a third Time, and ſeveral Amendments were made to the Title, which had become neceſſary from the Amendments made in the Committee to the Bill itſelf; after which a Motion was made for paſſing the Bill, which occaſioned a new Debate; but upon the Queſtion's being put, it was upon a Diviſion carried in the Affirmative by 128 to 101; and Colonel *Bladen* was thereupon ordered to carry the Bill to the Lords, and acquaint them that that Houſe had agreed to the ſame with ſome Amendments, to which they deſired the Concurrence of their Lordſhips.

As the Bill had received conſiderable Amendments in the H—ſe of C——ns, when it was returned with theſe Amendments to the H—ſe of L—ds, ſome of their Lordſhips thought it then look'd more like a new Bill than the Bill they had ſent down; and they farther thought, the enacting Part of the Bill, as it then ſtood, was no Way correſpondent to the Preamble; therefore they thought, that either the Amendments ought not to be agreed to, or the Preamble ought to be left out or very much altered; ſo that there was a long Debate upon the Motion made in that Houſe, for agreeing to the Amendments made by the Commons; but at laſt upon a Diviſion the Queſtion was carried in the Affirmative by 41 Contents, to 17 Not Contents; and

Monday, June 20, it was returned to the H—se of C——ns, with their Amendments agreed to; and, among others, received the Royal Assent at the End of the Session.

Thus we have given a short History of the passing of this famous Bill; in almost every Step of which there were long Debates, and so many good Arguments made use of, and so many remarkable Things said, that it would make a very large Volume to give a tolerable full Account of them; so that it cannot be expected in the narrow Limits to which we are obliged to confine ourselves; therefore we shall only collect some of the most material Arguments that were made use of for and against the Amendments proposed and agreed to in the H—se of C——ns; in which, however, we shall throw in some of the most material Arguments that were made use of for and against the Bill itself, both in that House and in the H—se of L—ds. But first we must take Notice, that upon the Bill's being sent first down to the H—se of C——ns, some Objections were made by *J—s O——pe*, Esq; and other Members of that House, to the Bill's being allowed even a first Reading; which were in Substance as follow, *viz.*

Sir, when I oppose the Bill now brought to us for our Concurrence, either now upon its first Appearance, or in any other Step it makes through this House, I hope it will not be thought that I approve of the Riot or the Murder, that was committed upon that Occasion which gave Rise to the Bill. All Riots and Tumults I have in as great Abhorrence as any Gentleman of this House; and there is nothing I think a Government ought to be more jealous of, than their sole Privilege of distributing Justice or shewing Mercy. When either of these comes to be assumed by the Populace in a tumultuous Way, when the Mob begins to distribute Justice, or to oppose the shewing of Mercy, it puts an End to all Government, and for that Time at least dissolves all Society. Therefore all Riots and Tumults ought to be punished severely; but then they ought to be punished in a regular Manner, and not in such a Manner as may overturn the Constitution of your Government.

It is this, Sir, which makes me rise up to oppose this Bill upon its first Appearance: It is a Bill of such a Nature that I think this House ought not to receive it: If you do, you will, in my Opinion, give a Wound to the Privileges of the Commons of *Great Britain*. Bills of Pains and Penalties are Things, in themselves, of a dangerous Nature; we ought not, but upon the most extraordinary Occasions, to make use of any such Method for inflicting Punishment; and when we are obliged to make use of such a Method, the Bill ought to take its Rise in this or the other House, according to the Persons who are to be punished. If a Peer of the Realm had committed any Crime, for which it might be necessary to punish him by Way of a Bill of Pains and Penalties, does any Gentleman think the other House would receive a Bill for that Purpose from us? No, Sir; if a Peer of the Realm, a Member of the other House, were but one of the Persons so to be punished, I believe the other House would insist upon his being punished by a Bill to be first brought in and passed in their House; and if any Member of this House were to be punished by any such Bill, for the same Reason we ought, surely we would insist upon it that the Bill for that Purpose ought to take its Rise in this House.

Now, Sir, I should be glad to know a Reason why we should shew less Respect to the Counties, the Cities, or the Boroughs we represent, than we would do to any of the Gentlemen they send here to represent them; for if there be any Difference to be shewn, I must think the former deserve more of our Care, they ought to have a greater Respect shewn to them upon all Occasions by this House, than the latter can pretend to. Shall we then receive from the other House a Bill for inflicting Pains and Penalties upon any Corporation in *Great Britain* that has its Representative in this House? Suppose, Sir, this Bill had enacted, among other Pains and Penalties, that the City of *Edinburgh* should from hence-forth cease to be a City or Corporation, Could any Gentleman, after the Passing of such a Bill, have kept his Seat in this House as Member for that City or Corporation? Sir, he must have ceased to be a Member, as soon as the Corporation he represented ceased to be a Corporation; and shall we ever receive a Bill from the other House for turning one of our own Members out of Doors?

'Tis true, Sir, the Bill now presented to us for our Concurrence, does not in express Words put an End to the City and Corporation of *Edinburgh*; but it does something very near tantamount; for if you take from a Corporation their Power of Watching and Warding, I do not see how they can afterwards well subsist as a Corporation. I shall not now enter into the Merits of the Bill; I shall not enquire, whether the City of *Edinburgh* deserves the Punishment to be inflicted upon it by this Bill. I think it does not. But it is enough to me that a City, which has its Representative in this House, is to be punished. This, I say, is enough to me for thinking that the Bill ought not to have taken its Rise in the other House; that we ought not to receive such a Bill from them; that we cannot receive it without sacrificing the Privileges of this House, and the Privileges

leges of all the Places we repreſent. I hope no Gentleman thinks, there is the leſs Reſpect to be ſhewn to the City of *Edinburgh*, becauſe of its being in *Scotland*. Sir, it is now a City of *Great Britain*, it is the ſecond City of *Great Britain*; and if ſuch a Bill had come from the other Houſe againſt the meaneſt Borough of *Scotland*, that has a Repreſentative, or a Part of a Repreſentative, in this Houſe, I ſhould have been againſt our receiving the Bill. We are in Honour obliged to protect the Commons of *Scotland* as much as the Commons of *England*; becauſe they truſted to our Honour when they united with us upon the Terms they did. We are in Prudence obliged to protect the Privileges of every Borough in *Scotland*, as much as the Privileges of any Borough in *England*; becauſe no Incroachment can be made, no Injury can be done to the one, but what may be made a Precedent for doing the ſame to the other. If we allow the other Houſe to incroach upon the Privileges of the Commons of *Scotland*, it will be a Precedent for their incroaching upon the Commons of *England*. If we accept of this Bill, if we give it a Reading, I ſhall ſoon expect to ſee a Bill brought us from the other Houſe, for turning ſome of our Members out of Doors. Therefore, Sir, I am againſt its being read a firſt Time.

To this it was anſwered in general,

That the Bill's being brought in by the other Houſe, did not proceed from any Deſign to incroach upon the Privileges of that Houſe, but from the other Houſe's having firſt entered upon an Enquiry into that atrocious Riot, that cruel Murder, which had happened at *Edinburgh*; and the Reaſon for their being the firſt to enter upon that Enquiry was evident, from the Nature of the Buſineſs that uſually came before the two Houſes; for in the other Houſe, they had generally little to do in the Beginning of a Seſſion; whereas in that Houſe, the providing Supplies for the current Service of the Government, took up ſo much of their Time in the Beginning of a Seſſion, that they had not Leiſure to enter upon any particular or extraordinary Affair. That upon that Enquiry the other Houſe were of Opinion, it was abſolutely neceſſary to inflict ſome Puniſhment upon the City of *Edinburgh*, in order to make that and every other City more careful to prevent Mobs, and more active in ſuppreſſing them, for the future. That as this was their only Aim, as it was an Aim which that Houſe could not but approve of, they hoped the Houſe would not be too jealous of their Privileges upon ſuch an Occaſion; for even tho' it were indiſputable, that the other Houſe ought not to be allowed to bring in a Bill for inflicting Pains and Penalties upon any City or Borough in *Great Britain*, yet in a Caſe where no Incroachment was intended, and which might ſo greatly contribute to the domeſtick Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, it was abſolutely neceſſary for both Houſes not to be over ſcrupulous in Point of Privilege. And that as the other Houſe had begun the Enquiry, as upon that Enquiry, they had found it abſolutely neceſſary to inflict ſome Puniſhment upon the City of *Edinburgh*, and upon the chief Magiſtrate thereof at the Time the Mob happened, they hoped Gentlemen would conſider, the other Houſe had then no other Way of Proceeding, in order to inflict that Puniſhment, than by bringing a Bill for that Purpoſe. Therefore they hoped no Scruple would be made to the Reading of the Bill, and upon the ſecond Reading they would ſee, whether the other Houſe had had good Reaſon for paſſing ſuch a Bill; when they might either concur with the other Houſe in paſſing the Bill, or might reject or amend it as they ſaw Cauſe.

To which it was reply'd in general,

That 'twas true the firſt Part of the Seſſion was generally taken up in that Houſe with granting Money to the Government; but it was not wont to be ſo; for in former Times, their firſt Buſineſs was to enquire into Abuſes, and redreſs Grievances; and if that Houſe had taken Example by their Anceſtors, inſtead of voting a Supply the 2d or 3d Day of the Seſſion, they would have voted an Enquiry into thoſe Riots and Tumults, which of late had been ſo frequent and ſo general all over the Kingdom; for the People never grew tumultuous without ſome Cauſe, and 'twas very probable the late Tumults had proceeded from ſome Abuſes or ſome Grievances which they ought to enquire into. That the beſt Way of judging of Mens Intentions was by their Actions; and as the Bill brought from the other Houſe was certainly, as they thought, an Incroachment upon the Privileges of that Houſe, the ſureſt and ſafeſt Way of Judging was, to ſuppoſe an Incroachment was intended. That Incroachments had always been made at the moſt favourable Junctures; and if ever the other Houſe ſhould endeavour to incroach upon that, they would always take Occaſion to do it, with reſpect to Bills which might ſeem abſolutely neceſſary; ſo that if they made the Expediency, or even the Neceſſity of a Bill, a good Reaſon for ſubmitting to an Incroachment, they would very ſoon have no Privileges left. That as that Houſe was the grand Inqueſt of the Nation, it was their proper Buſineſs to enquire into all publick Abuſes, eſpecially where any of their own Members were concerned; and that if the other Houſe did upon any Occaſion take upon them to enquire into any ſuch publick Abuſe, they ought to proceed no further; they might then at a Conference communicate to

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that House the Discoveries they had made, and leave it to that House to proceed by Impeachment or by a Bill of Pains and Penalties; which the other House might have done in the present Case; and their not having done so seemed to shew, they had an Intention to take Advantage of that favourable Opportunity for making a little Incroachment upon a Privilege, which they knew would have otherwise been strenuously contested. That whether or no there was a Necessity for punishing the City, or any of the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, could not then appear to them, and therefore could not be an Argument of any the least Weight in that Debate; but suppose there was such a Necessity, there was no Necessity of the Session's breaking up at a certain Day. They might go upon an Enquiry immediately; the Witnesses were all in Town; these Witnesses might soon be examined, and upon that Examination, they might order a new Bill to be brought in, if they saw Cause; and that new Bill might pass through both Houses long before it would be absolutely necessary to put an End to the Session: Therefore they saw no Inconvenience could ensue from their not receiving the Bill then brought them from the other House; and for that Reason they could not agree to its being read a first Time.

This was the Substance of what was said upon this Bill at its first Appearance in the H—se of C——ns; but as a great Majority seemed to be for reading the Bill, there was no Division upon the Question.

We shall now give the Substance of what was said for and against the Amendments made to it in the H—se of C——ns, in which we shall comprehend the most material Arguments that were made use of in either House for and against the Bill itself. These Amendments were, To leave out the Clause for imprisoning the Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, as also the Clause for taking away the City Guard, and the Clause for taking down the Gates of the *Nether-Bow Port*; and instead of the last two Clauses, to insert a Clause for subjecting the City of *Edinburgh* to a Fine of 2000 *l.* to be applied to the Widow of Captain *Porteous*. The Arguments for the first three of these Amendments, and against the last, as well as against the Bill itself, were in Substance as follow, *viz.*

Sir, as I am against the Bill itself, as I think it impossible to amend it so as to make it a good Bill, therefore I must of course be for the first three Amendments proposed; because if it should pass so amended, it will be a less Evil, than if it should pass as it stands at present; but as my Reasons for being for these three Amendments, and my Reasons for being against the fourth Amendment, will appear in a much stronger Light, after I have given my Reasons for being against the Bill, therefore I shall beg Leave to shew you my Reasons for thinking it impossible to make the Bill now before you either a good or a just Bill. The Charge against the Magistrates and City of *Edinburgh*, so far as I can comprehend from the Preamble of this Bill, and from the Proof that has been brought for its Support, seems to be founded upon their not taking proper Care to prevent the Tumult before it happened, notwithstanding their being fully apprized that such a Thing was intended; upon their not using proper Measures to suppress the Tumult after it had begun; and upon their not using proper Means to discover, apprehend, and secure the Authors and Abettors of the Murder that was committed. Thus the whole Charge is founded upon Negligence only, or rather upon Want of Wisdom and Foresight; for it is not so much as pretended, I am sure it is not proven, that any one of the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, and much less any of their Magistrates, was actually concerned in the Tumult, or in the Murder that was committed by the Rioters.

Now, Sir, suppose every Word of this Charge true, suppose every Word of it had been fully proved, I do not think it by any Means a proper or a just Foundation for any such extraordinary Method of Proceeding as a Bill of Pains and Penalties. As this is a most extraordinary, as it is a most dangerous Method of Proceeding, it ought never to be made use of but for punishing Crimes of a most extraordinary and a most dangerous Nature; for if this Method should once come to be commonly used for punishing little Transgressions, and even little Omissions, without so much as an Allegation of a malicious Intention, no Person in *Great Britain*, natural or political, can have a Moment's Security, if there should be a prevailing Party in Parliament against him: Even Innocence itself, even the Fear of offending, may betray a Man into some little Omission, which may give his Enemies a Pretence for ruining him by a Bill of Pains and Penalties. It will not then be enough for a Man not to offend those in Power, he must obey them, he must truckle to them, he must serve them in their most dirty Jobs; otherwise he will be every Day in Danger of perishing by a Bill of Pains and Penalties, for not doing what he perhaps abstained from doing for Fear of giving Offence.

Bills of this Nature are of dangerous Consequence when brought against private Men, but still more so when brought against Corporations or Communities. We have, 'tis true, had some Examples of punishing Cities or Corporations for Crimes committed by their Magistrates or Citizens; but such Precedents I must always think dangerous, I shall always think

think unjuſt; for a Mob, an Inſurrection, or even a Rebellion, in any City or Borough, was never, I believe, ſo general as to admit of no Exception; and if there was but one innocent Man in the City or Borough, an Injuſtice will be done to him by any Puniſhment inflicted on the Community. Theſe are Precedents which have ſeldom or ever been followed by a wiſe and mild Adminiſtration; and they are Precedents which may be made the worſt Uſe of by an ambitious and tyrannical one. They are Precedents which may be made uſe of for fright'ning every City and Borough of the Kingdom into a mean Compliance with every Command of a prime Miniſter, by which Means he may always have a Majority in this Houſe, as ready as their Conſtituents to obey his moſt wicked Commands. By ſuch a Parliament, and by Means of ſuch Bills, even Counties may be robbed of all their Privileges, and that on Account of a Mob raiſed there perhaps for that very Purpoſe by the Tools of Power. But of all the Precedents I ever heard of, this now before us is, I think, of the moſt dangerous Nature. When the Magiſtrates or Inhabitants of a City or Corporation, or the Members of any Community, have been openly and maliciouſly guilty of any heinous Crime, the Inflicting of a Puniſhment upon the Community for the Crimes committed by its Members, may not be of ſuch dangerous Conſequence; becauſe it can never be made a Precedent of for perſecuting any other Community altogether innocent; but if you make the Negligence, or even the Puſillanimity, of the Magiſtrates, or of the Inhabitants, a good Pretence for taking away by Bill any of the Privileges or Franchiſes of the City or Corporation, no Corporation in *Great Britain* can be ſecure of any of its Privileges; becauſe a prevailing Party in Parliament may judge that to be Neglect or Puſillanimity, which was really in itſelf a wiſe and a prudent Behaviour. A Tool of Power may be hired to provoke the very Dregs of the People to pull his Houſe down, or to duck him in a Horſe Pond; and becauſe the Magiſtrates did not, or could not, come time enough to prevent the Miſchief he richly deſerved, it may be made a Pretence for diſfranchiſing the Corporation by a Bill of Pains and Penalties. Thus a Sort of Parliamentary *Quo Warranto's* may be iſſued againſt every Corporation in *Great Britain*, that happens not to be in the good Graces of the prevailing Party in Parliament.

Magiſtrates I ſhall allow, Sir, ought to be vigilant and diligent in their Office. No Man is fit for being in any Station of Magiſtracy, if he is either indolent or puſillanimous; but Magiſtrates are but Men, and liable to the ſame Frailties with other Men; therefore, if by this Precedent, you make it a Crime in a Magiſtrate to be guilty of the leaſt Neglect or Miſconduct, if you make it a Crime of ſuch an extraordinary Nature, as that he may be proſecuted by an extraordinary Method in Parliament, and ſubjected to extraordinary and arbitrary Puniſhments, I am ſure no wiſe Man will hereafter accept willingly of any Office of Magiſtracy; and if he ſhould by Law be forced to accept of it, it would be both ſevere and unjuſt to puniſh him for Miſconduct only. The Puniſhment to be inflicted by this Bill upon the Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh* may, to ſome Gentlemen ſeem no way rigorous or ſevere; conſidering his preſent Majeſty's known Wiſdom and Lenity, I am convinced he will not find it ſo; but a Year's Impriſonment in any Goal or Priſon within the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, to which any Secretary of State may from Time to Time by his Warrant direct him to be carried and confined, might be made a Puniſhment terribly ſevere. He might be kept in Irons all that Time, he might be confined in a Goal remote from his Country and Friends; he might be privately removed from Goal to Goal, ſo that his Friends ſhould never know where to find him, in order to bring him Subſiſtence, or adminiſter to him any Comfort; or he might be publickly carried about in Irons, and under a ſtrong Guard, from one End of the Kingdom to the other, in order to ſtrike Terror into the People, and to frighten them into a ſlaviſh Submiſſion. This I am ſure would be a Puniſhment too ſevere for any Crime he is accuſed of; and therefore, if he does not meet with too much Severity, it will not be owing to the Parliament who pronounce the Sentence, but to the Secretary of State who puts it in Execution. For this Reaſon, I muſt look upon this Puniſhment, mild as it may be made by his Majeſty's Wiſdom and Lenity, as a moſt dangerous Precedent; becauſe future Parliaments may be hereby induced to inflict the ſame Puniſhment for the ſame Sort of Neglect, and future Kings, or their Miniſters, may not perhaps be ſo merciful in the Execution.

The Reaſons I have hitherto made uſe of againſt this Bill ariſe from the general Principles of Prudence and Juſtice; but now, Sir, I ſhall go a little farther, and obſerve, that the Paſſing of this Bill will, in my Opinion, be a Breach of the Law of Nations. Treaties between different Nations have always been held ſacred, and ought to be religiouſly obſerved. The Treaty of Union between the Nations of *England* and *Scotland* is a Treaty now ſubſiſting, and a Treaty which, I hope, will always be moſt religiouſly obſerved by the Parliaments of *Great Britain*. By the 21ſt Article of that Treaty it is expreſsly ſtipulated, *That the Rights and Privi-*

legal of the Royal Boroughs in Scotland *shall remain entire*; and as by this Bill the City of *Edinburgh*, the firſt and chief Royal Borough of *Scotland*, is to be ſtript of its Gates and Guard, I muſt look upon the Bill as an Infringement of that Article of the Union; for ſurely the having of Gates which the Magiſtrates may ſhut up when they think proper, and the keeping of a Guard for the Defence and Protection of the Inhabitants, muſt be looked on as Part of the Rights and Privileges of the City of *Edinburgh*; therefore, after theſe two Rights or Privileges are taken away from that City, it cannot be ſaid that the Rights and Privileges of the Royal Boroughs of *Scotland* remain entire.

I have already ſhewed, that to puniſh a Community for the Fault of its Members, is doing an Injuſtice to every private Man of that Community who is innocent; but by the Puniſhments we are to inflict upon the City of *Edinburgh* by this Bill, we do what is ſtill worſe, we violate the Law of Nations, we do Injuſtice to the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, by breaking through one of the moſt ſolemn Articles upon which it united with *England*; and for what Purpoſe are we to be guilty of this Piece of publick as well as private Injuſtice? Not to prevent Mobs, but to encourage them. In this Light theſe two Puniſhments really appear to me ridiculous; we cannot do a greater Favour to thoſe People in and about *Edinburgh*, who are inclined to be mobbiſh, than to take away the Gates and the Guard; we cannot do a more acceptable Piece of Service even to thoſe who murdered *Porteous*: They will look upon our taking away and caſhiering the City Guard, as a Puniſhment upon that Body of Men, for their having fired upon the Mob at the Execution of *Wilſon*. Our laying the City Gates open will be affording an Opportunity to the Country Mob and the City Mob to join Forces, whenever they have a Mind; and by Experience it is well known, they were never dangerous but when they joined together. Then by taking away the Guard we remove that which they were always moſt afraid of, as appears from its being the firſt Thing they took care to ſecure, when that Mob began which murdered *Porteous*. But by laying open the *Nether-Bow Port*, 'tis ſaid, we ſhall open a Way for the King's Forces to come, as ſoon as called, to the Aſſiſtance of the Magiſtrates. No ſuch Thing: We ſhall make their Acceſs more difficult: The Street where that Gate ſtands is very narrow; there are always a great Number of Carts and Wheel Carriages ſtanding near it, by which the Street may be ſo barricaded in a few Minutes, that it will be much more difficult for the Forces to make their Way through, than it would be for them to blow up a Gate; for thoſe who know any Thing of the Military, know it may be done almoſt in an Inſtant. It was not the Gate, Sir, that prevented the Forces marching to the Relief of the Magiſtrates; it was their having no proper Orders, and the Impoſſibility there was for ſending them any ſuch; and by laying open the Gate, you will only inſtruct the next Mob that happens, to ſecure themſelves by a Barricade, better than they could do by a Gate; and to take proper Care to ſecure every Magiſtrate, who can give Orders to the Troops to enter the Town, which they may the more eaſily do, after you have taken away that Guard, which might be able to protect the Magiſtrates, at leaſt till they had Time to ſend for the Troops.

Sir, the evil Conſequences of laying open the City Gates, and taking away its Guard, are innumerable. By keeping the Gate always open, you will injure the Publick as well as the City Revenue; for you will thereby greatly encourage Smuggling, and you will make it impoſſible for the City to raiſe that Duty which has been granted them by Parliament, upon every Pint of Ale brought into their City. Then as to their Guard; it is the only Method they have for protecting their Citizens againſt Houſe-Breakers, Street-Robbers, and drunken or diſſolute Fellows, who often walk the Streets with a Deſign to aſſault and beat, or abuſe, every Perſon they meet. The City of *Edinburgh* has no Watchmen, nor can they now oblige their Inhabitants to keep Watch and Ward, as was formerly the Cuſtom before their Guard was eſtabliſhed. Thus that City will be by this Bill bereft of the only Means it has of defending itſelf or protecting its Inhabitants; for which Reaſon I muſt look upon the Bill in ſome Meaſure as a Diſſolution of the Corporation; for if you take from a City all Means of defending itſelf, or protecting its Inhabitants, I am ſure it will very ſoon come to have few Inhabitants to protect, and muſt therefore at laſt ceaſe to be a City. And what is all this for, Sir? The only Pretence I have heard, is, that his Majeſty's Troops may have free Acceſs to the City, which is a Pretence I wonder to hear made uſe of by thoſe who pretend to be Sticklers for Liberty. But even this Advantage, if it be one, may be had without diveſting the City of any of its Rights or Privileges. There is no Gate between the Caſtle and the City, the Caſtle is the King's own Houſe, and if it be neceſſary his Majeſty may lodge as many of his Troops there as he pleaſes, with Orders to aſſiſt the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, when called by them for that Purpoſe.

At the Time the laſt Mob happened, I ſhall grant, Sir, neither the Gates nor the Guard of the City of *Edinburgh* were of any

great

great Service; but I am ſure neither of them was of great Prejudice; and they have both been of great Service upon former Occaſions; for by the Aſſiſtance of the Guard only many Mobs have been ſuppreſs'd, when the Magiſtrates were ſo lucky as to hear of their aſſembling, before they came to any Head; and many more have probably been prevented, conſidering the Unrulineſs of the People of that Country, which will be their Caſe, as well as it is the Caſe of every free People, as long as there is any Courage or any Spirit of Liberty left in the Country. Indeed, if you have a Mind to deſtroy the Liberties of the People of *Scotland*, other Meaſures muſt be taken; but I muſt tell you, it cannot be done, but by ſuch an Army as will leave the People of *England* very little Liberty to boaſt of. Then as to the Gates, 'tis certain, at the Time of the laſt Mob they were of no Prejudice; for if the regular Troops had had proper Orders to march into the City, they would ſoon have forced open the firſt Gate they came to; and thoſe very Gates have formerly been of ſignal Service, not only to the City of *Edinburgh* but to the whole Nation. In the Year 1715, the Gates and the Guard of the City of *Edinburgh*, for what I know, preſerved the Liberties of *Great Britain*; at leaſt they prevented their being brought ſo near the Brink of Ruin, as they would otherwiſe have been. The Attempt upon the Caſtle in the Beginning of that Rebellion, was fruſtrated by the City Guard's coming upon them, before they had got all the Ladders they had provided for Scaling the Walls: If this Attempt had ſucceeded, and never was there a Plan of Treaſon better concerted, or more ſecretly kept, conſidering the Numbers that were engaged in it, I ſay, had it ſucceeded, it would have made the Rebellion much more formidable. Soon after, a numerous Body of the Rebels came very near to the Gates of *Edinburgh*, but thoſe Gates were ſhut againſt them, and guarded by the City-Guard. As the Rebels had no proper Engines for forcing open the Gates, this prevented them from getting Poſſeſſion of that City, which, if they had, would have furniſhed them with ſo great a Proviſion of Horſes, Arms, and Ammunition, and they would have been joined by ſuch Numbers of Men, that I am afraid the King's Army muſt have decamped from *Stirling*, it not being then above 1700 Men, tho' it was called many *thouſands* in the *London Gazettes*. If this had been the Caſe, the Rebels would ſoon have got the entire Poſſeſſion of *Scotland*, and might ſoon have entered *England* with a formidable Army, which might have been of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, conſidering the great Party that was then in *England* ready to join them. Upon this Occaſion the Citizens of *Edinburgh* in general behaved with ſuch Fidelity and Steadineſs towards the preſent Royal Family, and acted with ſuch Vigour, that had they been actually guilty of the Contempt put upon the Crown by the Murder of *Porteous*, their former Services would plead for Compaſſion and Forgiveneſs from his Majeſty, and all thoſe who are Friends to his Family.

I have hitherto argued, Sir, upon the Suppoſition, that every Word of the Charge againſt the Provoſt and Citizens of *Edinburgh* is true; and even upon that Suppoſition, I think, I have ſhewn, that the Charge can no Way juſtify ſuch an extraordinary Method of Proceeding; that puniſhing the City of *Edinburgh* for the Fault of its Magiſtrates or Citizens muſt be an Injuſtice done to every private Man of that City who is innocent; that ſuch Precedents are always dangerous, and more dangerous in this Caſe than any other; that the Puniſhment propoſed to be inflicted on the Provoſt is too ſevere; that the Stripping the City of *Edinburgh* of any of its Rights or Privileges will be a Breach of the Articles of Union, and a publick Injuſtice done to the whole People of *Scotland*; that the Penalties propoſed to be inflicted on that City can be of no Service to the Publick, but on the contrary may probably be of great Prejudice both to the Publick and the City; and that, were the Citizens of *Edinburgh* really guilty of the Crimes laid to their Charge, their Services to Liberty and the Proteſtant Succeſſion may plead for Compaſſion and Forgiveneſs. Theſe Arguments, I hope, will have great Weight with every Gentleman that hears me, even ſuppoſe the Charge had been fully proved; but if it ſhould come out that no one Word of it has been proved; if it ſhould appear that the Provoſt was guilty of no Crime, nor of any Neglect or Omiſſion, but what a provident, a vigilant, and even a reſolute Magiſtrate, might have been guilty of upon the like Occaſion; if it ſhould appear that no Citizen of *Edinburgh* has been guilty of any criminal Action, or of any Omiſſion, that is in the leaſt blameable, ſurely the Arguments I have made uſe of muſt be irreſiſtible.

For this Reaſon, Sir, I muſt beg Leave to conſider the Behaviour of the Provoſt and Citizens of *Edinburgh*, according to the Proofs before us, at the *three* different Periods mentioned by the Counſel at the Bar; and firſt with reſpect to their Behaviour before this Mob happened. It has been proved by ſeveral Witneſſes of good Credit, that the Report of the Mob's being reſolved to hang *Porteous* was ſpread only among Women and Children, and that it was by all Men of Senſe treated as a fooliſh Surmiſe: Nay, it has been proved that even Mr. *Porteous* himſelf treated it as ſuch. Yet the Provoſt was ſo

vigilant as to reſolve not to treat it as ſuch, and therefore he had determined in Council, that the whole *three* Companies of the City Guard ſhould mount on the *Wedneſday*, which was the only Day he and moſt others had heard was intended, as the Day on which the Mob were to attempt executing their wicked Purpoſe; and he had determined farther in Council, that on that Day both he and the other Magiſtrates, as alſo the whole Members of the Town-Council, ſhou'd attend with the Badges of their reſpective Offices, in order to ſtrike the Populace with the more Awe, and to be ready to quell any Mob that ſhould begin to appear. The Provoſt therefore cannot at this Period be accuſed of any Neglect or Omiſſion; and as for the Citizens, it has not been proved that any of them had certain Information of ſuch a Deſign, and concealed that Information: Thoſe who heard any Thing of it, heard it only from fooliſh Women and Children; and they were ſo far from concealing, that they told publickly what they had heard, which was all they could do upon any ſuch Information.

Then, Sir, with reſpect to the Behaviour of the Provoſt and Citizens at the Time the Tumult happened, and during the Time it laſted: It has been proved that the Moment he heard a Tumult was beginning, he ordered the Captain of the Guard then on Duty to draw out his Men, and not only reſolved, but preſently followed the Captain, to put himſelf at the Head of the Guard; which was more than could be expected from a Man of his Age and Education. But in this brave Reſolution he was diſappointed by the Mob's having got Poſſeſſion of the Guard. Upon this, what did he do? Did he run and hide himſelf, as many would have done upon finding that the Mob were Maſters of the Town? No, Sir, he remained in the Street, he conſulted with his Fellow-Magiſtrates, and in the very Face of the Mob, tho' not, I am ſure, to their Hearing, he gave thoſe Orders which by the whole Company were thought the moſt proper, and, indeed, the only Orders that could be given: He ſent an Hon. Gentleman of this Houſe for the Aſſiſtance of the King's Troops; he likewiſe ſent one of the Magiſtrates upon the ſame Meſſage, leſt the firſt ſhould be intercepted; and he ſent a third Gentleman after the firſt, in order to explain and add to the Orders firſt given. As the Provoſt was no military Man, nor knew exactly the commanding Officer's Inſtructions, he had all the Reaſon in the World to expect a verbal Meſſage, ſent by a Gentleman of ſuch Diſtinction, would, at ſuch a Conjuncture, have been ſucceſsful, eſpecially as the Meſſenger was well known to the Commanding Officer. Therefore if he had done no more, if he had quietly waited at the Tavern, or ſome other more private Place, in expectation of the Aſſiſtance he had ſent for, his Conduct would have been blameleſs. But this he did not reſt ſatisfied with, he ſent for the Act of Parliament againſt Riots, in order that he might read the Proclamation as ſoon as he could find an Opportunity; with the few Perſons he had along with him, he made two ſeveral fruitleſs Attempts to diſperſe the Mob; he puſhed theſe Attempts as far as any Man of Prudence and Courage would have done, according to all the Witneſſes that have been examined, except one whoſe Evidence is, in my Opinion, ſuſpicious. He did not retire till after ſome of his Company were wounded, and the Mob began to call out to fire. I am, indeed, ſurprized that ſome of his Company did not loſe their Lives: If it had not been the moſt regular and the moſt ſedate Mob I ever heard of, I am ſure ſome of them would; and tho' the Purpoſe of that Mob was certainly moſt wicked and atrocious, yet to the Honour of the lower Rank of People in that Country I muſt ſay, I am ſurprized, conſidering they were for ſo long a Time Maſters of a rich and opulent City, that no more Murders, nor any Rape or Robbery, were committed. Notwithſtanding theſe fruitleſs Attempts, the Provoſt did not deſpair of being able to quell the Mob, and prevent Miſchief: When he ſaw the regular Troops did not come to his Aſſiſtance, he propoſed to raiſe the Train'd Bands of the City; but in this he was diſappointed by the Wife of that Perſon who had the keeping of the Muſter Rolls, and who, it ſeems, was himſelf at that Time in the Keeping of his Wife; for ſhe would not allow any Perſon to ſpeak to him, nor deliver him any Meſſage. Beſides he could get no Acceſs to the City Magazine of Arms; ſo that if he had got the Muſter Rolls, he could not arm the Militia. Then he propoſed to ring the Alarm Bell; but in this likewiſe the Mob had taken Care to diſappoint him, by having taken Poſſeſſion of the Tower or Steeple in which it hung. And when all his Deſigns proved abortive, when he ſaw it was impoſſible to prevent the Miſchief intended; he then ſent out Spies to intermix among the Mob, in order to diſcover who were the Actors. From all which I muſt beg leave to ſay, Sir, with all due Reſpect to the Bill now before us, that in this Period of Time, the Provoſt of *Edinburgh* deſerves, in my Opinion, the Thanks rather than the Cenſures of Parliament; and as to the Citizens, it has been proved, that ſeveral of them came to the Aſſiſtance of the Provoſt, and with him endeavoured to quell the Tumult to the imminent Danger of their Lives; and as none of the Faces of thoſe principally concerned in the Tumult, could be known, either by thoſe ſent out by the Provoſt with a View to make ſuch Diſcoveries, nor by a worthy Member

of our own Houſe, who has long reſided in that City, and has with great Honour and Reputation gone thro' all the chief Offices in it; notwithſtanding his having met Crowds of them going out of Town, as he returned from the Commanding Officer of the Troops; I ſay, as none of the Actors guilty Faces could be known by either of thoſe Perſons, it is to me a full Proof, no Citizen of *Edinburgh* was concerned in the Riot.

Laſtly, Sir, as to the Behaviour of the Provoſt and Citizens after the Riot, I am ſurprized to hear it found fault with, ſince no Fact has been proved, no Neglect or Omiſſion has been ſo much as mentioned by any of the Witneſſes, from which the leaſt Pretence can be taken, to blame the Conduct of either; and the Attorney and Sollicitor General for *Scotland*, two Members of your own Houſe, have teſtified for the Lord Provoſt that he was zealous, indefatigable, and keen, in promoting whatever could contribute to the Diſcovery of any of the Rioters or Murderers. They have told you, that near 200 Perſons were examined upon this Occaſion, without being able to diſcover, or to form ſo much as a Suſpicion, that any one Citizen of *Edinburgh* was any way concerned in the Riot, except one poor Apprentice Boy, who had made his Eſcape, and has never ſince been heard of. I am really at a Loſs to conceive, what Gentlemen would have had the Provoſt or the Citizens of *Edinburgh* to have done upon this Occaſion. No Gentlemen can think the Provoſt ought to have put his Citizens to the Torture, in order to make them confeſs what they knew nothing of? Thank God! Our Laws allow of no ſuch arbitrary and cruel Proceedings. Or do Gentlemen think the Citizens of *Edinburgh* ought to have come and accuſed one another, without the leaſt Ground for any ſuch Accuſation? I muſt ſay, I am ſurprized, the great Reward that was offered has not produced a true Information; but, I thank God! it has not produced a falſe one.

The Citizens of *Edinburgh*, Sir, are ſo far from being under any juſt Suſpicion of having been concerned in this audacious Riot and cruel Murder, that the contrary, I think, appears from all the Circumſtances that have been proved, and from the Evidence of all the Witneſſes that were examined at *Edinburgh*, or that have ſince been examined at this Bar. It appears that all the principal Actors were Country Fellows, whoſe Faces were not known to any of the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, either high or low; and it has been proved at your Bar, that there was a Report in the Country about *Edinburgh*, eſpecially at *Dalkieth*, a Village *five* Miles from *Edinburgh*, and ſituate in a Country full of Coal Mines and Colliers, who are a Sort of People very proper for ſuch a deſperate Attempt; I ſay it has been proved, that, at that Place, there was a Report, 10 or 12 Days before the Tumult happened, that a Conſpiracy to murder *Porteous*, if reprieved, had been formed by the Friends of one *Ballantine*, a young Man of that Town, who was one of the Perſons murdered by *Porteous* and his Guard, at the Execution of *Wilſon*. Theſe two Circumſtances make it highly probable, that the principal Actors in this Riot and Murder, were Country Fellows, who had ſtole into *Edinburgh* for that Purpoſe; and this riotous and rebellious Spirit of theirs does not proceed from any Oppreſſion in the Governors or civil Magiſtrates of that Country, as has been ſtrongly inſinuated, but from a few fanatical Preachers, lately ſtarted up in that Country, who by their Sermons and otherwiſe, inſtil into the Minds of the Vulgar and Ignorant ſuch enthuſiaſtical Notions as are inconſiſtent with all Government, by making Sedition and Rebellion a Principle of their Religion. * From this Cauſe I am inclined to think, the Tumult at *Edinburgh* proceeded; and to this is owing that ill-judged Fidelity of the Guilty towards one another, by which the Secret was before the Execution made impenetrable, and by which the Diſcovery of the Perſons concerned has ſince been rendered impoſſible. But of the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, I am convinced, there are very few tainted with ſuch Principles, becauſe they ſeldom or never hear any ſuch Doctrines.

I confeſs, Sir, it appears a little odd, that ſuch an audacious Tumult ſhould have happened, ſuch a wicked Purpoſe ſhould have been ſo ſucceſsfully perpetrated in the City of *Edinburgh*, without any Fault or Neglect in any of the Perſons entruſted with the Government of that City; but after the moſt impartial Enquiry, I can find no Reaſon to blame the Conduct of any of them, except the Captain of the City Guard. He, indeed, by the Evidence he has given at this Bar, has ſhewn himſelf blameable in ſeveral Parts of his Conduct. He has told us, that on the *Friday* before the Mob happened, the Provoſt gave him Orders to enquire into the Grounds of the Report that had been ſpread; but he was ſo far from complying with theſe Orders, that he went out of Town that very Evening, and did not return till the *Monday* Evening. He has told us there were 8 or 9 of his Men abſent the very Night the

* *This Obſervation was made by his G—ce the D—ke of A——le, who has been ſcandalouſly miſrepreſented in the* Gentleman's Magazine *for* October, *Page* 607. *Col.* 2. *as if his G—ce had thrown a Reflection upon the whole Clergy of* Scotland, *which he was certainly as far from intending, as they are from deſerving.*

Mob

Mob happened; and whether with Leave or without Leave, it was certainly his Fault they were so. He has told us, that when he was first informed of the Mob's gathering, instead of marching with a Party of his Guard to disperse them, which by the Custom of that City he ought to have done; for in such Cases he was not to wait for Orders from the Provost or any other Magistrate; I say instead of marching to disperse the Mob upon its first Appearance, or instead of staying to defend his Guard House against whatever might happen, he left his Post, he ran away both from the Mob and from his Post, under Pretence of going to acquaint the Provost with what had happened. Was this acting like an Officer? Does not every Gentleman see that this Conduct of his was the Cause of the Mob's getting Possession of the Guard Room, which greatly contributed to their Success; for if they had been disappointed in this their first Attempt, it would have discouraged them so, that they might probably have despaired of being able to execute, and consequently would have desisted from attempting any farther to execute, their chief Purpose. It is no Excuse for the Captain, that the Provost desired him to return to him. That Desire was no Order, and if it had, it was given upon a Supposition of no immediate Danger. When the Captain heard the Mob was up, and his Guard of Consequence in Danger, surely he ought not to have left his Post; he might have sent his Serjeant for Orders from the Provost. To this I must add, that the Keeper of the City Muster Rolls seems likewise to be greatly to blame; for if at other Times he was usually under Peticoat Orders, at such a Time, at a Time when the City was in such Danger, as he seems to have had some Share in the Government of that City, he ought to have put himself under the Orders of the chief Magistrate, and ought to have attended him for that Purpose.

I think I need not now, Sir, add any Thing in Favour of the *three* first Amendments proposed; for if I have not said enough for inducing Gentlemen to drop or throw out the Bill now before us, I hope, I have said enough for convincing every Gentleman that hears me, that the first three Amendments proposed, ought to be agreed to; and as to the Fine proposed to be laid on the City of *Edinburgh*, I cannot see the least Pretence for it; for I think it has been proved, as much as a Negative will admit of Proof, that the Citizens of *Edinburgh* had not the least Concern in the Riot that happened, or the Murder that was committed; and I think it appears that the Magistrates did as much as Men in their Circumstances could do, to prevent the Mischief that ensued. Besides this, I think it a dangerous Precedent to lay Fines or Mulcts on a City, for an Irregularity committed in the City, when it is proved that none of the Citizens had any Hand in the Committing of that Irregularity; and if the Citizens of *Edinburgh* could be supposed to have been guilty of this Irregularity, I think the Fine proposed by much too considerable, with respect to the Circumstances of the City, which deserve the more to be regarded, because it has been proved, the low Circumstances they are now in proceed from the loyal and vigorous Measures they pursued in the Year 1715; and with respect to the Condition of the Person that was murdered, and the Person to whose Use this Fine is to be applied, I cannot help thinking it excessive; therefore I hope this Amendment will be entirely dropt, or the Fine very much mitigated.

Before I conclude, Sir, I must beg of Gentlemen to consider the dangerous Consequences of this Bill as to the Peace and Tranquillity of *Scotland*, and consequently of the whole Island. The Generality of the People there are already extremely uneasy at the proposing of such a Bill, and at several Steps that have been taken *in relation* to it. If the Bill should pass as it is at present; if the City of *Edinburgh*, the principal City of *Scotland*, should be stript of any of its Rights or Privileges, without any Regard shewn to its former Services, however such a Step may be look'd on here, it will certainly be look'd on by the whole People of *Scotland* as a Breach of the Articles of Union, and may probably make them ready to embrace the first Opportunity of getting rid of the Bargain they have made; which many of the People of that Country never thought either honourable, safe, or advantageous for them; and if they should once begin to think the Parliament of *Great Britain* has no Regard for the Articles upon which it was made, none of them will ever think it so.

To this 'twas answered in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, As what has been said in Favour of the Amendments proposed chiefly consists in Reasons against the Bill itself, I shall consider them in that Light, because if I can shew there is nothing in the Bill but what is just and necessary, I shall at the same Time convince Gentlemen, that the Bill ought to be passed, and that the Amendments ought not to be agreed to. 'Tis true, the Charge against the Provost and Citizens of *Edinburgh*, consists in their neglecting to prevent the Tumult before it happened; in their neglecting to suppress it, or to take proper Measures for that Purpose, after it had happened; and in their neglecting to discover, apprehend, and secure those who were guilty of that audacious Riot, and cruel Murder. But this Charge, which is the Foundation of the Bill, is not to be considered as Neg-

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Negligence only; for he who does not prevent a Crime which he might, and ought to have prevented, has always in Law been look'd on, as ſome Way guilty of that very Crime; therefore, if it ſhould appear, that the Magiſtrates and Citizens of *Edinburgh* might, and ought to have prevented this Tumult, or rather Inſurrection; or that they might and ought to have ſuppreſſed it; or that they might and ought to have diſcovered, apprehended, and ſecured the Rioters and Murderers; if it ſhould appear that they neglected any of thoſe Meaſures which were obvious for accompliſhing either of theſe Ends; the Neglect muſt then be look'd on as a Sort of wilful Neglect, and conſequently they muſt be look'd on as guilty in ſome Meaſure of all thoſe Crimes which were committed; and to every Gentleman who conſiders their Caſe in this Light, the Puniſhments propoſed by this Bill muſt appear merciful as well as mild.

It is with Pleaſure, Sir, I obſerve, that every one who has ſpoke upon the preſent Occaſion, has expreſſed the utmoſt Deteſtation of the Authors and Actors of that audacious Tumult and cruel Murder, which was not only an Inſult upon Majeſty, but an open Rebellion againſt Juſtice, a Rebellion even againſt Mercy itſelf. This makes the Crime the more heinous, and the more extraordinary. In all Ages, in all Countries, the People have generally been on the Side of Mercy. Here in *England* we have often ſeen, that a Criminal has, by this merciful Inclination of the People, been reſcued from what they thought a too great Severity in the Laws; but the People of *Scotland* are, it ſeems, of another Temper. In no other Country, I believe, was it ever heard of, that, when the Mercy of a Sovereign has been extended to a Criminal, the People have fruſtrated that Mercy, by barbarouſly dragging him before the Tribunal of their own Inhumanity, and embrewing their Hands in his Blood. This is an Action of ſo black a Dye, that I think a perpetual Brand of Infamy ought to be ſtamped upon thoſe Magiſtrates who heard of ſo barbarous a Deſign, and yet were ſo indolent (to call them no worſe) as to make no Preparations, nor uſe any proper Meaſures, for preventing it; and upon thoſe Citizens, who, while it was perpetrating, had no Courage, nor, it ſeems, Inclination, to prevent it; and who, when it was over, were ſo faithful to Rebellion and Murder, as to conceal the Authors and Abettors of it.

Sir, when I hear Gentlemen ſo unanimous in their Deteſtation of ſo horrid, ſo audacious, and ſo extraordinary a Crime, I am ſurprized to hear ſome Gentlemen find fault with any extraordinary Method that can be taken, or deviſed for puniſhing it. But the Bill now before us is neither an extraordinary nor an unuſual Method of Proceeding. It is a Method that has always been taken for puniſhing Crimes of an extraordinary Nature; and it is a Method ſo uſual, that Examples occur almoſt in every Seſſion. The Act of Parliament paſſed in the Year 1721, againſt the *South-Sea* Directors in the Year 1720; the Acts for inflicting Pains and Penalties upon the late Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and his Confederates in Treaſon; the Act againſt *Bambridge*, the Deputy-Warden of the *Fleet-Priſon*; the Act againſt the late Directors and Managers of the *Charitable Corporation*, are Examples ſo freſh in every Gentleman's Memory, that I need not take up your Time with explaining or applying them. Only as to the firſt and laſt I muſt obſerve, that ſome Gentlemen were puniſhed for being guilty of Neglect only; and I muſt likewiſe obſerve that ſome Gentlemen have appeared zealous againſt this Bill, who were ſtrenuous Advocates for every one of the former.

In order, Sir, to form another Objection againſt this Bill, a new Doctrine has been broached, which I am likewiſe not a little ſurprized at. It has been ſaid, that it would be unjuſt to involve the Innocent in the ſame Puniſhment with the Guilty, which muſt always be the Caſe when you puniſh a Corporation or Community for the Crimes or the Faults of ſome of its Inhabitants or Members. Does not every Gentleman ſee, that if this were eſtabliſhed as a Maxim, no Puniſhment could ever be inflicted, no Cenſure could ever be paſſed, upon any Corporation or Community whatſoever? Puniſhments are ſometimes deſigned as a Terror to others, as well as for puniſhing the Guilty; and to make that Terror the more effectual for the End intended, which is to prevent Peoples being guilty of ſuch a Crime, it ſome Times, or in ſome Caſes, becomes neceſſary, to make ſome innocent Perſons ſuffer for the Crimes of the Guilty. Is not this the Caſe with reſpect to Treaſon, where the innocent Poſterity are made to ſuffer for the Crimes of the guilty Anceſtor, in order to terrify Men the more effectually from being guilty of any treaſonable Practices? For the ſame Reaſon, the innocent Members of a Community muſt be ſometimes made to ſuffer for the Crimes of the Guilty; becauſe ſuch an Example will make every Member of every Community more active and vigilant in preventing their fellow Members from being guilty of any Crime, or in diſcovering the Authors, and bringing them to condign Puniſhment, after any Crime has been committed. This is a Maxim in Politicks ſo juſt and neceſſary, that we have Multitudes of Examples upon our Journals, where Cities and Corporations have not only been fined, but have been annihilated,

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nihilated, or ſtript of their moſt valuable Rights and Privileges, for Crimes in which it could not be ſuppoſed that all the Inhabitants were voluntarily aſſiſting, or any way concerned *.

We have been not only told, Sir, that this Bill is unjuſt with reſpect to private Men, by involving the Innocent in the ſame Puniſhment with the Guilty; but we have likewiſe been told, that it is a Breach of the Law of Nations, and an Injuſtice done to the whole People of *Scotland*. The former Charge I have ſhewn to be without any Foundation; becauſe it is often neceſſary for the Preſervation and Welfare of Society, to make the Innocent ſuffer for the Crimes of the Guilty; and now I ſhall beg leave to examine the latter. There is no Man has a greater Regard for the People of *Scotland* and for the Articles of Union than I have. I ſhall never give my Conſent to any Thing that may ſeem to be an Injury to the one, or an Infringement of the other. But in the preſent Caſe, I can ſee no Ground for pretending that this Bill imports a Breach of any Article of the Union, or that it will be an Injury to the Whole or any Part of the People of *Scotland*. The Rights and Privileges of the Royal Boroughs of *Scotland* are, 'tis true, ſecured by the 21ſt Article of the Treaty of Union; but as the United Kingdom is, by the *third* Article of the ſame Treaty, made ſubject to the ſame Parliament or legiſlative Power, a Condition muſt be ſuppoſed to be implied in every Article, for making it liable to ſuch Alterations as the Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhall afterwards think neceſſary for the Preſervation, or even for the Good of the Whole. Upon this Maxim it certainly was, that the Right of Patronages was reſtored in *Scotland*, by a Parliament ſince the Union; tho' there is nothing more firmly and more unalterably eſtabliſhed by the Articles of Union, than the Preſbyterian Church Government, Religion, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Privileges, as they ſtood eſtabliſhed at the Time of the Union. And tho' we were to ſuppoſe no ſuch Condition implied in this Article, yet the Security thereby ſtipulated can relate only to thoſe Rights and Privileges which are eſſential to the Whole, or to any one of the Royal Boroughs in *Scotland*. It cannot be ſuppoſed to mean, that the Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhall never be able to make the leaſt Alteration or Amendment, with reſpect to any Right or Privilege, which any one Royal Borough was then in Poſſeſſion of. And much leſs can it be ſuppoſed to mean, that the Parliament of *Great Britain* ſhall never have it in its Power to puniſh, or even to diſfranchiſe, any Royal Borough in *Scotland* for the moſt heinous Crime it can be guilty of. This Bill cannot therefore be ſuppoſed to be a Breach of any Article of the Union; and as to the People of *Scotland*, it is certainly their Intereſt, it is what all good Men muſt deſire, to live in Peace and Security; therefore no Step taken, nor any Puniſhment inflicted, with a View only to prevent Mobs and Riots, can be an Injury to the Whole or any Part of the People of that Country.

As for the City Guard, and the *Nether-Bow* Gate, they are ſo far from being among the eſſential Rights and Privileges of the City of *Edinburgh*, that I really look upon them both as Nuſances; and as to the former, it is ſo far from being an eſſential Right or Privilege, that we know it was but lately eſtabliſhed; it was eſtabliſhed ſince the Revolution; and ever ſince it was eſtabliſhed it has been found to be a great Expence, and of very little Service to the City; ſo that tho' thoſe two Regulations are put into this Bill by Way of Puniſhments, I really look upon them as Favours done to that City; becauſe the Taking away of the Guard will free the City of a great Expence; and the laying open the *Nether-Bow Port* will open a free Paſſage to the King's Troops, to come to the Aſſiſtance of the Magiſtrates when required, which will be a better Defence to the Inhabitants than they have ever yet found in their Guard. As the King's Troops are not to be admitted to keep Guard in the City, as they are not to enter it but when required by the Magiſtrates, they cannot, 'tis true, defend them againſt Houſe-Breakers, Street-Robbers, or little Inſults in the Streets; but for this Purpoſe they may keep Watch and Ward as formerly, or they may appoint Watchmen, as we have in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. And with reſpect to the Revenue of the City, it cannot now be collected without keeping Officers at the Gates, and by them the City Revenue may be collected, and Smuggling prevented, as well when the Gates are open, as when they are ſhut.

I am, indeed, ſurprized to hear it ſaid, Sir, that neither the *Nether-Bow* Gate nor the City Guard were of any Service to the late Tumult, or contributed any Way to encourage it. The Mob probably did not know how eaſily a Gate might be blown open by that warlike Engine called a *Petard*, nor do I know if the King's Troops in the *Cannon-gate* were furniſhed with any ſuch; therefore we muſt ſuppoſe the Mob put great Confidence in their being able to ſhut the Gates, in order to prevent the Troops from entering; and their Attack upon the Guard proceeded more from a View of Seizing upon the Soldiers Arms, than from any Fear of them; in

* *Many of theſe Precedents were quoted, but we have not Room to repeat them.*

which

which they had moſt ſurprizing Succeſs: From which, I think, I may juſtly conclude, that the City Gates contributed greatly to encourage the Mob to undertake ſo bold an Attempt, and that the City Guard was of great Service to them in the Execution of it.

I ſhall grant, Sir, a Barricade may be ſoon made by a numerous Mob, even in a wide Street, eſpecially if they have concerted their Plan ſo well as this Mob ſeems to have done; but no Barricade can be ſo ſoon made as a Gate may be ſhut, and the Shutting of a Gate may protect them till they have made their Barricade; which this Mob would certainly have done, had they thought how eaſily a Gate might be blown up, or had they been under the leaſt Suſpicion that the regular Troops would have been ſent for in a regular Manner. I ſhall likewiſe grant that his Majeſty, if he pleaſes, may lodge as many Troops in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, as it can conveniently contain, and may give ſuch Orders to thoſe Troops as he thinks proper and legal; nay, we may, I believe, even addreſs his Majeſty for that Purpoſe; tho' I do not know if it would be quite ſo regular, becauſe it would be ſome Sort of Incroachment upon that Part of the Prerogative, by which his Majeſty muſt always have the abſolute Command over his Army. But when we are by a Bill to provide for the Safety of a City, we are not to conſider what his Majeſty may do, or what he may do upon an Addreſs from this Houſe; becauſe tho' it ſhould now be done, it may hereafter be neglected; and, I hope, no Gentleman ſuppoſes, we ought to put a Clauſe in this Bill, for obliging his Majeſty to lodge a Regiment of his Troops always in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, with Orders to leave their Gariſon as often as the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* ſhall require.

That the City of *Edinburgh* ſhewed great Fidelity and Attachment to their Sovereign in the Year 1715, I ſhall be far from diſputing; but, Sir, it was their Duty to do ſo; it was their Intereſt; they would have ſuffered irreparably if they had done otherwiſe; they would have betrayed their own Liberties and Properties, as well as thoſe of the whole Nation; therefore they cannot, from their Services at that Time, plead a full Pardon for a moſt heinous Offence lately committed: They may from thence plead for a Mitigation of the Puniſhment they deſerve; and I am ſure there is no Puniſhment in this Bill equal to what ſuch a high Inſult upon the Crown ought to meet with. But whatever Stead their Guard or their Gates might ſtand them in upon that Occaſion, ſurely a Regiment of his Majeſty's Troops will always ſtand them in better Stead than their Guard; and if a Barricade be as good a Defence as a Gate, even in Caſe of a Rebellion, they can be in no Danger from having one of their Gates laid open. For my Part, I am apt to think neither their Guard nor their Gates would at that Time have defended them from the Rebels, if his Majeſty's Troops had not marched ſpeedily to their Aſſiſtance; and therefore, that City, as well as the whole Nation, muſt own their Obligations to the noble Duke, who then commanded at *Stirling*; who, notwithſtanding his having ſo ſmall a Number of Troops under his Command, notwithſtanding his being attacked by two Armies of Rebels at once, one of them much ſuperior, and the other very near equal to him in Number, yet managed ſo much like a brave and expert Commander, as to ſecure both the Capital of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the important Paſs at *Stirling*, againſt all the Deſigns and Stratagems of the Enemy.

With reſpect to the Provoſt, Sir, 'tis true, the Puniſhment preſcribed by the Bill might be made very expenſive and inconvenient to him, if we had the Misfortune to be under a ſevere or revengeful Adminiſtration. But this Misfortune cannot happen to us during his preſent Majeſty's Reign; therefore we need not be ſo cautious of putting it in the Power of the Crown to aggravate the Puniſhment: Nor ought this to be a Precedent to any future Parliament, if they have the leaſt Ground to ſuſpect the Power to be granted would be made a cruel Uſe of; but I am far from thinking ſuch a Power could be legally made ſuch an Uſe of as has been repreſented. The Priſoner may, indeed, be removed from one Priſon to another, as often as the Secretary of State ſhall direct; but I do not think he could be loaded with Irons, unleſs he ſhould attempt to make his Eſcape; nor do I think he could be denied the Uſe of Pen, Ink, and Paper, nor could his Friends be denied Acceſs to him; ſo that it would always be in his Power to let his Friends know where he was a going; and he might ſee them as often as he had a Mind.

Thus, Sir, if the Charge againſt the Provoſt and Citizens of *Edinburgh* be true, I think, I have ſhewn, there is nothing extraordinary in this Method of Proceeding; there is no Injuſtice either private or publick in the Bill, nor can it be looked on as any Infringement of the Articles of Union; and I have likewiſe, I think, ſhewn, there is no Severity in any of the Puniſhments that are to be inflicted, nor any Thing that appears in the leaſt ridiculous; but I am ſure it would be very ridiculous to paſs a Bill with ſuch a Preamble, a Preamble which muſt make every Reader expect the higheſt Pains and Penalties to follow, and yet to inflict no Pain or Penalty by that Bill, except only the rendering one Gentleman incapable of holding any Office or Place of Magiſtracy. Of ſuch a Bill it might be properly ſaid, *Parturiunt Montes*,

Montes, &c. Therefore if the Charge be true, I hope every one of the Amendments will be disagreed to.

And now, Sir, give me Leave to examine the Truth of the Charge, which I ſhall conſider diſtinctly according to the three Periods that have been mentioned. As to the Behaviour of the Provoſt and other Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, before the Tumult happened: 'Tis true, we have no poſitive Proof of the Provoſt's having been apprized of the Mob's intending to execute their Purpoſe on the *Tueſday* Night; but if he was not, it was certainly owing to his ſupine Indolence and Inattention; for it has been proved, that *Tueſday* Night was generally talked of, as the Time appointed. *Baily* and *Din* are both poſitive as to this Fact; and by an authentick Copy of an Examination upon Oath, taken before an honourable and learned Gentleman I have in my Eye, after that Tumult, it appears that the Deponent ſwore to this Effect, or rather in theſe Words, That on the *Thurſday* or *Friday* before that Tumult happened, a Man came into his Maſter's Shop, and informed both him and his Fellow-Servant, that *Tueſday*, then, next was the Day appointed for revenging innocent Blood, and that he hoped they, the Deponent and his Fellow-Servant, would not fail to attend, and aſſiſt thoſe who were to hang the bloody Murderer *Porteous*, by *ten* o'Clock at Night, upon the Signal given, which was to be a Ruff of a Drum. From hence it appears, that if the Provoſt and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* were ignorant of the Deſign's being intended to be executed on the *Tueſday* Night, they were very little inquiſitive or concerned about the Peace and Welfare of their City.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, they heard nothing of its being intended to be executed before *Wedneſday*, did they take any Meaſures to prevent it on that Day? They ſay they had reſolved to do great Things; but can it be pretended they had actually done any Thing? Even on the *Tueſday* Night they had given no Orders, nor had they diſtributed Ammunition to their own Guard. Conſidering the Report that was ſpread, conſidering the violent Malice the Populace ſhewed againſt *Porteous* at his Trial; ſurely the Magiſtrates had as great Reaſon to call the regular Troops to their Aſſiſtance at that Time, as at the Execution of *Wilſon*; they had no other Reaſon for calling them at that Time but a general Rumour; they had no certain Information of an intended Reſcue. As they had ſome Information of a Deſign to murder *Porteous* on the *Wedneſday*, they ought certainly to have begun to provide againſt it on *Tueſday* in the Afternoon. Their whole Guard ſhould have begun at that Time to be upon Duty, and a Detachment of the regular Troops ought certainly to have been called in on the *Tueſday* at Noon, and kept there till the *Thurſday* at Noon. But there were other Methods by which they might have prevented the Deſign, without putting themſelves to this Trouble. They might have removed *Porteous* to the Caſtle, or to the *Cannon-Gate* Priſon, in both which Places he would have been ſafe againſt the utmoſt Efforts of the Mob. If the Magiſtrates had but placed a ſmall Detachment of their Guard in the Tolbooth; or had they placed a Detachment in the Juſticiary Room, which commands the Priſon Gate, the Mob could not have forced the Gate, they would have been expoſed to a continual Fire, by which they muſt have been killed as faſt as they approached. In ſhort, Sir, ſo many Methods might have been taken for preventing this Tumult and Murder, ſo many eaſy and obvious Means were neglected, that I muſt ſay I have ſome Suſpicion, the Provoſt, or ſome of thoſe who had the Guidance of him, were fully apprized of this ſeditious Deſign, and that they were reſolved to connive at it, or at leaſt not to take any effectual Means for preventing it.

Then, Sir, as to their Behaviour during the Time of the Riot: The Provoſt muſt have known, at leaſt he ought to have ſuſpected, a verbal Meſſage would not be a ſufficient Authority for the Commanding Officer to march to his Aſſiſtance. There was no Fault in ſending the Hon. Gentleman I have in my Eye with a verbal Meſſage to the General; and his undertaking ſuch a dangerous and difficult Errand, ſhewed his Zeal for the Honour of the Crown and the Service of his Country. But the Provoſt ought not to have reſted ſatisfied with this; as ſoon as he returned to the Tavern, he ought to have wrote a Letter to the General, poſitively requiring his Aſſiſtance, and impowering him to uſe whatever Means he ſhould think proper for forcing his Way into the Town: Of this Letter he ought to have wrote *half a Dozen* of Copies, and to have ſent off a ſeparate Meſſenger with each; in order that if one failed the other might make his Way good; for there were ſeveral Ways of getting out of the Town, beſides going out at the Gates; and in many Places a Man may, with very little Aſſiſtance, get out over the City Walls.

But, Sir, I ſhould be glad to know, why the Provoſt did not ſend for Aſſiſtance from the Caſtle; the Commanding Officer has told us he ſtood ready prepared with the beſt Part of his Gariſon, and with proper Inſtruments for quelling a Mob, and would have marched to the Aſſiſtance of the Magiſtrates, if they had ſent for him. This Aſſiſtance was much nearer than that in the *Cannon-Gate*, and no Gates or Barricades to prevent a Meſſenger's getting thither. The

Neglecting to ſend for this Aſſiſtance I muſt look on as a ſupine, if not a deſigned Neglect; and the Neglecting to read the Proclamation I muſt look on as another Piece of Neglect of the ſame Nature; for tho' the Troops had come from the *Cannon-Gate*, the Proclamation not having been read before-hand, the Troops muſt have remained inactive for an Hour after their Arrival, and in that Time the Mob might have executed their bloody Purpoſe. We have been told of the brave Efforts the Provoſt, and thoſe with him, made to quell the Mob; but one of the Witneſſes, I mean *Stewart*, has given us a quite different Account; for he has told us that he and *three* or *four* more diſarmed ſome of the Mob, and with thoſe very Arms drove them to ſome Diſtance; and that if they had been vigorouſly ſupported by the Provoſt and his Company, they might probably have drove the Mob quite away from the Priſon. From hence, I ſuppoſe, the Provoſt's Efforts to ſuppreſs the Mob were not very ſtrenuous; nor, indeed, does it ſeem probable, ſince no dangerous Wound was received by any one of either of the Parties engaged.

Laſtly, Sir, Let us conſider the Behaviour of the Provoſt and Magiſtrates after the Tumult. We have been told, he ſent out Perſons to intermix with the Mob, in order to diſcover the Rioters; but what was the Conſequence? One of thoſe very Perſons came back, and ſaid he knew one of them; and accordingly, it ſeems, told his Name: But was the Man thus named ever taken up or proſecuted? I ſhould be glad to know what is become of him; for if he has not made his Eſcape, ſurely he ought to have been apprehended and proſecuted long before thir Time. Then after the Murder was actually committed, and the Mob generally diſperſed, we have been told that ſome of the Magiſtrates went and ſaw ſeveral of the Rioters then ſtanding about the murdered Perſon, and that they actually ſeized one of them; but what then? They let him go again, upon this Pretence, that they had no Priſon to put him in. Had not they their Guard-Room? Might not they have put him into a Chamber in any private Houſe, with two or three City Officers to guard him? Might not they have ſent him to the Caſtle? Might not they have ſent him to the *Cannon-Gate* Priſon or Guard-Room? Sir, there were many Ways to have ſecured him, if thoſe who ſeized him had had an unfeigned Inclination to do ſo.

Now, Sir, as to the Behaviour of the Citizens at thoſe ſeveral Periods. As the Report was common among them before the Tumult happened; if all of them had not favoured the Deſign, ſome of them would certainly have been at the Pains to trace it a little, and would have warned the Magiſtrates of their Danger. When Journeymen and Servants were ſo publickly invited to aſſiſt, and were informed of the Day, the Hour, and the Signal, we can hardly ſuppoſe their Maſters remained utterly ignorant of the Deſign; therefore we muſt ſuppoſe it was favoured by Maſters as well as Servants. Then during the Tumult, we have been told, there were not above 40 or 50 actually concerned in the Murder, and that there were at leaſt 1500, ſome ſay 4 or 5000, in the Streets; moſt of theſe muſt have been Citizens, and were not they criminally paſſive, to allow ſuch a Handful of Men to commit ſuch a horrid Murder in the Heart of their City, without the leaſt Oppoſition? Were they not ſtill more criminal for not joining their Provoſt and Magiſtrates, when they ſaw them in the Streets, endeavouring to ſuppreſs the Tumult? And ſuppoſing all the principal Actors were Country-Fellows, it can hardly be ſuppoſed but ſome of them muſt have been known by ſome of the vaſt Multitudes of Citizens that were in the Streets. But thoſe Citizens were afterwards as faithful in concealing the Murderers, as they had before been paſſive in allowing them to commit the Murder.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I think it will appear, the Charge is true in every Article; therefore I muſt be of Opinion, we ought to paſs the Bill as it is; but if you agree to the *three* firſt Amendments propoſed, if you leave the City their Gate and their Guard; you muſt agree to the 4th Amendment propoſed; you muſt ſubject the City to a Fine at leaſt: Surely, you would not paſs a Bill, the Preamble of which lays ſuch a heavy Charge upon the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, without inflicting any one Puniſhment upon thoſe Citizens. The ſubjecting them to a Fine can no Way be ſuppoſed to be a Breach of the Articles of Union, or any Way unjuſt. There are many Examples of this Sort of Juſtice in *England*. A Townſhip is to be amerced, if they ſuffer a Murderer to eſcape. The Hundred makes good the Damage to a Perſon robbed within the Hundred; and by a late Statute, a City, Town, or Hundred, may be obliged to make good the Damage, if a Church, Chapel, or Meeting-Houſe, be riotouſly demoliſhed. Even in *Scotland*, we know that the Magiſtrates of *Glaſgow* were all carried Priſoners to *Edinburgh*, and the City afterwards fined in a very large Sum, by Act of Parliament, on Account of a Riot, which happened in that City. There cannot therefore be any Thing unjuſt or extraordinary in ſubjecting the City of *Edinburgh* to a Fine; and conſidering the Atrociouſneſs of the Crime, I am ſure the Fine propoſed cannot be ſaid to be too much.

As to any Apprehenſions Gentlemen may pretend to have of the Reſentment of the

Scots, in Caſe we ſhould paſs this Bill into a Law, I cannot think there is the leaſt Ground for them. That Nation ſmarted ſufficiently for their Rebellion in the Year 1715, therefore, I believe, they will not be very forward to renew any ſuch Attempt, or to have Recourſe to Arms, againſt their lawful Sovereign, however they may unjuſtly imagine themſelves injured, leſt the Remedy, as they found it then, ſhould prove much worſe than the Diſeaſe. But if we have any Reaſon to apprehend any Thing from the *Scots* at this Time, and upon this Account, it is with me a ſtrong Argument for paſſing the Bill without any Amendment; becauſe I am ſure, they never will rebel on this Account, unleſs they are reſolved to rebel at any Rate; and if that be their Reſolution, I ſhould much rather wiſh, they would begin it now, and on this Account, than that they ſhould begin it on an Account which might procure them many more Friends in *England*, or at a Time when we might not perhaps be in ſo good a Condition to defend ourſelves.

The Reply was to the following Effect, viz.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that where a Magiſtrate by any egregious and ſupine Negligence, allows a Crime to be committed, which he may eaſily, and ought to have prevented, he might be conſidered as ſome Way guilty of that very Crime; but ſurely, when a Magiſtrate does all he could, when he uſes every Expedient any of thoſe about him could ſuggeſt, for preventing the Committing of any Crime, he ought not to be deemed guilty of that Crime in any Degree, becauſe it afterwards appears, that he might have uſed other Meaſures, by which the Committing of the Crime might have been prevented; for the Deficiency of human Prudence and Foreſight appears in nothing more than this, that there is hardly any Misfortune happens to us, but what upon Reflection we find might have been eaſily prevented, if we had foreſeen all the Circumſtances before they happened, as clearly as we ſee them after they have happened. The unfortunate Perſon, whoſe Conduct is now under our Conſideration, I ſhall not ſuppoſe to be one of the wiſeſt or moſt ready-witted Men in the World; but I am convinced there are many now find Fault with his Conduct, who would have been guilty of the ſame Miſtakes, and perhaps worſe, if they had been at that Time in his Situation.

As for the Crime that was then committed, I ſhall moſt readily join with other Gentlemen in declaring my Deteſtation of all thoſe that were concerned in it; but I am ſurprized to hear Gentlemen repreſent it as one of the moſt cruel, that was ever committed by the People of any Country. In all Countries, Sir, where the legal Puniſhment is not proportioned to the Heinouſneſs of the Offence, the People are apt ſometimes to interpoſe: Where the Puniſhment is too ſevere, they are apt, as often as they can, to prevent the Effect of legal Juſtice; but when the legal Puniſhment is not ſo ſevere a Puniſhment as the Crime deſerves to meet with, they in that Caſe ſometimes take Occaſion to adminiſter what may be called popular Juſtice. Of this we have had lately ſeveral Examples in *England*, eſpecially with reſpect to the Crime of Perjury. Within my Memory, there have been 2 or 3 Men murdered upon the Pillory by the Mob of *Weſtminſter*; and yet I have never heard it ſaid that the People of *England* were of a cruel Diſpoſition, nor was there ever any Bill of Pains and Penalties brought into Parliament againſt the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, for neglecting to prevent ſuch audacious and cruel Murders. In ſuch Caſes the People may be ſaid to bring the Criminal before the Tribunal, not of their Inhumanity, but of their Juſtice; and tho' they ſometimes puniſh with Death, yet they cannot truly be ſaid to embrue their Hands in the Blood of a Criminal, who ought to have been hanged by the Law, if the Puniſhment had been proportioned to the Crime.

When I ſay this, Sir, I would not have it thought that I approve of any of the Murders that have in this Manner been committed in *Weſtminſter*. No, Sir, I think the Diſtribution of popular Juſtice, as well as Mercy, ought in all Caſes to be prevented; but how? By proportioning the Puniſhment in all Caſes to the Crime, by ſhewing Mercy to all that deſerve it, and to none that do not. I likewiſe would not have it thought that I approve of the Murder of *Porteous*, when I ſay what I am going to ſay of that unlucky Criminal. But ſome Gentlemen have talked ſo much of the Cruelty and Barbarity of his Murder, that they ſeem to have quite forgot the Murders he had committed, and for which he was condemned by the Laws of his Country. As this may bias Gentlemen a little in their Opinion with reſpect to this Bill, I muſt beg leave to explain that Matter a little. Before the Riot-Act, Sir, the Laws of *Scotland* were ſo far from allowing the Uſe of Fire-Arms for quelling Riots, that in the Act of King *James* VI. of *Scotland* and Iſt of *England*, which indemnifies the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* and their Aſſiſtants, if any Perſon ſhou'd be killed by them in quelling a Riot, there is this expreſs Proviſion, *providing it be with long Weapons, and not by ſhooting Haquebuts, or the like.* By *Haquebuts* is there meant the Fire-Arms then uſually made uſe of. Now by the Riot-Act how does this Caſe ſtand? If any Man fires, or gives Orders to fire, upon a Mob before the Proclamation is read, or before the Hour after reading is elapſed, he certainly muſt be tried by the Law, as it ſtood before that Act was made; and

and in *Scotland* the Jury muſt always bring it in, Murder, or *Se Defendendo*; or if they bring it in ſpecial, the Judges muſt determine it to be the one or the other; there being no ſuch Thing as *Manſlaughter* in that Country. Even in *England*, I believe, the Jury would always bring it in, Murder, if the Perſon who fired, or gave Orders to fire, was under no great Neceſſity of Firing; becauſe no Man can be ſuppoſed to fire deliberately, or to give deliberate Orders to fire upon a Crowd of People, without a malicious Intention; unleſs he be brought under a Neceſſity to fire, either in Defence of his own Life, or for the Sake of executing that Duty which the Law commands him to execute; and as neither of theſe was the Caſe of *Porteous* at the Execution of *Wilſon*, therefore, if he either fired or gave Orders to fire, which the Jury had found, and the People believed he had, he was certainly guilty of all the Murders then committed. So that whatever Neglect the Provoſt or Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* were guilty of, I hope it will not be thought that *Porteous* was altogether innocent; at leaſt he certainly was not ſo in the Eyes of the People.

There are, without Doubt, many Precedents of the Parliament's proceeding by Bill againſt real Criminals or notorious Offenders; all the Precedents that have been mentioned were for punithing moſt flagrant Crimes; but this is, I believe, the firſt Bill of Pains and Penalties that was ever brought in againſt Men who had been guilty of no Crime, nor, I think, of any very groſs Negligence or Overſight. There are likewiſe many Precedents of grievous Puniſhments inflicted upon Communities; but moſt of them are ſuch as I hope will never be followed in this Reign; for I ſhall always think ſevere Puniſhments a bad Method to prevent Crimes: It is the Method uſually made uſe of under tyrannical Governments; therefore, I hope, I ſhall never ſee it eſtabliſhed or practiſed in this Kingdom. For this Reaſon I ſhall always be againſt puniſhing the Innocent for the Sake of the Guilty; becauſe I think all the Ends of a good Government may be anſwered without ſuch Severity, and I ſhall never be for any of thoſe Meaſures, that are proper for anſwering the Ends of a bad.

The Articles of Union, Sir, are Fundamentals which ought not to be altered, nor can be altered, even by a *Britiſh* Parliament, without the almoſt unanimous Conſent of both Nations. Some of the Articles, indeed, are by an expreſs Clauſe in the Article itſelf made alterable by the Parliament of *Great Britain*; but the 21ſt Article is none of thoſe; and what makes that Article ſtill more unalterable, as I had the Honour to be a Member of that *Scotch* Parliament which made the Union, I remember this very Article was propoſed to be made alterable by the Parliament of *Great Britain*; a Motion was made for that Purpoſe, and after a long Debate, the Motion was, upon a Diviſion, rejected by a great Majority. If the People of *Scotland* in general ſhould by Petitions deſire an Alteration of any Article, and the People of *England* ſhould not oppoſe it, the Parliament might then certainly take it into their Conſideration, and might do as they thought fit. This was the Caſe, or pretended to be the Caſe, with reſpect to Patronages; for, 'tis well known, there was at that Time a very conſiderable Part of *Scotland* who favoured that Bill, and the Majority of the *Scotch* Members in both Houſes were for it; which is very far from being the Caſe of the Bill now before us. But beſides, Sir, 'tis a Miſtake to ſay, the Reſtoring of Patronages was an Infringement of any Article of the Union; for that Article which ſecures the *Preſbyterian* Church Government, ſecures it as eſtabliſhed by the 5th Act of the *ſecond* Seſſion of the *firſt* Parliament of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and by the Declaration of the Eſtates, containing the Claim of Right, dated *April* 11, 1689; both which are expreſsly recited in the Preamble of that Article; and ſince Patronages were not taken away either by that Act, or by the Claim of Right; ſince they were taken away by a ſubſequent Act, I mean the 23d Act of the ſame Seſſion; therefore it cannot be ſaid that the Method of preſenting Miniſters in *Scotland* by a popular Election, was eſtabliſhed by any Article of the Union; conſequently the *Britiſh* Parliament had a full Power to reſtore Patronages, whenever they had a Mind.

As Watching and Warding in *Edinburgh* has been taken away by Act of Parliament, they cannot return to it, nor can they appoint Watchmen, without an Act of Parliament; ſo that if you take away their Guard, you leave them quite defenceleſs againſt Houſe-Breakers, Street-Robbers, and diſſolute Fellows: And as to the Collecting their Revenue, or preventing Smuggling, ſurely *one* Officer, with a Gate ſhut in the Night-Time, may do both more effectually, than *half a Dozen* can do without any Gate. Then in caſe of a Rebellion, ſuch as that in the Year 1715, the Government may perhaps have ſo much Occaſion for their Forces elſewhere, as not to be able to ſpare a Regiment either to be quartered in the *Cannon-Gate* or Caſtle, which was really the Caſe at that Time. 'Tis true, the City of *Edinburgh* did nothing then but what was both their Duty and their Intereſt; they did nothing but what they thought was both their Duty and their Intereſt; but if ever ſuch a Thing ſhould happen again, this Bill may cauſe them to look upon both their Duty and Intereſt as engaged on the other Side of the Queſtion; for I am ſure no Gentleman in this Houſe will preach up paſſive Obedience to that or any other Part of the Nation.

With

With reſpect, Sir, to the Year's Impriſonment to be inflicted on the Provoſt, it ſeems to be allowed, that it would be too ſevere, if the Government ſhould pleaſe to make it ſo; but ſay Gentlemen, we are ſure this Government will not; and therefore it can be no Rule to a future Parliament, when we happen to be under a rigorous Adminiſtration. Sir, can we ſuppoſe any future Parliament will tell their Adminiſtration ſo? Can we ſuppoſe that any Gentleman will riſe up in this Houſe and tell a Prime Miniſter, *What ſuch a Parliament did can be no Rule for us, becauſe the Nation was then under a mild Government, whereas we are now under a cruel one.* I am much afraid, Sir, I ſhall never hear ſuch a free Speech in Parliament, even ſhould there be Occaſion for it, which I hope there never will. The worſt Precedents are often made under the beſt of Kings; and being once made, it becomes dangerous not to allow them as Precedents under the Reign of a bad one; when they are certainly made a wrong uſe of, therefore the good Opinion ſome of us have of the preſent Adminiſtration, will not, I hope, lead us into the Making a Precedent, which may hereafter be made a bad Uſe of; and ſurely the Preamble of the Bill can be no Reaſon for our doing a wrong Thing, becauſe we may alter it at pleaſure.

Now, Sir, I muſt beg leave to anſwer ſome of thoſe Objections that have been made to the Behaviour of the Provoſt and Citizens, in order to fix upon them, what, 'tis pretended, they are to be puniſhed for, a criminal Neglect. As to Mr. *Baily* and Mr. *Din*, I think it is a ſufficient Objection to their Evidence, that neither of them ever went near the Provoſt to acquaint him with what they had heard; for if they believed there was any Ground for what they heard, they were in Duty bound to do ſo. But beſides this, the Character of one of them has been made ſufficiently known to you, by ſome of your own Members. We have therefore much the ſtrongeſt Reaſon to believe the general Report was for the *Wedneſday*; we have not the leaſt Proof of the Provoſt's having ever heard that any other Day was appointed; and it was moſt natural to ſuppoſe *Wednesday* would be the Day, if any ſuch Thing was intended, becauſe the Mob could, not till then, be certain that any Reprieve had been granted. Suppoſing then *Wedneſday* to be the only Day the Provoſt had ever heard of, he had taken ſufficient Reſolutions for that Day, conſidering the Report was repreſented to him by every Body as an idle Report; and it would have been imprudent to have iſſued any Orders in purſuance of thoſe Reſolutions, before *Tueſday* Night; becauſe it would have been giving Notice to the Mob of what was intended againſt them, which might have made them reſolve upon an immediate Execution of their Deſign. As for the other Precautions which, 'tis pretended, the Provoſt might have taken for the Security of *Porteus*, they were impoſſible, or very imprudent. To remove *Porteus* was what the Provoſt could not do, he was by his Sentence to be kept in that Priſon, and carried from thence to the Place of Execution; and to plant Detachments of the Guard in the Priſon, and the Juſticiary Room, would have been very imprudent; becauſe it would have weakened the Guard, by which Means the Mob might the more eaſily have got Poſſeſſion of the Guard-Room and Town; which, if they had once done, they would certainly have ſet fire both to the Priſon and the Juſticiary Room, if the Soldiers had fired, and killed any one of them.

As the Provoſt was no military Man, as he knew not what expreſs Inſtructions *General Moyle* had, he had good Reaſon to believe, and certainly did believe, that a verbal Meſſage at ſuch a Conjuncture, delivered by a Gentleman of ſuch Credit and Character, would have been ſufficient. This prevented him from deſiring any of his Friends to run the Riſk of carrying a written Order, and likewiſe prevented his making any Application to the Commandant in the Caſtle; to whom he had never applied upon any former Occaſion, nor did he know that he could upon any Pretence leave his Gariſon. As for the Attempts made by the Provoſt to quell the Mob, all the Witneſſes agree he did as much as a Man of Prudence and Courage ought; which Teſtimony cannot, I think, be in the leaſt impeached by *Stewart*'s Evidence, conſidering how he prevaricated in ſeveral Circumſtances, and the Improbability of what he ſays; and as for his reading the Proclamation, it was of no Uſe, becauſe if the Troops had come to his Aſſiſtance, there would have been no Occaſion for firing, or they would have had a good Pretence for firing before they got into the Town; for if none were concerned in the Tumult but ſuch as then appeared active in it, they would have diſappeared upon the firſt Approach of the Troops; but if moſt of thoſe who were in the Streets were actually engaged to aſſiſt in caſe of Need, as ſoon as they heard of the Troops beginning to march, the Town Magazine, and every Gun-Smith's, Sword-Cutler's, and Powder-Shop in Town would have been broke open and ſtript in an Inſtant; and the Troops would certainly have had a Fire made upon them from the Mob, upon their firſt Approach to the *Nether-Bow*; for the Misfortune of the Mobs in *Scotland* generally is, that they do not content themſelves with Clubs, Stones, and Brick-bats, but immediately fly to Arms, and ſeize upon them wherever they can find them.

But above all I am ſurprized, Sir, to hear the Conduct of the Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, after the Tumult, found fault with, when

when we have the Teſtimonies of two Hon. and learned Gentlemen of this Houſe in his Favour. We have been told one of thoſe Perſons he ſent out to make Diſcoveries, returned and ſaid, he believed he knew one of the Rioters. Yes, he did ſo; but have not we been told that, that very Perſon afterwards refuſed to confirm what he had ſaid upon Oath? And as to the Perſon that was ſeized next Morning and afterwards diſcharged, if there was any Fault in that, it was none of the Provoſt's, for he was not there, nor was any Way conſulted in the Affair. But the Truth is, there was no Pretence for detaining that Perſon: Thoſe who ſeized him had no Ground of Suſpicion againſt him, nor could they ſay they had ſeen him guilty of an illegal Action; unleſs ſtaring upon the Body of a Man hanging upon a Sign-Poſt be a Crime by the Law of *Scotland*, which I am told it is not. In ſhort, Sir, the Provoſt of *Edinburgh* ſeems to be like an unfortunate General, who has loſt a Battle by the Fault of one of his Under-Officers: That very Officer endeavours to find fault with his Conduct, and to ſhew how he might have prevented the Defeat by a different Diſpoſition, or by doing ſuch and ſuch Things, which it is always eaſy to ſhew, and to give plauſible Reaſons for, after the Action is over. But upon ſuch Occaſions, if a Man does all a prudent Man could do, if he neglects no good Meaſure ſuggeſted to him, ſurely he is not to anſwer for the Succeſs. Bad Succeſs may be a Reaſon for condemning a Man in a *Turkiſh* Divan, but never will, I hope, in a *Britiſh* Parliament. If it ever ſhould, we may begin with Diſabilities and Impriſonments, but we ſhall come at laſt to Deculation or the Bow-String.

As for the Behaviour of the Citizens before and after the Tumult, there is not the leaſt Proof againſt them, there is nothing but Conjecture; and tho' it may be laid down as a Rule in this Houſe, that a Community may be puniſhed for the Fault of ſome of its Members, yet, I hope, Sir, this will never be done upon Conjectures only. Then as to the Behaviour of the Citizens during the Riot, there is one *Scotch* Act of Parliament, which will juſtify their Conduct againſt every Thing that has been ſaid againſt it. I mean an Act paſſed in the *ninth* Parliament of Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, intituled, *An Act for Stanching Tumults within Boroughs*. By which it is enacted, That none of the Subjects ſhall convene or aſſemble within any Borough for ſuppreſſing a Tumult, or arm themſelves with any warlike Arms for that Purpoſe, without Orders from the Magiſtrate; ſo that the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, tho' aſſembled in the Streets, could not by Law attempt to ſuppreſs the Tumult, or to arm themſelves for that Purpoſe, without Orders from the Provoſt; and why the Provoſt could give no ſuch Orders has been already explained.

Now, Sir, as to the Fine that has been propoſed, I am ſure it can be juſtified by no Precedent either in *England* or *Scotland*. The Amercing of a Hundred, if they allow a Murderer to eſcape, or obliging the Hundred to make good the Damage in Caſe of a Robbery within it, takes Place only if the Eſcape or Robbery was in the Day-Time; this Murder at *Edinburgh* was in the Night-Time: The obliging a City, Town, or Hundred, to make good the Damage, when a Meeting-Houſe is riotouſly pulled down, ſtands enacted by that famous Law called the Riot-Act, which is a Law that I hope will never be extended either by Statute or Practice. And the Money paid by the City of *Glaſgow*, was not by Way of Fine, but by Way of Damages, according to a Bill of Damages proved in Parliament by the Gentleman who ſuffered: To which I muſt add, that that Tumult at *Glaſgow*, I believe, happened in the Day-Time, and therefore was more heinous with reſpect to the City of *Glaſgow*, than this that happened at *Edinburgh*. Surely it cannot be ſaid that this 2000*l.* is to be paid by Way of Damages to the Relict of *Porteous*; for the City of *Edinburgh* has already made her a full Satisfaction on that Account.

Before I have done, Sir, I muſt declare, that in this whole Affair of the Tumult at *Edinburgh*, I think the Commanding Officer of his Majeſty's Troops acted both like a wiſe Man and a good Officer. I am ſorry it ſhould ever be neceſſary to call his Majeſty's Troops to the Quelling of any Riot: I am ſure they were never deſigned for that Purpoſe: It is a Service by which they never can gain any Honour; and it is a Service which has been for many Ages ſufficiently performed in *Britain* by the Civil Magiſtrate, without the Aſſiſtance of regular Troops; therefore no Officer ought ever to lead his Troops out to any ſuch Service, without the moſt expreſs and explicit Orders in Writing from that Civil Magiſtrate, whoſe Orders he is by his Inſtructions obliged to obey; in order that that Civil Magiſtrate, and not he, or the Troops under his Command, may be made to anſwer for any Thing that may happen to be done contrary to Law. In this Caſe therefore, the Commanding Officer was greatly to be commended for refuſing a verbal Meſſage, and yet the Provoſt is no Way to blame, becauſe this is the firſt Time the Queſtion has come in diſpute, and therefore he might at that Time believe, that a verbal Meſſage would be ſufficient.

Sir, as I am no *Scotchman*, as I never was in that Country, I may be allowed to add a few Words in favour of it. I am ſorry any Thing ſhould ever happen in Parliament, that ſhould give the leaſt Occaſion to make any new

new Distinctions between the Nations of *England* and *Scotland*, which has been one of the unlucky Consequences of bringing in such a Bill; I wish it may be the only one. I am sure, if ever a Nation deserved good Usage from another, the *Scots* deserve it from us. At the Time of the Union, and in that Treaty, they trusted their All to our Honour, our Justice, and our good Nature. They made Terms, 'tis true, but they trusted the Performance of those Terms entirely to our Honour; because they reserved to themselves no Power, no legal Power at least, to compel a Performance. For this Reason I shall always be extremely cautious of doing any Thing, or giving my Assent to any Thing, that may be thought to be a Piece of Injustice or Partiality even by the *Scots* themselves. I should be grieved to see my Countrymen taking Advantage of the Superiority of their Numbers in both Houses of Parliament, in order to cram any Thing down the Throats of the People of *Scotland*; and therefore, whatever Proposition may be made in Parliament, relating to *Scotland*, its being so unanimously opposed by the whole *Scotch* Members, as this has been, will always with me be a very strong Reason for voting against it.

Some Gentlemen seem to have very little Apprehensions from any Resentment the *Scots* can shew; but if by Injustice and Oppression we should unite that whole Nation against us, they may come to make us feel their Resentment as they have often done before. In such a Case we are not to trust to the Superiority of our Power. In *Edward* IIst's Time our Power was at least as much superior as it is at present. *Edward*, by Stratagem or otherwise, got the greatest Part of *Scotland* to submit to him; and if they had met with civil and just Treatment, that Submission might have continued: But they were oppressed, and that Oppression raised such a Spirit among the People, that a private Gentleman, Sir *William Wallace*, opposed with Success for many Years the whole Power of *England*, and I may add, of many of the Nobles of *Scotland*. 'Tis true, that Gentleman was at least infamously betrayed by some of his own Countrymen, and was executed at *London*; but what was that to the Purpose? it did not allay or abase the Spirit of the People; Sir *William* did gloriously in the Cause of his Country, and his Countrymen found a new Leader in King *Edward*'s own Court, who restored them to their Liberties and Independency; for a brave and desperate People will always find a Leader, when a favourable Opportunity offers for calling them to Arms.

We are not to form an Idea of what we have to apprehend from the Resentment of the People of *Scotland*, when all united together, from what happened in the Year 1715. We knew there was but a small Part of that People engaged in that Rebellion; and small as it was, if the Promises that had been made to them by their Friends in *England*, had been performed, I am afraid they would have shook, if not overturned the *British* Throne. They had at that Time neither a Leader experienc'd in War, nor Friends that could give them any Assistance. Accidents may, if Occasion offers, furnish them with the former, and Experience will make them look out for such Friends as they may depend on. For this they cannot be at a Loss: We know how many antient Leagues have been between *France* and *Scotland*: We know what Honours and Privileges the *Scots* formerly enjoyed in that Country: We know what Respect and Esteem they still meet with, and deservedly meet with, in that Country. They have more than once greatly contributed to prevent that Country's being conquered by *England*; and if we should reduce them to the fatal Necessity of submitting to the one, or of being oppressed by the other, they may hereafter contribute towards *England*'s being conquered by *France*. We are now by the Union made one and the same People: While we continue so, as we are an Island, as we are in some Manner a World by ourselves, we may, by good Management, give Laws to the World; but if we should revive our old Distinctions and Animosities, we shall expose ourselves to be not only invaded and insulted, but perhaps conquered, by our Neighbours upon the Continent. In Case of any such Misfortune, the People of *England* will always be the greatest Sufferers, as they have always heretofore been; because, as we enjoy the most fertile and best Part of the Island, the Conquerors will settle here, and will rather court the Friendship, than be at the Pains to conquer the Country of the People of *Scotland*. If Gentlemen would consider this, I am sure they would avoid every Thing that might in the least tend towards reviving the Distinction and Animosity that subsisted so long, and so much to the Detriment of each, between the People of the *Southern* and *Northern* Parts of this Island; and as this must be the certain Consequence of the Bill now before us, I wish it had never been mentioned, I am sure it ought not to be passed.

After having thus put my own Countrymen in Mind of their Interest, of their Duty, I must beg leave to put the People of *Scotland* in Mind, that it is their Interest, as well as Duty, to preserve the antient and happy Constitution of both Kingdoms. If they have a Mind the Articles of Union should be observed, if they have a Mind the Interest of their Country should be regarded, they must oppose all Measures which may render the *British* Parliament entirely dependent upon the *British* Court. If we should ever fall under

under ſuch a Misfortune, that a *Britiſh* King or a *Britiſh* Prime-Miniſter ſhould have it in his Power to iſſue his Orders to his Parliament, and that theſe Orders ſhould for ſelfiſh Ends be blindly obeyed by a Majority in each Houſe of Parliament; I ſay, if ever we ſhould fall under ſuch a Misfortune, the People of *Scotland* muſt expect, the Articles of Union will be no more regarded than the fundamental Maxims of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution: Both will be often ſacrificed to the Whim of a Court, or to the Safety, the Ambition, or the Revenge, of a Court Favourite; but if ever ſuch a Caſe ſhould happen, which God forbid! I hope the People of *Scotland* will impute nothing that may then happen to them, to the Injuſtice or Ill-Nature of the People of *England*; but to that which muſt then be the Misfortune of both, the Ill-luck of being ſubject to a whimſical Court, or a revengeful Court-Favourite.

Having thus given the Subſtance of what was ſaid for and againſt the Amendments propoſed to this Bill, as well as the Bill itſelf, as fully as we could poſſibly ſpare Room for, we ſhall now acquaint our Readers, that the principal Speakers for the Bill, in all the Debates that happened in the H—ſe of L—ds, were, the L—d C—r, the D—ke of *N—tle*, the E—l of *A—n*, the E—l of *S——d*, the E—l of *A——d*, the L—d *D—r*, and the L—d *L—l*; and thoſe againſt the Bill were, the D—ke of *A——le*, the D—ke of *A——l*, the E—l of *C——rd*, and the E—l of *F——r*. In the H—ſe of C——ns, the principal Speakers for the Bill were, Sir *R—t W——le*, Sir *W——m Y—ge*, *T—s W—n*, Eſq; G—l *W—de*, Mr. A—y G—l, Mr. *S—r* G—l, Mr. *S——t Sk——r*, and *H—y F—x*, Eſq; and thoſe againſt the Bill were, Sir *W—m W——m*, Sir *J—n B——d*, *W—m S——n*, Eſq; the L—d *P——th*, *Al——r H—me G—l*, Eſq; the L—d *G——y*, the L—d *C—y*, *D—n F—s*, Eſq; *J—s E—ne*, Eſq; *C—s A——ne*, Eſq; *P—ck L——y*, Eſq; and *J—s O——pe*, Eſq;

We have now given ſome Account of all the very remarkable Debates that happened in laſt Seſſion; therefore ſhall conclude with returning Thanks to our unknown Correſpondents, who ſent us Abſtracts of any Debate that happened, or any remarkable Speech that was made; for tho' we have not publiſhed thoſe Abſtracts in the ſame Form they were ſent us, thoſe who ſent them will ſee, they have been of great Uſe to us in drawing up the Subſtance of the Debate; therefore we hope they will be ſo far from taking amiſs, our not publiſhing what they ſent, in the very Form they ſent it, that they will repeat the Favour, as often as they have an Opportunity.

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